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Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume VIII

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

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VOLUME VIII

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THE EIGHTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning Peregrinations and Travels by Land into Palestina, Natolia and Syria; Peregrinations and Discoveries by Land of Assyria, Armenia, Persia, India, Arabia, and other Inland Countries of Asia by Englishmen and others, Moderne and Ancient

Chap. VI.

The Churches Peregrination by this Holy Land way, and warre into mysticall Babylon: or a Mysterie of Papall Iniquity revealed, how the Papall Monarchie in and over Christendome, was advanced in that Age and the following, and principally by this Expedition into the Holy Land.

§. I.

The Historie of the Normans, and their proceedings. Of Urban and Boamunds policie, abusing the zeale of Christendome in these Warres: and of Satans loosing after one thousand yeares.

HItherto you have heard the Monke and the Priest Eye-witnesses of this Expedition: the one called Robertus Anglus, the other a follower of Robert the Norman: and after them the Tyrian Archbishop, and an English Monke. Neither let any marvell that in these Peregrinations, dedicated to the English name principally, I omit not the Norman, whose Father and Brethren reigned here, who for the hope of the English Crowne forsooke that of Jerusalem being offered, who dyed in England: and what shall I more say? What are Englishmen but in triple respect, Normans or Northmen? From the North parts adjoyning came the first Angles, or Saxons: from thence *Vid. Camb. Brit.*

also the Danes, which made the next Conquest: and
W. Gemetic. de duc. Norm. from these North parts, the scourge of the World, Omne malum ab Aquilone (ex Scanza insula quæ erat quasi officina gentium, aut velut vagina Nationem, the parts for most part still subject to the Crowne of Denmarke) the same Danish people setling themselves in France, and called Normans, that is, men of the North, after a French civillizing and Christianitie, made their third Conquest under Earle William. This three-fold Cord cannot be easily broken, nor can any Englishman at this day separate his Norman bloud from the English, an indissoluble mixture even from the last conquest remayning in the
[II. viii. 1246.] tongue and people, the Conquerors utmost indevours being herein conquered. A great part of Earle Roberts Armie was English, and as Eadmerus and all the Historians of that time testifie, the monie which defrayed his Armie was English, Normandie remayning therefore
History of Normans. engaged to King William his Brother. Yea, Boamund also and Tancred were Normans: fortie of which Nation returning from a Jerosolymitan pilgrimage, behaved themselves so valiantly at the siege of Salerne, against the Saracens, that Guaimar the Prince sent Legats with them into Normandie, to draw some adventurers into his part,
Car. Sigon. de Reg. Italiel. 8. where Giselbert a Nobleman, having slaine William, and fearing the anger of Robert then Earle or Duke of Normandie, embraced the occasion, and with his Brethren Rainulph, Aisclitin, Osmund and Rodulph, and their followers went into Italie to Prince Pandulph at Capua, Anno Dom. 1017.

Normans in Apulia. Apulia and Calabria were then subject to the Greeke Empire, which rather tyrannizing then ruling, by the Catapan or Deputie, Melus a principall man perswaded the Normans to invade his Countrey, so to shake of the Greekish yoke, and fought foure times with Bubagan the Catapan, in the three first battels winning much, which in the fourth at that fatall place of Canna hee lost againe: the remayning Normans betaking themselves to Pandulfe and Guaimar. After this Maniacus the Catapan sent to

Guaimar to send him his Normans, to fight against the Saracens in Sicilia. Lately before (this was, Anno 1039) the sonnes of Tancred (invited by their Countrimen) had comne thither with three hundred men at Armes, by whose helpe he recovered Syracuse, and the most part of Sicilia, which after their departure the Saracens next yeare repossessed. Anno 1041. Ardoinus a Lumbard offended with Maniacus, for taking from him a Horse which he had taken from a Saracen, incited Earle Ranulph a Norman, to assist him in the warre against the Catapan, where in many fights overthrowing the Greekes, matters succeeded so prosperously, that William one of the sonnes of Tancred was made Earle of Asculum, Drogo his Brother obtayned Venusia, and the rest of Apulia was shared amongst the rest of the Normans. In this Expedition, William, Drogo, Humfrie, Richard, Roger, and Robert the Sonnes of Tancred were renowmed, of whom many Dukes and Kings in Italy after descended. Henry the Emperour confirmed to Drogo Earle of Apulia, and to Ranulph of Aversa, all which they had gotten. To Drogo succeeded his Brother, Humfrie, 1051. who invading the possessions of the Church, which Pope Leo seeking to recover by battell, was beaten out of the field with exceeding slaughter on both sides, and besieged in a Castle whither he fled, was taken and forced to receive the Norman into communion.

Sonnes of Tancred.

Apulia shared amongst Normans.

A warlike Pope.

Baielard the Sonne of Humfrie, by Robert called Wiscard (brother to the said Humfrie) was expelled from his Countrie of Apulia. He added also Rhegium in Calabria, and Troia in Apulia to his conquests, stiling himselfe Duke of Apulia and Calabria. His brother Richard winning Capua, vexed the confines of Campania, and both molesting the Papall Possessions were cursed by Pope Nicholas, who yet upon their Oath of vassalage to the Church, received them and confirmed the one Prince of Capua, the other Duke of Apulia and Calabria, paying twelve pence a yeare on every yoke of Oxen. Anno 1062. Robert with his brother Roger, warred against the

Robert Wischard Duke of Apulia.

Saracens in Sicilia. Richard invaded a great part of Campania neere to Rome it selfe, and sought to become Patricius; whereupon Henry the Emperour entred Italy, and Richard forsooke Campania.

Occasion of the Normans entring Greece.

Anno 1078. Nicephorus put downe Michael from the Empire of the East, who came and sought to Robert for ayde, who being compounded with Jordan which had succeeded his Father Richard, went into Greece, and prosperously succeeded. Hence he was called backe by Hildebrand, or Gregorie the Seventh, which before had excommunicated him, to helpe him against Henrie the Emperour, then having taken Rome by force; who hearing of Roberts comming with a strong Armie (leaving Boamund to pursue his Grecian affaires) went with Clement or Guibert, his new made Pope into Etruria. Thus was hee dreadfull to the Easterne and Westerne Emperours at once. He dyed, Anno 1085. Roger his sonne succeeded. This Historie both as of Normans, and as a preamble to the Expedition of the Frankes, is not unworthy recitall.

**Car. Sigon. de reg. Ital. l. 9.*
**Boamund was sonne to Rob. by a former wife: Roger by the daughter of of Guaimar Prince of Salern.*
W. Gemetic. howe this Dutchie added to Sicilia became a Kingdome, is here omitted.
**G. Malm. l. 4. initio.*

Roger the younger brother succeeding in the Dukedome of Apulia and Calabria, as also in the quarrell of Urban successor of Gregory against Guibert (who also confirmed his Dutchie to him as Vassall of the Church, the possessions whereof such good fishing made he in troubled waters, he had even to Tibur and Velitre* gotten into his possession) his brother Boamund* began to thinke of another succession, that as Roger had gotten the inheritance of Calabria and Apulia, from the Easterne Empire, he might also obtayne the like in Greece. This was not unknowne to the wiser in those times, as William Malmesbury* our Countriman testifieth, whose words are these.

Anno ab incarnatione 1095. Papa Urbanus secundus, qui præsidebat Apostolico culmini, evasis Alpibus venit in Gallias. Adventus causa ferebatur perspicua, quòd violentia Guiberti Roma extrusus, citra montanas ad sui reverentiam sollicitaret Ecclesias. Illud repositius pro-

positum non ita vulgabatur, quòd Boamundi consilio penè totam Europam in Asiaticam Expeditionem moveret, ut in tanto tumultu omnium provinciarum facile obæratis auxiliaribus, & Urbanus Romam, & Boamundus Illyricum & Macedoniam pervaderent. Nam eas terras & quicquid prætereà à Dyrrhachio usque in Thessalonicam protenditur, Guiscardus pater super Alexium acquisierat: idcirco illas Boamundus suo juri competere clamitabat, inops hæreditatis Apulæ, quam genitor Rogero filio minori delegaverat. Thus Urbanes intent was to get Rome from the Antipope Guibert or Clement, whom the Imperials and some Italians followed; neither had hee any great partaker in Italie but Roger, who sought his owne advantage. [II. viii. 1247.]

Anselme Archbishop of Canterburie was by King Rufus dispossessed of his revenues, and lived in Exile for acknowledging him, as Eadmerus his companion in his Italian peregrinations to and with Pope Urban testifieth: no Bishop in England then daring to acknowledge either of the Popes without the Kings leave, who also admitted no Papall power, but by his leave in this Kingdome (for his and his fathers power in cases and over persons Ecclesiasticall, See Eadmerus and the Annotations of that learned and industrious Gentleman, Master Selden thereon, and therewith now published.) And Boamund enjoying some Castles by his brothers indulgence, wanne many other, the men of warre following him. Nam ad fratrem specie tenus Ducatus pervenerat (Malmesbury addeth toward the end of that Booke) alterum bello meliorem secuti. Jam vero parui momenti fuit quòd paterni propositi sequax, Guibertum repellens Urbano validissimè astitit, & cunctantem impulit ut Gallias ad Concilium Clari Montis accederet, quò eum Raimundi Provincialis Comitis & Episcopi Caturicensis Epistolæ invitabant. Concilioque celebrato libens occasionem accepit & in Græciam copias trajecit, subindeque promovens exercitum modestè Raimundum & Godfridum operiebatur. Quibus venientibus sociatus magnum incitamentum

Eadmerus published by M. Selden.

cæteris erat, disciplinæ militaris scientia & virtute nulli secundus.

See how this agreeth with his cunning dissimulation before mentioned.

This Mysterie hath beene little observed of most Authors, and was lesse observed in those times by the zealous Princes of Christendome, whose valour, wealth, devotion, glory and lives were engaged so deeply in this quarrell, most of all other devices availed the Papacie, in abasing the power of Princes Christian.

And well might Urban use the helpe of Boamund and the Normans in that designe, which not only sorted to that expected effect to settle him in Rome, then held by Clement his Corrivall, but to a further advancement of the Papacie in after times, then either hee or Boamund could then divine or dreame of. For of the Normans disposition, Henry Huntingdon hath long since given testimonie that God had chosen them to exterminate the English, because he saw them eminent above all people in the prerogative of singular cruelty. For their nature is when they have dejected their enemies to the utmost, that they then depresse themselves, and bring themselves and their Lands into povertie and waste: and alwayes the Lords of the Normans, when they have trodden downe their enemies, seeing they cannot but be doing cruelty, they hostily trample under foot their own. Which plainly appeares in Normandie, England, Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and Antiochia, very good Countries which God hath subjected to them. Thus our Historian, and thus our Mysterians Urbanus (then for this disposition called Turbanus) and Boamundus uncharitably seeking their owne, abused the charitie and devotion of those degenerated times.

Hen. Hunt. lib. 7.

So it was necessary that Mysteries should be carryed in mystie cloudes: which make mee not a little minde that Revelation not fully revealed, yet in some imperfect glimpses offering it selfe to view, this Historie unmasking that Mysterie; or if it bee not the just interpretation of the Prophecie (a taske too great for me to determine) yet not unfit to be waied in the ballance of the Sanctuary

together, and to be propounded to wiser considerations, at lest by way of Allegoricall application, if not of Propheticall explication. Saint Johns mysteriall Revelation is delivered in these words. Apos 9. 1. And the fift Angell sounded, and I saw a starre fall from Heaven unto the Earth, and to him was given the Key of the bottomlesse pit. 2. And hee opened the bottomlesse pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a Furnace, and the Sunne and the ayre were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit. 3. And there came out of the smoke Locusts upon the Earth, and unto them was given power as the Scorpions of the Earth have power, &c. 7. And the shapes of the Locusts were like unto Horses prepared unto battell, and on their heads were as it were Crownes like Gold, and their faces were as the faces of men. 8. And they had haire as the haire of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of a Lion. 9. And they had brest-plates as it were brest-plates of Iron, and the sound of their wings was as the sound of Chariots of many Horses running to battell. 10. And they had tayles like unto Scorpions, and there were stings in their tayles, and their power was to hurt men five monethes. 11. And they had a King over them which is the Angell of the bottomlesse pit, whose name is in the Hebrew Tongue, Abaddon, but in the Greeke Tongue, hath his name Apollyon. After the sixt Angel sounding, followeth the loosing of the foure Angels bound in the great River Euphrates, for to slay the third part of men. And the number of the armie of the Horsemen were two hundred thousand thousand. And thus I saw the Horses in the Vision, and them that sate on them, having brest-plates of Fire and of Jacint, and of Brimstone; and the heads of the Horses were as the heads of Lions, and out of their mouthes issued Fire and Smoke, and Brimstone. By these three was the third part of men killed, by the Fire, and by the Smoke, and by the Brimstone which issued out of their mouthes. For their power is in their mouth, and in their tayles: for their tayles were

like unto Serpents, and had heads, and with them they doe hurt.

Divers Interpreters will direct in the former of these [II. viii. 1248.] Visions, to behold the Popish Clergie, in the other the Saracenicall Souldiory: both which agree to our present businesse, where Papall superstition, and Saracenicall crueltie begot in strange copulation such numerous innumerable deaths. As for the Starre it noteth an Ecclesiasticke Angell, or Bishop, as the Revelation it selfe revealeth.* This Starre is not fixed, but falleth from heaven, the care of Heavenly[a] affection, heavenly[b] conversation, and bringing soules by Pastorall vigilancie to the heavenly[c] Jerusalem, and Church of the first borne, whose names are written in heaven; and falleth to the earth, that is, to minde earthly pompe, and secular glorie, Whose God[d] is their belly, whose glorie is in their shame, who minde earthly things. That the Pope hath evidently done this, their owne Histories make mention; first by Phocas, obtaining a Monarchie over the Church, and since Hildebrand exalting it over Kingdomes, States and Empires, and now at this day exercising nothing of a Bishop, but the Title, leaving the Cure to his Vicario di Roma,[e] whiles his Cardinall Consistorie are not Vigiles Ecclesiæ, but Conjudices Orbis terrarum, & Principes mundi, regum* similes, veri mundi Cardines, and himselfe hath turned Pasce oves into Rege, and playes the King, and playes with Kings, making and marring Kings and Emperours, and wearing himselfe a triple Crowne: either detaining (as King Johns) or deposing and disposing (as Henries to Rodulph) or with the foote striking off, (as Celestine to Henrie the sixt Emperour) or treading also on the Emperours necke, (as Alexander to Fredericke.) All this power is challenged to the Keyes of the Kingdome of heaven, promised to Peter, Math. 16. in the name of the rest of the Apostles, of whom the question had beene asked, which he in their name answered; and that to shut out impenitents, and to admit those which beleeve and repent, by Evangelicall ministry into the house of

*Ap. 1 ult.
[a] Col. 3. 1.
[b] Ephe. 3. 20.
[c] Heb. 12. 12.
[d] Ph. 3. 19.
[e] Sansovine l. 11.
*Sac. Cer. R.E. l. 1. 8.
Math. 16.

Gods Church and Family. But neither by word nor Sacraments, publikely, nor privatly, by teaching, improving, exhorting, rebuking, doth he either open or shut, or exercise any proper Episcopall Function: so that the key of power which he hath, must needs bee this Key of the bottomlesse pit, whereby Hell is opened, (as here in vision) and Heaven is hidden; both that supercelestiall Heaven of glorie, wherein is the Sunne of righteousnesse; and this inferiour Ecclesiasticke heaven of Grace, and of the Church, which as the Aire borroweth her light from that Sunne, or else must needs abide in night and darknesse.

Key of the bottomlesse pit, and kingdome of Hell.

And indeed what are Papall Dispensations and Indulgences, (as we shall anone see) but opening of Hell? What his Crusados to kill and destroy, Interdicting of kingdomes, excommunicating and deposing of Kings, raising warres, seditions, treasons, prohibiting vulgar reading of Scriptures, and the like, but shutting of heaven? These, these are the Papall keyes so much gloried of, keyes of the bottomlesse pit; yea, the key singular to open, and not plurally keyes, as having no power to shut that Hell which once he hath opened. Hence arose (by this opening of the bottomlesse pit) that Smoake of Ignorance, which bemisted the world (so that in King Alfreds daies not one Priest in England could understand his Latine Service, or translate an Epistle out of Latine into English; and if any in the next Ages had his Grammer, he was a wonder to the rest of the Clergie) caused by Barbarians, which filled Italy, France, and other Countries of Christendome before, with a Smoake of Confusion and combustion, whereby the Latine Language was lost in vulgar use, which continued in their Holies: men in that smoake not able to see what God said to them in his Word, or they to him in their Prayers. Hence a Smoake of blind zeale ascending as from a furnace: but as the fire of Hell is fire without light, burning and not shining, such is eager impetuous zeale without discretion, which crucified Christ, and persecuted Christianitie, & in

Alfredi Epist. published before Tho. Walsingham, Mat. Par. in W. 1. Clerici adeo literatura carebant, ut cæteris esset stupori qui Grammaticam dedicisset.

Papists hath much changed them for Antichrist, and Antichristianitie. A smoake from the bottomlesse pit, is all unbrideled Concupiscence, alway fuming from and to Hell; Bottomlesse in the originall, without just cause of beginning; Bootlesse in fine, without causing Justice in the ending. Pride, Covetousnesse, Envy, and other Hellish passions, are a smoake which ascend, but by ascending vanish; which as in the Builders of Babel, seeke a Name, and make as they would build to Heaven, but get no other name but Babel, and after confused cloudie Chymæras (like pillars of smoake in the Aire) vanish to nothing.

Gen. 11.

Out of this smoakie ignorance, and ignorant zeale, and zealous perturbations (the travels and throwes of the bottomlesse pit) came Locusts upon the Earth, the carnall and earthy minded Bishops, Priests, Cardinals, Abbots, Monkes, and innumerable religious Orders of inordinate Religion: these being wholly superstititious, degenerating into superstition, and turning their heavenly calling into earthly ease and pompe, and the spirituall service of God, into beggerly, worldly, carnall rites and bodily exercises. Thus have you the Locusts worse then Egyptian, such to the soule as those in Alvares, and other the former Stories of this Booke mentioned to the bodie, save that they are limited, and may not (as those) hurt the Grasse and Trees, and greene things, that is, such as have a lively Faith in Christ. Neither may they kill bodily,* but spiritually torment the Conscience with their Canons, Confessions, Penances, Purgatories, Miracles, Visions, and (which most concernes our present purpose) Pilgrimages, and the like. Their shape is like to Horses, for their courage and wilfulnesse, Kings and Kingdomes being forced to stoop, both to their old Mumpsimus, and to their new Sumpsimus; even the most refractorie or couragious, as William Rufus, and the two first Henries, conquered in Clergie immunities by Anselme and Becket, men of great worth in other kinds, but for this accounted Worthies, eminent in the sanctitie of those times, for this honored

**Priests had not power to kill, till they had subjected the secular power to them. See Eadmerus and Nubrigensis Writers of those times.*

[II. viii. 1249.]

and Canonized Saints. These the Crownes on their heads, or as Dunstan, Eadmund, and if there were any more Canterburie Canonizations: and such Crownes had the heads of Religious Orders, and first Founders and Inventors of Holies, as Dominicke, Francis, and others, (and now at last Ignatius Loyola) and all the Clergie were crowned with dignitie, in their head over-topping Kings, in the meanest Priest exempted from Kings, yea creating his Creator the King of Kings, (that I mention not their shaven crownes nor the Martyrs crownes which befell Priests or Laitie, dying in this Jerosolymitan Peregrination, or in fight against Christians, against whom the Pope had published his Crusado.)

But these Crownes were like Gold, not of it, the Pope herein the best Alchymist, extracting true Gold out of Leaden Bulls, but distracting and contracting shewes of Gold, seeming Canonizations, and sanctitie in shew and sound of holy Church, rather then true holinesse: yea, the holy name of Church appropriated to these shaven crownes, by Popish Monopoly. Yet were the shewes made faire, and in all their actions they had the faces of men, in resemblance of just reason and resolution; insomuch, that as when I looke on the Scripture onely, I wonder how there could bee any Papist, so when in Histories and the courses of times, I looke upon the Church, especially after Hildebrand, I as much wonder that all were not Papists, the smoake had so taken away the light of the Sunne, and the Pope set up so many Night-lights of humane reasons, and Treasons or Traditions in Canon Law and Schoole Divinitie. Yea they had also the haire of Women, in insinuating impressions, and melting ravishments of flattering perswasions, promised pleasures of Paradise, dazeling pomps in the present, and for the future, Merits, Supererogations, deliveries from Purgatorie, Relikes of Saints, Revelations, Miracles, & a world of the like; which this Historie of the Holy Land sheweth sufficiently, and a Map of which you may see in Urbans elegant Oration, and Boamunds cunning

dissimulation. Their teeth were as teeth of Lions, in preying upon Temporal Lands, Liberties, Jurisdictions, and Spirituall devouring of soules. Their Iron Breast-plates, were their defensive immunities and exemptions, whereby they were hardned and heartned against all contrary powers.

The sound of their Wings, was their preaching of Indulgences, thundering Interdictments, and Excommunications, Penances in Confessions, and the like. Their Tailes, were the consequences of their Doctrine and Actions, which promising satisfactions to God and Man, yea Merit and Supererogation, the honoring of Saints and Angels, in the fore-part: in the end stung like a Scorpion, filled the soule of their most devoted with disconsolation, the body with grievous bodily exercises in Fastings, Pilgrimages, (as here) selfe-whippings; Ever learning, never comming to the knowledge of the truth; giving reall possessions, and bequeathing true beggerie to their heires, for deliverance from a Poeticall Purgatorie; crucifying themselves indeed before a painted Crucifixe, buying repentance at a deare rate, and making more irksome way to Hell (if Gods infinite mercy prevented not) then that by which many have attained Heaven. Their King is the Angell of the bottomlesse pit, (you see whose Vicar he is indeed) and is named in Hebrew and Greeke, as hardning the Jewes, and corrupting Christians; or as restoring both Jewish rites and Gentile superstitions, in both a Destroyer. The five moneths some interpret of this life, some alluding to the Grass-hoppers Summer season; some to Noahs floud, so long prevailing over the Earth; some to one hundred and fiftie yeares, taking a day prophetically for a yeare, and reckoning from Hildebrand, to Gregorie the Decretalist; some for an indefinite time, some for a short time: as if they should say, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his owne power. I have rather sought to lay open their qualities then their durance: as for the time, Time will deliver it.

Acts 1. 7.

Now for the other Vision of foure Angels, bound in the great River Euphrates; some understand Euphrates mystically, for the meanes of upholding and advancing the Merchandize of mysticall Babylon, that is of Rome and her Poperie: Indeed foure hath beene a famous number, for the foure Gospels, for those foure first generall Councels, for the Ecclesiasticke Aristocracie by the foure Patriarchs, (the fift was in manner titular) for the foure Doctors of the Latine Church: also foure hath beene notable in this Papall mysterie and Supremacy; first in the ages thereof, the Child-hood from Boniface to Hildebrand, in a spirituall Monarchy, long growing up; the Youth from Hildebrand to Boniface the eight, in addition of power, over all powers Royall and Imperiall, with youthfull vigour trampling under foote the strongest Adversaries; the Mans age from thence till Luther, losing somewhat of that King-awing strength, by schismes amongst themselves, and by Councels,* Kings and Kingdomes better opportunitie and vigilance; but holding up to the upmost their spirituall, till Luther gave beginning to their old declining age, and this their almost precarian and obnoxious power, which by leave of Kings and States they hold, howsoever in seeming above them. Foure Courses have advanced and upheld them, Excommunications, (to which interdictments of Kingdomes, and deprivations of Kings are annexed) Decretall Lawes and Constitutions to governe the Church; Warres by Crusados and Treasons, and Inquisitions against contrary opinions. Foure sorts of men have beene their Creatures and Creators; degenerated Monkery of later ages, which undermined the ancient sanctitie and discipline, Canonists which wholly corrupted it; Schoole-men which admitted the Philosophers to bee Masters in Divinitie, and Friers which occupied both Churches and Palaces in new and meerely Papall hypocrisies and priviledges. And since, the revenues of Poperie, as we shall by and by see, are foure, Temporalties, Collations of Benefices, Indulgences, and Dispensations.

*As those of Constance, Basil, &c. so in the Statute of Præmunire in Rich. 2. &c.

[II. viii. 1250.]

But I rather like their Interpretation, which apply these foure to the Angels of destruction, which literally have beene loosed from Euphrates upon the Christian world, and indeed destroyed the third part of Christian men with bodily death. For presently after Boniface the Pope had obtained his Supremacy of Phocas, Mahomet arose with his new Sect in the East; the one with Locusts, (whereof you have heard) to corrupt the soules; the other with Horses in his Successors, to destroy the bodies of men. And these Angels of destruction have beene many waies foure. First, in the foure Doctors, Authours of the foure Sects of that irreligious Religion. For Mahumet having taken Mecca, created foure Generals, Ebubezer, Omar, Osmen, and Ali; whom he called, the foure sharpe Swords of God, and commanded them to goe into the foure parts of the world, to kill such as resisted. After Mahumets death, these foure successively succeeded. These may be called foure Angels, as the foure Doctors of the Mahumetan Law, (so they are usually stiled by the Mahumetans) and reckoned Saints in their Kalender; whom they say Mahomet had prophecied should succeed him, who also fained his Law received from the Angell Gabriel. These were Authors of foure Sects also, Ali or Hali, of the Sect Imemia; Osmen of the Sect Baanesia, Homar of the Anesia, Ebubezer of the Melchia. These foure in their succeeding Generations, have bin sent out from neere the parts of Euphrates: where before they may be said to be bound, because that howsoever Chosroes or some others at some start, or advantage passed over, and did hurt to the Romane Empire, (then the most flourishing part of the Church) yet did they not continue any long space, or much prevaile on this side Euphrates, that being the boundary, as it were appointed of God, betwixt the Roman and the Parthian, and after, betwixt the Roman and Persian Empires. But after the Mahumetans had once appeared from Arabia, which Euphrates washeth, they in one Age over-ranne Egypt, Syria, Palestina, Persia, yea overwhelmed Africa, quite

See my Pilg. l. 3. c. 2. §. 2.

**See my Pilg. l. 3. c. 7.*

thorow to the Streights, and all Spaine, with many other Countries,* never after recovered to the Empire. And as they began with foure Angels in foure Sects, and conquering to the foure Winds: so there have beene of them foure principall Deluges, each from Euphrates, overwhelming the world. That we reckon the first, in that Saracenicall Age: the second, that of the Turkes, which under Belpheth tooke Diogenes the Greeke Emperor prisoner, and conquered in manner all the Countrey to Constantinople, the occasion of this Jerosolymitan expedition, and consequently, of killing the third part of men, dwelling in remote Countries which they had not seene, but came to the Holy Land as the publike slaughter place and Shambles of the Christian world: in which it is remarkable, that the two Calyphas of Bagdet and Cairo, one on the one side, the other on the other of Euphrates, otherwise dissenting, consented yet like Herod and Pilate, to kill Christ again in his members, and to perpetrate those butcheries, yee have read of in the former Relations. And let the understanding Reader examine the Roman Stories, and see if in above sixe hundred yeares from Romulus forward, there was so much Ethnicke bloud spilt on both sides, to purchase the Roman Monarchie, as here in much lesse then the third part of that time, was occasioned to be spilt by the Romish Hierarchie: on both sides shall I say? Or may I make the question, even of that which was meerely Christian of the Easterne and Westerne beleevers? And the third overflowing, was of the Tartars, at first not Mahumetan, yea destroying Bagdet and the Calypha, and enemies to mankind in generall, but after proving, and still continuing in greatest part Mohumetan. These did almost roote out the Christianitie of the greater Asia, and erected the greatest Empire (not with best bloudshed) that ever was: yea, they not onely over-ranne the Christians, as farre as Poland and Russia, Hungaria and Germany by themselves, but forced the Chorosmines out of Persia, (which as you have heard gave the fatallest blow to the Christians in the Holy

*See ubi sup. l. 3. c. 2.

See of the Tart. my Pilg. l. 4. c. 11. and 12. and after fol. in this Worke in Haiton, M. Polo, &c.

Land) and rooted out the Turkish Kingdome there, and forced them also to invade the Christians, founding in the Christian ruines the Aladine Turkish Kingdome in Natolia, and enforcing over Euphrates the Progenitors of Ottoman, from whom beginneth our fourth Epocha, and that fourth Deluge of the Turkish Nation, which hath devoured such worlds of Christian flesh. The Warres also of these peoples, have beene principally by Horses, neither doe I thinke the number expressed of two hundred Millions is any whit hyperbolicall, if we consider the innumerable Armies of innumerable Horsemen, which they have in divers times burthened the World withall. That of the Tartars alone, if Authors report truly, easily makes credible that incredible number. The later expedition of the Tartars under Tamerlane, how monstrous doth it seeme?

See T. H. pa. 76.

Also, Their Horses having power in their mouthes and tailes, agrees to the manner of Warre used by those Nations, which used a conjoyned flight and fight, as before yee have read, that even then when they seemed to flye, they had Serpent headed tailes, and did flee but in cunning sleight, to returne to greater mischiefe, shooting also as they fled, and wounding their pursuers.

And as the number of foure, so sitteth their foure Doctors, foure Sects, foure Deluges; so also have they had foure principall places of residence, neere to Euphrates, Mecca still hallowed in their profane Rites, the seate of Mahomet and his first Successors. After that Damascus (for Jerusalem continued not their Imperiall residence) and after that Bagdet, to which by a contrary faction was opposed Cairo, succeeding herein to Cairaoan, as that to Tunis.

[II. viii. 1251.]

Likewise, foure great Nations doe still observe these Eufratean Angels, the Turkish (to whom the huge African tracts have some reference), the Persian, the Tartars (the chiefe of which is now seated in India, the Mogol successor of Tamerlan) and the Indian (in many smaller and specially maritime Kingdomes) depending for their

Faith and Scepter of the Arabians, which beginning with Trade proceeded to Conquest. But more then enough of these things. Wherein we see all plainly agreeing to this warring Religion, as in the former to the Romish Locusts; in both perhaps rather intimating the danger to Christians by both Angels (the one corporall, the other chiefly spirituall) then their time: both which wee see have continued so long a time, and spread so farre, that they thereby, the Moore aswell as Papist, plead Catholike from Universalitie. *See before Finches Journall.*

Yet if we will weigh the time, when both were likely to doe Christendome most harme, and like Samsons Foxes looking contrarie, held a fierie conjunction in their tailes, to set the World on fire; this Angell of the bottomlesse pit, puts us in minde of another Angell which came downe from heaven, having the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand, And hee laid hold on the Dragon that old Serpent, and bound him one thousand yeeres. And cast him into the bottomlesse pit, and shut him up and set a seale upon him, that he should deceive the Nations no more till the thousand yeeres should be fulfilled, and after that he must be loosed a little season. *Apoc.* 20. 1.

This is not a falling starre, but an Angell which descends; even Christ himselfe (which is called the Angell of the Covenant) and hath the keyes of Hell and Death, which entreth into the strong mans house and binds him (as Primasius, Andreas Cæsariensis, and other interpreters doe agree) that hee should not seduce the Nations or Church of the Gentiles, as before in a generall defection and idolatrie. But after that thousand yeeres expired, he should be loosed, not so long as in the Gentile superstitions, nor all so farre, but exchanging those prophane Idoll names (with greater wrong to Gods holy Angels and Saints) should in holier Names and shewes restore those Heathen Rites, Lights, Images, and other will-worships of Angels and dead men. Now, for a thousand yeeres after Christ, the state of Christs Church, though it were still after the primitive golden Age somewhat *Mal.* 3. *Apoc.* 1.

declining, as the Fathers and Ecclesiasticall Histories shew: Yet in substantiall and fundamentall points it continued sound, as Bishop Jewel in the mayne points of Controversie hath shewed for sixe hundred yeeres, and Bishop Usher for the foure Ages following, although these were much more corrupt then those former. Nemo repente fuit turpissimus: and it is true of mysticall Rome also, that it was not built in one day. But I had rather the Reader should examine this point in Bishop Usher his learned worke, de Christ. Eccles. Success. & Statu. I am more then enough busied in our Holy Land pilgrimage.

See D. Usher de C.E.S. & St.

Cedrenus mentions divers starres fallen, one An. 1033. which made a noise in the fall (cum sonitu & fragore) and another the next yeere, which in the night made so great a light, that people thought the Sunne had risen. He mentions also terrible Armies of Locusts, which brought miserable famine over those parts: as if God by visible signes would then warne men to observe these mysticall predictions, when they were to worke their most complete effects. The like is mentioned in the West by Floriacensis and others. An earthquake at Jerusalem destroyed many buildings, and men, continuing fortie dayes. The Temple of the Sepulchre had a little before beene razed by Azius, whose sonne permitted the reedifying thereof, and presently there resorted innumerable numbers; first, of the meanest; after of the meane sort, after of Kings, Prelates, Earles; and lastly, of women both noble and base. And when some questioned what this might signifie, it was answered, the comming of Antichrist. Once; from the thousandth yeere after Christ, till Hildebrands time, Anno 1073. hapned more frequent and prodigious signes in Heaven, Locusts, Famines, &c. on earth, then ever we read of, as Glaber and other Historians have recorded.

Glab.Rodulph. l. 4. c. 6. hist. sui temp.

And for those Hierosolymitan Pilgrimages in such numbers, what did they else but make way to these bloudie expeditions, after that Peter the Eremite had received a revelation thereof. Neither is it likely, that

this revelation was from any but the Devill (so many superstitious revelations, then more plainly arguing this loosing of Satan) which is a lyar and murtherer from the beginning, and can turne himselfe into an Angel of light, as appeareth by his fore-mentioned vanitie, by the monstrous impietie of his followers, in sacrileges and all abuses to God and Men, in almost idolatrie to himselfe. Whose attempts at Jerusalem, whatsoever lustre they sparkle forth, yet wanted not some sparke of Hell, in that they were so died in bloud, corrupted with spoiles, corrupting with superstition, and with neglect of their æconomicall and politicall calling. Christ himselfe had said, the true worshippers should worship the Father, not at Jerusalem, nor in that Mountayne, but in spirit and truth: for God seekes such to worship him. And although I denie not that a place dignified with holy actions or passions, may bee a Place to the memorie and affection exciting holinesse, yet for Religion of place to leave or neglect our place and calling in Religion, is superstitious; and to ascribe sanctitie to the place, is Jewish. Gregorie Nyssene hath written a whole Epistle against such Hierosolymitan Pilgrims, alledging, that it is neither commanded, nor is God present, or the holy Ghost any more there then in other places of Christendome; yea lesse, because more iniquitie is there committed, in no place more nor more abominable: that himselfe had beene there, but in the Churches affaires, and made this benefit thereby to know that their owne were more holy; with other like passages against that superstitious passage. Which might better be spoken of these Worlds of men, which travelled nothing from themselves and their vices in this Pilgrimage, as the stories testifie: yea Vitriacus Bishop of Achon, tells of the Christians which lived at Jerusalem, as if they were the worst in all the world. And what else were the Templers, and other their chiefe Warriours, but such as were, The neerer the Temple, the further from God, verifying that proverbe, Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare

[II. viii. 1252.] *Greg. Nys. de iis qui adeunt Hierosol.*

Sulp. Seu. l. 2. Beda in Mar. 13, &c.

currunt? The ancients thought that God suffered Jerusalem before to bee destroyed, for the further propagating of the Catholike Church, which liveth and walketh by Faith, and not by sight: id Domino ordinante dispositum, ut legis servitus à libertate fidei atque Ecclesiæ tolleretur. And sure, just one thousand yeeres after this ruine of the Temple lived Hildebrand, who began the Monarchie of the Church, in the deposing of Kings, which nothing ever so much effected as this disposing them first to serve the Crosse, and after the Crosse to serve to depose them. It savours somewhat of the Devills loosing, that they which are called Gods, hereby were so loosed from their charges, and their charges or subjects by Crusados loosed from them, loosed against them. Mirabilis spiritus, (saith Dodechinus Abbas in his Appendix to Marianus Scotus) illius temporis homines impulit ad illud iter aggrediendum. A mervailous spirit (the loosed Dragon, it seemeth) moved the men of that time. For women used mans habit and went armed. And he saith, that Peter the Eremite carried about a Scroll, which he said, was fallen from Heaven, commanding men hereto. Men, Women, and Children followed him, so as Kingdomes were void of Governours, Cities of Pastors, Streets of Inhabitants. They began their bloudie and disordered out-rages upon the Jewes, and after that used like hostilitie against the Christians in Hungarie (which had shewed them kindnesse) and other places as they passed, besides their uncleannesse, fornications, and abominations amongst themselves. Albertus Aquensis addeth; Bishops, Abbots, Monkes, Clergie-men, Nobles, Princes, and all the vulgar, aswell chaste as incestuous, Adulterers, Homicides, Theeves, Perjured, Robbers, and all the kind of Christian profession, and the Womankind led with penance (the fruits of which their Expedition declared) runne together at Peters preaching this way. He tells that Christ appeared in vision to Peter, bidding him carrie from the Patriarke, Letters of our Embassage, and thou shalt rayse the hearts of the faithfull to purge

Dodechinus, Guibertus, Albertus Aq. &c.

the holy Places of Jerusalem, and to restore the services of the Saints (officia Sanctorum.) For now by perils and many tentations, the gates of Paradise shall be opened to the Elect and Called. Leonem ex ungue. You may know by his Offices of Saints what Christ this was, and what Paradise was now set open, as also by Peters peoples proper successe, which being fortie thousand, and the first that went, after much villanie, perished by Christian and Turkish swords before the rest could come, not above three thousand being left. Godscalke Priest, led fifteene thousand with like successe.

But above all, they were so superstitiously devoted to Peter, that whatsoever hee said or did, was held subdivine, and they plucked off his Mules haires for Relikes (his hypocriticall abstinence, Robert the Monke hath before told you.) These are the words of Guibert an eye-witnesse, which never saw man so frequented with multitudes, so enriched with gifts (which he bestowed on his followers) so applauded for sanctitie. And which more encreased the wonder (he calls it a miracle) victuals being that yeere very deare, yet men sold their goods cheape to buy provisions deare for that way of God, as it was called. Yea, the men which to day laughed at men for this distracted devotion, to morrow were suddenly possessed with like instinct, and imitated those whom they had derided. Children, saith he, old Wives, tender Virgins, trembling old Men, devoted themselves to warres and Martyrdome: poore men carrying their small substance in Carts with their little ones, which asked at every Towne if it were Jerusalem. These and much more shall you read of the generall confused raptures of that Age. Fulcherius hath told you of sixtie hundred thousand, which under-tooke the way, most of which repented, or dyed, or were forced to stay. God is not a God of confusion: & quæ à Deo sunt, ordinata sunt. These confusions preach Babylon, and these raptures, strange instincts, strong, impetuous, mad zeale, revelations, and all abominations in all places, plainly proclaime that Hell was

Quicquid agebat seu loqueb. quasi quiddam subdivinum videbatur, præfertim cum etiam de ejus mulo pili pro reliquiis raperentur, Guib. hist. Hier.

1. *Cor.* 14. *Rom.* 13.

broken loose indeed: and the crie of bloud, and exaltation of superstition in Reliques, and the like crie out, that Satan was loosed.

When I read that Anselme esteemed the Alpha of his times for learning and sanctitie, gave so light credit to receive two haires, brought by a Souldier of Boamunds companie from those parts, with great joy and reverence, and to keepe them with great veneration, as two of the haires which the blessed Virgin plucked from her head at the Crosse in the time of the Passion: (two others the Bishop of Roan received with a long Procession of Monkes, Canons, Priests, People, with the greatest honor.) What may we thinke of the unlearned vulgar? Yea, his judgement of Relikes Eadmerus describeth, upon occasion of a Bone, said to be of Prisca the Martyr, given him, whom desiring more, Anselme restrayned, saying, that her body cannot bee entire so long as this Bone shall be wanting. Wherefore if thou shalt keepe it worthily, and shalt serve the Lady whose it is with what devotion thou canst, shee will accept the gift of thy service as thankefully as if thou shouldest serve her whole bodie. Of the Crosse you have alreadie read, upon what ground it was received (a superstitious Surians report, as the former on a Souldiers) how observed and served, and consequently how multiplyed. Once, Revelations caused adoration at Reliques, Crosses, Images, Pilgrimages, and the like; that is, the Devill was loosed a thousand yeeres after Christ, to seduce the Nations as before, to Ethnike idolatrie and superstition, all things fitted to Heathenish splendor, and himselfe with signes and lying wonders, working effectually in the children of disobedience; Ethnicisme in Rites and worships being restored, but Palliated with Christian names and shewes. A thousand yeeres* had passed after Christ, before the Reall Presence was decreed (more before Transubstantiation, Elevation, Adoration, Communion in one kind) before the Cardinals grew Kings fellowes, the Election of the Pope being devolved to them; before Canonists, and Schoolemen, the issues of

So Eadmerus which was his keeper of them, l. 4.

[II. viii. 1253.]

**Of the accesse to Papall power in that Age by Hildebrands decrees, &c. See D. Ush. ubi sup.*

Lumbard and Gratian, before exemptions of the Clergie from Kings, before Kings became Subjects to the Pope, before there were any Friars, before religious Orders were so divided, subdivided, multiplyed; before Indulgences, Jubilees, Canonizations, legall power of Decretals, Generall Councels of all Christendome called and ordered by the Pope, before marriages wholly prohibited the Clergie, before Saturday made our Ladies day, before Crusado's, Interdictments, Inquisitions, and other carnall and spirituall Monsters of crueltie. A thousand yeeres had passed before this present face of Poperie had once seene the World, or the World it; which after that time of the Devils loosing by degrees crept in, even the moderne Councell of Trent adding many things, and many things still added occasionally by Papall Constitutions to Popish faith. The smoke from the bottomlesse pit darkned the light of the Sunne to humane eyes: and this Papall Moone is ever in change, the Scriptures, as Cardinall Cusanus writes, altering their sense also with the practice & interpretation of the Church. Now indeed was the time when Antichrist was ascended his Throne, which had beene closely conceived in former and better times; for even in Pauls time the mysterie of iniquitie did alreadie worke, when some preached Christ of envie and strife, when the Pastors did not naturally care for the state of the Flocke, with a genuine, Fatherly and Pastorly regard; but all sought their owne and not the things of Christ; and that in Rome: so that whereas charitie seeketh not her owne, and God is charitie, and he that dwelleth in charitie dwelleth in God and God in him, the Devill had no fitter meane to under-mine the Faith, then by diverting charitie, perverting and subverting it with selfe-love and ambition. Which seedes lay hidden (onely now and then some motions and springings, as it were, in the wombe of the Roman Church, by some proud and wicked Popes testified both conception and quicknesse) till by Phocas his Mid-wiferie Antichrist was borne, above sixe hundred yeeres after Christ, and grew up by degrees

Card. Cus. Epist. ad Boh.

Phil. 1. & 2.

1. *Cor.* 13. 1. *Joh.* 4.

to further maturitie, till a thousand yeeres were expired, and the Devill was againe loosed in the Sea of Rome.

Of this loosing of Satan, see D. Ushers book, de Christ. Eccles. success. & statu.

These thousand yeeres, after some were expired in the thousandth yeere, when Sylvester the second was Pope, who had attayned the Seate by compact with the Devill, according to whose æquivocating Oracle he lost it and his life, saying Masse in Jerusalem, a Chappell so called, which he understood of the Holy Citie. The common expectation of those times was of the Devils loosing and the Worlds end, but seeing no such matter (for this was a mysterie, in which men could not see Wood for Trees) they fell every where on worke with building of glorious fabrikes of Monasteries and Churches. Of which Hilaries words deserve memorie: Cavete Antichristum. Male enim vos parietum amor cepit, malè Ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque veneramini: male sub his, pacis nomen ingeritis. Anne ambiguum est in his Antichristum esse sessurum? Wickliffe, White and Luther, with others of later times have applyed the loosing of Satan to that time. Otho the Emperour gave eight Cities to this Sylvester in Marca Ancona, for his more Papall Port.

Hil. cont. Aur. Arrian.

Others begin these thousand yeeres from Christs Passion, at which time another Conjurer Theophylact, called Benedict the ninth, was Pope, made at ten or twelve yeeres of age: at which time Authors tell strange reports of devouring Locusts in the East and West, and of a portentuous Dragon, appearing of a mile in length, huge bignesse, dreadfull with horrible scales, hissing, coldnesse, colours, without legs and feet, as Arnolphus an eye-witnesse testifieth, ending in terrible thunders all that day (the Friday seven-night after Whitsontide) and the next.

Others referre this loosing of Satan to Hildebrands time, another famous Sorcerer, so stiled (and therefore deposed) not by Benno alone, but by a whole Synode of Bishops, Anno 1080. He brought in the doctrines of Devills, forbidding the Clergie marriage (which caused great tragedies) and appointing Saturday fasts. Once; hee exalted the Papacie and Romish Church to freedome,

wealth, temporall Revenue, to rule over all secular Rulers, to be Lady of all Christians, from whom the right of this great, ever-dreadfull and venerable, and almost infinite power (they are the words of Onuphrius) hath proceeded. He first deposed the Emperour, and he tooke order for exalting this Urban* the second (the second Turban or Hildebrand) to the Seate. As for the manners of those times how degenerate they were, all the Authors which then writ, yea Tyrius the most famous Writer of these Holy Land warres, have delivered them beyond all parallel of all Ages for crueltie, oppression, ignorance, treason, and all abhominations of desolation; and like Priests like People. Let the Reader see these things more fully handled in Doctor Ushers learned worke. As for those which begin the Devils binding at Constantines time, and loosing with Boniface, one thousand and three hundred yeeres after Christ, they doe not well consider that from Gregorie to Boniface there was more effusion of Christian bloud, then had beene all the times of the ten Primitive Persecutions; not onely by Turkes, Tartars, and civill warres amongst the Christians; but also by occasion of the Warres called Holy, both in the millions which perished in them, and other millions by them through Indulgences against Emperours, Kings, Princes, States, Albigenses and all the Opponents whatsoever. And what are seventie to a thousand, whethersoever of these three opinions be followed?

*Victor the next Pope lived but a little while. [II. viii. 1254.]

§. II.

Of the foure meanes which Popes have to get monies: Of the two first, their Temporalties and Collations of Benefices.

FRanciscus Soderinus Cardinall of Volterra, a man versed in the troublesome affaires of the Papacies of Alexander, Julius and Leo, could counsell Adrian that reformation of manners was not the way to extinguish Heresies, raysed against the authoritie of the

Hist. concil. Trid. l. 1. published in Italian, and Latin, and Englished by Master Brent.

Church of Rome; but Crusado's, by exciting Princes and People to roote them out; that thus Innocent the third oppressed the Albigenses, and the succeeding Popes the Waldenses, Picards, Lionists, Arnoldists, Speronists and Patavines: that likewise many German Princes if they might have leave to seise on the States of Luthers favourers, would greedily embrace the condition; and many might bee caused to follow them by Indulgences. Neither could any reformation be made without diminishing the Rents of the Church, which having foure Fountaynes, the one Temporall (the Rents of the Ecclesiasticall state) the other three Spirituall, Indulgences, Dispensations, and Collations of Benefices; none of them could be stopped, but that one quarter of the Revenues would be cut off. You see here the foure Rivers of the Popes Paradise, the foure feete of the Beast, all which had either their beginning of being, or strength at least to support it about these times. For as for the Temporall Revenues, their originall is derived from the rebellion raysed against Leo Iconomachus, whom for abolishing Images, Pope Gregorie the second excommunicated, ac mox Italia populos Sacramenti (they are the words of Sigonius the Popes Historian) quo se illi obligaverant religione exoluit, & ne ei aut tributum darent, aut alia ratione obedirent, in dixit. Thus the People rebelled, killed the Emperours Lieutenants and sware subjection to the Pope. Ita Roma, Romanusque Ducatus ad Rom. Pontificem pervenit. So did Rome and the Roman Dukedome accrue to the Pope by treason (or by leasing, for Onuphrius a Papall Antiquarie esteemes it a tale) and having thrived so well by treason at home, he fared much better by like arts elsewhere: the French, by the Popes counsaile enthronizing Pipine, and deposing Chilperike: who with Charles his sonne were not unthankfull. For to omit Pipines devotion, his sonne Charles having subdued the Lumbards (which still were troublesome to the Popes, not permitting them well to hold what they had so ill gotten) left Apulia and Calabria to the Emperour

Car. Sigon. de reg. Ital. l. 3. A.D. 726.

Sig. l. 4.

(which the Normans after turned into another Kingdome) to others other parts, to the Pope he permitted the Exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis, the Perusine Dukedome, the Roman, Tuscane and Campan, jure, principatu & ditione sibi retentâ; reliqua ipse sibi nomine regni retinuit. The Right, Sovereigntie and Jurisdiction reserved, made the Pope no absolute Prince: and the acknowledging him Patricius Romanus, the making and Investiture by Ring and Staffe of Archbishops and Bishops in every Province, yea his choosing the Pope and ordering the Apostolike Sea, made him an absolute subject. And subjects they were till Hildebrands time, and their authoritie, saith Onuphrius, extended not further then matters of Faith, Cæterum Imperatoribus suberant, ad eorum nutum omnia fiebant, de eis judicare vel quidquam decernere non audebat Papa Romanus. Primus omnium R. Pont. Greg. 7. armis Nortmannorum fretus, opibus Comitissæ Mathildis mulieris per Italiam Potentissimæ confisus, discordiaque Germanorum Principum bello civili laborantium inflammatus, præter majorum morem contempta Imperatoris authoritate & potestate, cum summum Pontificatum obtinuisset, Cæsarem ipsum (à quo si non electus, saltem confirmatus fuerat) non dico excommunicare, sed etiam regno Imperioque privare ausus est. Res ante ea sæcula inaudita. Nam fabulas quæ de Arcadio, Anastasio, & Leone Iconomacho circumferuntur nihil moror. And thus whereas the Popes and the whole Clergie had beene exalted by Princes, they became Princes of their Princes; and in this Gregorie first* imitated David, which cut off Goliahs head with his owne sword, as Otho Frisingensis hath observed. Henrie the fourth King, the third Emperor of that name, was the subject of Gregories furie, a man for humilitie, patience, and many vertues much commended; yea, for bountie to the Church, as at Spire, Mentz, &c. and for valour tried in sixtie two battels, but so haunted with the evill Genius of the Papacie, ut rem religionis tractare sibi videretur quisquis in illum (you read our Malmesburie) arma produceret.

Onuph. in vita Greg. 7. col. 271, 272, see Aventine, and divers Authors, cited by D. Usher, ubi sup.

**Sigeb. Chron. hæc sola novitas, ne dicam heresis &c. Otho Fris. lego & relego Rom. regum & Imp. gesta & nusquam invenio ante &c. Otho Fris. Chron. lib 6. in sixe & prol. 7. Vid. lib. de vita Henr. written by one of that time, Malmsb. l. 3. de Reg. Ang.* [II. viii. 1255.]

The temporall power of the Pope, was much increased by the great Legacie of Countesse Mathildis, (as a little before by the gift of Otho to Sylvester) and by taking advantages in the Norman and other occasions: which they held with uneven fortunes, and not so quiet that Rome it selfe could well brooke it (which caused divers of them to live at Avinion for about seventie yeeres) and was not secure to them till the time of Boniface the ninth, a man composed of the worst vices and best fortunes, as Theodorike à Niem, one of his Courtiers observeth; who first, in alto & basso (saith he) temporale dominium habuit, quod contigit ex dissensione civium Romanorum. So Platina, Primus populi Romani vim omnem in Pontificem transtulerit, creatis suo nutu Magistratibus omnibus, munitaque Sancti Angeli arce, &c. Once, how ever they got this Papall Duchie or temporall Kingdome, they had never kept it but by their Spirituall Empire and Monarchie, and that branch especially which lookes to Jerusalem. For the generation of the Popes Temporalties in Italie, (now valued by some above divers Kingdomes) arose out of the corruption and ruine of the Empire, the Emperours being Kings aswell of Italie as Germany, crowned* not only at Aquisgrave or Germanie, but at Milan for Italie, and at Rome for the Empire. But the Empire decaying by the Popes stratagems, by bandying factions against the Emperours, by inciting them to Holy Land Expeditions (to their great weakning) by exciting the World against them for neglect, by taking opportunities in their absence at home, by seeking to betray them there, by applying and employing the Crusados and Indulgences, (yea, sometimes as before yee have read of Conrade) greater indulgence against them, or theirs then against Saracens, (most of which Matthew Paris hath delivered of Fredericke the Second) besides, Monies raised, by Tenths, Lones, Impositions, and specially by releasing Vowes for Holy Land Expeditions, to maintayne Armies against them; hence the Imperiall Rent, Guelph and Gibelline long and bloudie division, and the Emperour quite deprived of

Theod. de. Schif. l. 2. c. 13.

Plat. de vit P. in Bon. 9.

**See Bot. and Booke of Estates by E. G.*

Italie, and so little left him of Germanie, in Germanie also. Thus hath the Pope turned his Keyes into Picklockes, into Swords, into Scepters, exercising his Spirituall unlimited power, Extra anni solisque vias (saith* one) to all parts of the World: yea, and if there should be found out more Worlds, as Democritus dreamed, this Dreamer addes that they should all be under Papall Jurisdiction. This hath no Hils, Seas, or Rivers for boundaries, but is without Horizon or limitation. And this power hath two Functions to rule; and to provide against dangers of Wolves, both vicious and hereticall persons, as also Princes either malignant or negligent. For seeing that Princes have original from Elections of the people, and this power is confirmed by mutuall Oathes of Prince and people, and God hath given all power of binding and loosing of Oathes to the Pope: therefore Botero concludes all Temporall Princes subject to the Popes censure, which Ordine ad Deum, in pretence of defence the Church hath raised such Tragedies in the Christian World.

*Botero 2. part. l. 4.

Now for Collations of Benefices, these partly depend of his Temporall Sovereigntie, and partly are wrung and extorted from Temporall Sovereignes and Patrones, under pretence of their Simoniacall bestowing them. This the pretended quarrell of Gregorie to Henrie, and of his Successors to the next Henrie, and all other Christian Princes. Eadmerus was present at the Roman Councell of Pope Urbane, and heard his words excommunicating all Lay-men giving, and all Ecclesiasticals taking Investitures at their hands, and all which consecrated such so invested (a custome which had continued many Ages) and all which for preferments of the Church did homage to Lay-men, Dicens nimis execrabile videri, manus quæ in tantam eminentiam excreverint, ut quod nulli Angelorum concessum est, Deum cuncta creantem suo ministerio creent, & eundem ipsum pro redemptione & salute totius Mundi Summi Dei Patris obtutibus offerant, in hanc ignominiam detrudi, ut ancillæ fiant earum manuum quæ die ac nocte obscœnis contagiis inquinantur, rapinis &

Ead. Novorum lib. 2. Vid. Selden Annot. ad eund. Malmesbur. &c.

injustæ sanguinum effusioni addictæ commaculantur. He addes; His præsentes fuimus, hæc conspeximus, his ab universis fiat, fiat, acclamari audivimus. Thus you see the Reall and Corporeall Presence (that men may know what benefit accrueth to the Pope by that Doctrine) is made an argument of devesting Princes of Investitures, and making of Prelates: both first confirmed in that Age, the one by Pope Nicholas against Berengarius, the other
2. *Thes.* 2. 4. by Gregorie and Urban: thus opposing and exalting himselfe above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, that is over all powers Civill and Ecclesiasticall (called Gods) and over God himselfe, whom here he professeth to be created by his creature: a three-fold cord of power, all broken by one blast of the Pope.

How stifly King Henry stood for his Investitures, and how Henry the Emperour warred and captived the next Pope Paschall for them, Eadmerus, Malmesbury, and others then living testifie, the Pope swearing and starting from his Oath in that case. Neither is it likely that the Popes had thus made all Bishops and Abbots depend upon themselves, without acknowledging homage to their Princes, usurping so evidently al Ecclesiastical Supremacy, had not the civil combustions on one side (as here under King Stephen the first King which discontinued them) and exhaustions into the Holy Land on the other side, made the Pope dreadfull, whose breath could thus lead the Westerne World into the East. Thus did the Pope usurpe a Monopoly of the Keyes by Elections, Postulations, Translations, Reservations, Provisions, Unions, Permutations, Accesses, Regresses, Coadjutories; by Compositions for Palls, Crosier Staves, Miters, Rings; personall Visitations by Bishops and Abbots of the
[II. viii. 1256.] Apostles staires; by making his Cardinals,[a] (which in this Age first grew to be Giants and men of renowme, and as I said, Kings fellows, being before but Bishops, Priests, & Deacons,) able to carrie it out in pomp and Majestie as befits the Apostles of Christs Vicar; and by inriching his Kindred, Countrymen, Officers, and Favorites with the

[a] *The Pope can make his Cardinals rich and himselfe by their creation, both by*

best Benefices and Prelacies in every Countrey, (whereof let the Reader informe himselfe in Matthew Paris, of that Ægyptian Babylonian servitude in his time, as also of his imposing summes of money to bee given out of these, and if they had it not, to be taken up of the Caursines (Out-landish Papall Usurers, at abominable rates) Tenths, First-fruits, Thirds, Fifthes, and I know not what Annuities and Pensions, yea, the open and shamelesse sale of these at Rome (read Theod. à Niem a Courtier to many Popes, of Arts beyond what Simon, or Magus, or the Devill himselfe had ever heard of, if it could be Simonie which the Popes did, who forsooth could not sinne as their flatterers said) and lastly, by making Lawes in all these and other Ecclesiasticall affaires to remayne to all Generations, whereby the Clergie was exempt from Kings, not Kings from their Clergie; yea, forced out of their means and Lands, to maintayne the subjects of another Soveraigne; every Monasterie being a Castle, every Cathedral a spirituall exempt Citie, every Prelate the Popes Captaine, and to whom also they were particularly sworne. Consider this legge of the beast, and consider Monstrum horrendum, informe, conceived long before, in receiving Appeales from all parts, but borne in that Smoke from the bottomlesse pit, when Satan was loosed; nor ever could have growne to full age, if Indulgences had not strengthned the Popes, to tread under foote all[b] Aspes and Basiliskes (so they esteemed gaine-saying Kings and Emperours) nor were Indulgences of any force at all in this kinde before this Expedition, when and whence spring their unexpected puissance, and thence the Popes, as shall anone appeare.

money for that dignnity, and by al their former Benefices falling to him.

Theod. a N. l. 2. c. 7, 8, 9, 10. & d.

[b] *The words of P. Alexander, treading on the Emperors necke. Super Aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabis, &c.*

Besides, the Easterne Patriarkes which before these warres, held of long time in many Ages no communion with the Popes of Rome, by this meanes became subject to him, Antiochia first, then Jerusalem, and after that Constantinople it selfe (Romes Corrivall) being subjected and subdued by these Expeditions from the West; and I know not what Genius, both in the East and West, making

the Bishops in seeming most religious, make this a part of their Religion to quarrell with their Kings, (and one with another for superioritie of their Seas) and goe to the Pope for refuge, as is seene in Anselme of Canterburie, Thurstan of Yorke, and others, and especially Thomas Becket, whose murder in that quarrell, construed to a Martyrdome, and rewarded with a Canonization, did super-exceedingly advance and advantage the Popes power over Kings; furthered by the emulation of the French King against the English, which instigated the Bishop first, after the Pope; lastly, his owne sonnes against him, honouring the new Saint also with personall Visitation, Offering and Pilgrimage. Also Daibert the first Westerne Patriarch of Jerusalem, taught his Successors this Lesson, who went to Rome to complaine of his King; William an Englishman, first Latine Archbishop of Tyre, and William, the Authour of the Holy Land History, with others must needs fetch their power from Rome: and the Easterne Empire beeing before weakened by the Saracens and Turkes, now engirt on both sides by the Westerne Frankes, the heart and bowels being also by civill dissentions embroyled, it must needs follow that by the fall of her Competitor, Rome must arise, sit alone and reigne as a Queene; Whose ambitious neglects, hath since betrayed that whole Empire to the Turke.

See the stories before related.

§. III.

Of Dispensations.

BUt Temporalties and Benefices were but the hinder legges, of this Babylonicall Beast, for stabilitie; Dispensations and Indulgences were the two forelegs, more active for pray and puissance. And these also now began to bee of vigour and strength in the Church to Papall Monarchicall intents and purposes. As for Dispensations it is true, that there was some use of them in the ancient Church: it beeing necessary that as in the Temporall, so in the Ecclesiasticall Republique, there

Ground and reason of Dispensations.

should be according to conducent circumstances, a qualification of rigid (which differing times may esteeme rigorous) Canons. Even the Ceremonies of Divine Law yeelded to the necessitie of Charitie, as in Davids eating the Shewbread, justified by Christ himselfe, who preferres Mercie to Sacrifice. How much more in the milder times of the Gospell, and in the Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, not given immediately by ministerie of Angels; nor to a Jewish Pinfold, or one compendious people, and that for a set time till Shilo came; but to a Sea of peoples, by ministery of men, without limitation of time; may the difference of times, manners, and men require a dispensing by change or suspension by connivence, making the best harmonie of Mercie and Judgement: No man puts new wine into old vessels: nor were later, weaker times fitted to the severitie of the Ancients, which were both more holy, and by necessitie were forced for want of the Temporall Sword, to whet the Spirituall sharper. Neither can men see all circumstances which may arise, nor are all men or times of one constant tenor. Summum jus, summa injuria: The wringing of the Nose bringeth forth bloud, the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife. Charitie covereth a multitude of offences, is weake with them that are weake, and burneth when others are offended, maketh us all things to all: yea, casts forth the wheate into the Sea to prevent shipwracke, notwithstanding a promise of deliverance. Hence new Parliaments, Statutes, Edicts; hence later Councels, Synods, Canons.

[II. viii. 1257.]

Pro. 30 *ult.* & 10. 1. *Cor.* 9. *Acts* 27.

But what is this to the Popes Non obstante? a plenitude of power to dispense with Oathes, Vowes, and whatsoever Divine or Humane, standing in the way of his Monarchie? True it is, that above foure hundred yeares before this time, Gregorie Bishop of Antioch did dispense with the Oath of the Armie, which said, they had sworne not to admit Philippicus their Commander, alledging the Episcopall power of binding and loosing: but this was to prevent, not to invent Treason; to reduce to, and not

Evag. l. 6. *c.* 12. *In malis promissis rescinde sidem, in turpi veto muta decretum.*

seduce from loyaltie & subjection to their Emperor. In these times first were the Keyes of the kingdom of heaven, pretended by Peters pretended Successor, to exclude the Kings of the earth, with Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodulpho, setting up one & putting down another Emperor at Papall pleasure. Little did Dispensations before availe the Papacie (except in enlarging the Phylacteries of his spirituall power, in admitting Appeales, and making himselfe a Busie-bodie, and Interloper, Magnus Ecclesiæ ardelio) but now the Cedars of Libanus quaked with feare of fire from the bramble, when Dispensations with the Oathes of Subjects, had deposed Henry the victorious Emperour, by the Ministerie of his owne Sonne. In vaine did that Sonne seeke afterwards to stop the current in taking the Pope Prisoner: Sero medicina paratur; his Fathers Example might teach him to feare some Absolom, to imitate himselfe.

Jud. 9.

And especially Dispensations were brought into request, by the quest of the Holy Land: when large Merit and larger Indulgences, Priviledges, Praviledges attend the Vow, and taking the Crosse on the one side; and larger summes fill the Popes Coffers on the other side by the Popes dispensing: when some Friars goe before to preach the Crusado and holy Warre, other Friars are sent after with Faculties to dispense for so much money, as the Expedition would cost you, leaving you no lesse merit with a great deale more safetie, ease and pleasure at home: when the Pope can thus prostitute the zeale of Christians, to let and set it to Farmers and Undertakers, as to Richard Earle of Cornwall, (whose summes this way gotten were incredible, able to make way to his Imperiall Election) when the like Dispensations are bestowed as Papall favours to repaire the broken state of others: when Dispensations raise up new Locusts from the bottomlesse pit; not only exempting some principall Monasteries from Episcopall Jurisdiction, as the Popes peculiars under Saint Peters immediate protection (and hee thus obliged the chiefe Colledges of the chiefe learned men of those times, to

Nummus ait pro me, nubit Cornubia Romæ.

maintayne that power which priviledged them) but Chapters of Cathedrall Churches, whole Orders of Religion, as the Cluniacensian and Cistercian Congregations; and after that the Orders of Friars in their severall swarmes, dispensing to them, not only Exemptions from Bishops, but power to build Churches, to receive Confessions, to preach in all places, to be Bishops in every Diocesse, and Curates in every Parish; at once Papall Lords by Dispensations, and Mendicants by Vow and Profession. Yea, every pettie Priest might obtayne by his Purse an exemption from Episcopall power. And lastly, new Dispensations, and new Priviledges have hatched a new Ignatian Societie of parti-coloured Leopards, Regular-Secular-Clergie-Lay-Fathers-Friars-all-things-nothing.

See hist. Conc. Trid. page. 221.

Thus Dispensations made way to get monies by Sales; Friends by Gifts, Patrons by patronizing (Forts and Armies of Learned men in Abbies, Covents, Colledges, Congregations, Orders) yea, they robbed the Church of her Officers and Labourers; it being now a glorious vertue for Bishops and Priests to forsake their flockes, and in stead of Spirituall warfare against the Devill, (by preaching to cast downe, with weapons not carnall, imaginations and every high thing exalted against the knowledge of God) to imbrace this carnall against the Turks, walking in and warring after the flesh: yea, they were dispensed with for non residence mean-while, and to receive or lay to pawne the fruits of their Benefices for that three yeares, no lesse then if they were resident. So Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, made a Pilgrimage thorow England and Wales, to winne Pilgrimes for this warre. Pope Gregorie had excommunicated Fredericke the Emperour, for not going to the holy warres, as he had vowed: hee went and did gloriously, as you have read alreadie: but the Hospitulars and Templars pursuing the Popes quarrell sought to betray him to the Soldan, (a perfidie odious to that Infidell) and in his absence the Pope sets John de Brunes, to conquer and subject his Sicilian Dominions. For quarrels of those Templars, and

2. *Cor.* 10. 4. *Concil. Sur. tom.* 3. *pag.* 754. *Mat. Paris. Hen.* 3. *pag.* 911. *in Concil. Lugdu. Of Baldwins Itinerarie, Giraldus hath written a book.*

others, he is againe excommunicated; and the third time by Innocent in the Councell of Lions: Omnesque (saith the Pope therein) qui ei juramento fidelitatis aliquo modo astricti vel obligati, à juramento hujusmodi perpetuò absolvimus & liberamus, authoritate Apostolica firmiter & strictim inhibendo ne quisquam de cetero sibi tanquam Imperatori vel Regi pareat, vel quomodo libet parere intendat. Decernendo quoslibet qui deinceps ei, velut Imperatori vel Regi, consilium vel auxilium præstiterint (could the Devill have roared lowder against Charitie?) seu fautorem, ipso facto excommunicationis vinculo subjacere, &c.

[II. viii. 1258.] To palliate this Dispensation of Oathes, and electing a new Emperour, the Holy Land businesse was also a goodly covert, where besides the Dispensations to beneficed Priests (after this Expedition, given to all such as could pay the price, insomuch, that John Mansell had foure thousand Markes of Ecclesiasticall Revenue in those dayes of Henry the Third, and others incredible purchases in that kind of pluralities) he authorizeth Bishops to excommunicate and interdict the Lands of such as having received the Crosse did not performe their vow. All Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and such as have cure of soules, are enjoyned to preach this word of the Crosse to their Cures, to goe or send Souldiers thither for remission of their sinnes. Crossed Detters are freed from paying Usuries, although bound thereto by Oath, &c.

**Non obstante was a clause, signifying notwithstanding, that is notwithstanding any Canon, Law, Promise, Priviledge, &c. he would dispense, and they might do the contrarie.*

And thus treasonable Dispensations beganne by Hildebrand, grew up to strength and maturitie by this Holy Land businesse, and both Laitie and Clergie at once were exempt from oaths, vowes, and bonds to God and Men. Hence grew that Non obstante,* so often mentioned by Matthew Paris, for the grievances whereof the whole Parliament sent Anno 1246. Messengers or Legats, to Lions to treate with the Pope, and for which that Lincolne Bishop Robert Grosted (whom the Westerne Church admired for Learning and Sanctitie) both writ to the Pope, and on his death-bed proved him to be Antichrist. He

affirmeth also that the King undertooke to sweare with most solemne Ceremonies of Candle curse, that which hee observed not, in confidence of the Popes Dispensation: yea, falsified his owne, and frustrated his Progenitors Acts and Grants in professed imitation of the Popes Non obstante: vowed this Holy Land Expedition, and sware where hee had no meaning to doe any thing, but get money of his people; part whereof might procure Papall Dispensation. Yea, hereby the Popes have obliged Kings, States, and Kingdomes to them, by dispensing with oathes, with Marriages in degrees forbidden, or having other wives living, so that their Posterities stand obnoxious to the Pope for feare of illegitimation.

In the first of these the Pope by Temporalties became a temporall Prince by Treason to his Prince; in the second by Collation of Benefices, hee became universall Bishop, swallowing the power of all Bishops and Churchmen, and of Princes over them, into a Papall Whirle-poole, which he confirmed by Lawes, sitting in Ecclesiam (as it was prophesied of the Man of Sinne) as representing the whole Church, invested in her whole power, which under him as under covert Barnes was no person in Law, but hee answeres all in Law, and is himselfe in his written Decretals, and in his present Consistorie, the speaking Law of the Church: In this third, he is more then Law, cutting asunder the Gordian knot, by Dispensations, if he cannot by Glosses, and qualifying Interpretations untye it, above Law, above the Church, above God, above himselfe by his Non Obstante, in fulnesse of power disanulling all their acts hindering his acts and present purposes. And whatsoever hath beene by former Popes, by Councels, by themselves ordained for reformation, una falsa lachrymala quam vix vi extorserit, one goodly pretence forced to some shew of equitie, shall with a Dispensing Non Obstante, turne to serve his turne, and bring money to his Coffers, though purposely devised against it.

See abundant testimonies hereof in Conc. Lat. sub Jul. 2. & Leon. 10.

Thus dealt he with Commenda's (devised for the good

of the Church, which was commended for a time to some other fit Rector, till a proper Rector and worthy might be procured) to a longer time, yea, to terme of life, for the goods, not the good of the Church. Even after Luthers preaching Pope Clement commended to Hyppolitus all the Benefices of the World, Secular and Regular, Dignities and Parsonages, Simple and with Cure, being vacant for sixe monethes, to beginne from the first day of his possession, with power to dispose of, and to convert to his use all the fruits. Yea, this Cardinall de Medicis (which plucked out the eyes of his brother Julius whom his Mistris loved more then him for his eyes sake) continued to hold the Archbishopricks of Milan in Lumbardie, Capua in the Kingdome of Naples, Strigonium in Hungarie, besides the Bishoprickes of Agra in Hungarie, Mutina, and Ferrara in Italie, places so far distant. Unions devised for the Churches provision in the insufficience of one living, by adding some neere one, were stretched to thirtie or fortie whersoever lying, as if the good not of the Church, but of the person had beene intended.

Hist. Conc. Trid. pag. 251.

Guicciard. hist. lib. 6.

Matthew Paris in his time tels that the Pope sent to the Bishops of Canterbury, Lincolne, and Salisbury, to provide three hundred Romanes in the Benefices next vacant, giving none other till these were provided, which never meant to come at any cure but of the money. Yea, when they dyed other Italians succeeded, so that their receits in this kind, far surmounted the Crowne Lands: and after complaints to the Pope, and the fore-mentioned Councell so zealous of the Holy Land, the case was worse, as it hapned to the Israelites by Pharoes Taxe-masters, swelling from sixtie to seventie thousand Markes. Clement the sixt reserved for two Cardinals, which hee had lately made, the Benefices void and to be next void, besides Bishoprickes, and Abbeyes, to the summe of two thousand Markes, which in the valuations of those times, might one with another be two hundred, forsooth, for these Princepes mundi, consiliarii nostri (so saith Pope Pius of his Cardinals) & conjudices orbis terrarum,

See Rain. and Hart. 7. 6.

T. Walsingham in Ed. 3. *Sac. Cer. Ec. Rom. lib.* 1. *f.* 8. *c.* 3.

successores Apostolorum circa thronum sedentes, Senatores urbis & Regum similes, veri mundi Cardines, super quos militantis ostium Ecclesiæ voluendum ac regendum est. Thus Cardinall* Wolsey is said to have had more Revenues, then all the Bishops and Deanes in England now.

*Hervologia Anglica.

In the Councell of Trent (which pretended to reforme, intended to palliate, if not further to pollute with abuses, at least in the greater and Papall part) the Pope could not indure the question of Residence due jure divino, which the Spanish Bishops urged, and in the question of Dispensations had Adrian a Dominican Friar, to defend his absolute and unlimited power; and though he dispensed without cause, the dispensation was to be held for good, alledging that of Saint Paul, that Ministers are Dispensers of the mysteries of God, and to them is the dispensation* committed (his paterne was the Dispenser or Steward, Luc. 16. which is said to deale wisely, as the Pope did in the Master piece of their skill, this whole Councell) and though the Popes dispensation in divine Law be not of force, yet every one ought to captivate his understanding, and beleeve that he hath granted it for a lawfull cause, and that it is temeritie to call it in question. Laynez, the Generall of the last Locust-brood (the* Jesuites) said, that to say the Pope cannot by dispensation disoblige him who is obliged before God, is to teach men to preferre their owne conscience before the authoritie of the Church, that it cannot be denyed that Christ had power to dispense in every Law, nor that the Pope is his Vicar, nor that there is the same Tribunall and Consistorie of the Principall and the Vicegerent; so it must be confessed that the Pope hath the same authoritie: that this is the priviledge of the Church of Rome, which it is heresie to take away, &c. that it belonged not to the Councell to reforme the Court, because the Scholar is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. And thus must all men dispense with Romish Dispensations: and thus it comes to passe that the Popes Exchequor is like unto the

[II. viii. 1259.] *Hist. conc. Tr. l.* 7.

1. *Cor.* 4.

**A glosse contrarie to the Text, as if Dispensing the Word, were concealing or cancelling it.*

**Hist. conc. Tr. lib.* 8.

Theod. Niem. Nem. un. tr. 6. *c.* 37.

Sea, into which all Rivers runne, and yet it runnes not over, as one observed which served long, and well observed the reserved courses in the Popes Court.

F. Sansovino del gov. de diversi regni.

Neither is it amisse to heare Sansovino tell the manner of dispensing Dispensations at Rome, in his eleventh Booke, written wholly del Governo della Corte Romana. The authoritie of the Pope (saith he) as the Head, disperseth it selfe into so many members, that the Courtiers use to grow old before they understand that government. There is first, the Colledge of Cardinalls, the Head whereof is the Pope (therefore called Maximus) and the Cardinals members; of which the number is not certayne in our times, howsoever it is found that in former times there were but twelve. These Illustrious Fathers assemble once a weeke, which Assembly is called the Consistorie; in which Senate are appointed Bishops, Archbishops, Metropolitans and Patriarks when the Seas are void, whose election doth not belong* to a Chapiter, Citie, Province, King, or other person: in which case they are chosen by the Pope and this Senate. Here they treat of all things which belong to Worship, to Faith, to Religion, to the peace of Christendome, to the temporall estate of the Church of Rome. In this sacred Senate (as the greatest in the World) all Provinces, all Regulars, and all Kings, have their Fathers Defenders, which they call Protectors, who propound the causes of their Provinces, &c.

**Even in these the Pope hath made provisions at his pleasure, as in many Archbishops of Cant. &c.*

For the Penitentiarie, he addes, that all the World seekes to the Pope for many graces in that matter, which our Lord Jesus Christ left unto Peter, to wit, of loosing and binding in earth whatsoever he will. Now this part being by the Pope reserved to himselfe; that other is accustomed to be granted of him, that is, that of loosing, to one of the Cardinals, who is called the chiefe Penitentiarie, who for so much as appertaynes to that which is common in the divine Law, and to his Absolution, exerciseth the Jurisdiction committed to him by the Pope by many Vicars and Substitutes, called Penitentiaries (or Penitentiers) divided thorowout all the greatest Churches

Note how meane Gods Lawes are to humane in Rome.

of Rome, as Saint Peters in the Vatican, Saint John de Lateran, Saint Marie Major. But the Dispensations which are made touching observation of humane Lawes, he granteth not but in some cases, and by himselfe. And by a generall commission from the Pope he heares Sutors in such affaires, and having seene their Demands, if there be any cause* for which the Sutor meriteth to be heard, and that which he requireth hath beene accustomed to be granted by the Pope; he writes by authoritie Apostolicall and of his Office, and not by the Popes mouth but by that generall commission in his Letters of commission from the Popes mouth, hee affirmes, and his Assertion is beleeved as in a thing belonging to his Office, and rescribes alway to the Supplication on that side directed to the Pope in one of these formes, fiat in forma, fiat de speciali, fiat de espresso, with which varietie of wordes he lets the Taxers understand the importance of the Suit: and as the Rescript of the Penitentiarie differs in forme, so the taxes of the payments are altered by the Officers. And in these times the multitude of humane Lawes is so increased, both by the Pope, and by Councells, and by Monasteries, that men being in some sort bound, desiring their ancient libertie, have recourse by way of Supplication to the Penitentiarie, who having signed the Suppliants Bill with his hand, they dispatch the Bulls under his Name and Seale. And for that many times hee doth not write backe precisely, requiring some attestation of the Suppliant, hee appoints Judges by his writing, which taking knowledge of the Cause, perfect the Act; and herein he appoints others in his place. And this holy Office of the Penitentiarie, for the greater commoditie of them which come for Expeditions hath foure and twentie Defenders of Suppliants, which are called the Proctors of the holy Penitentiarie. These as Advocates declare the Contents of his Suite, and as it were plead the Cause before the Penitentiarie, of whom they procure to obtayne their Suite, and to get their Bulls dispatched. He useth also to rescribe in many Causes appertayning to Justice, and as it were alway to

*Quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi.

The fruit of many Canons and Lawes Ecclesiasticall, publike and private.

grant in the one kinde and in the other, here under noted, Dispensations matrimoniall in degrees forbidden by the Law* of Man, legitimations of Children; Dispensations in respect of them, or for want of members due to such as are to receive Orders or Benefices; also for incompatabilitie of more Benefices. Absolutions from homicide in Foro Conscientiæ; for Clerkes in both Courts, with retention of Benefices and Dispensations for more. The like for Simonie, for Exile, moreover from an Oath for the effect of the operation, from false Oathes, commutation of Vowes, and Licences from observation of any humane Law, and especially of Regulars from any Chapiter (or Article) of the Lawes of their Rules. He gives Indulgences to places and persons; and moreover, infinite Commissions in forme of Law, as namely, the Declaration of the Nullitie or Invaliditie of Marriage, which are called Declaratorie: and in many other things which are knowne to them that practise in the Ecclesiasticke Courts.

**This the reason of their strict law: as for the Law of God, as in Henry the eight &c. the Fee is too great for the Penitentiarie.* [II. viii. 1260.]

They doe every day demand the Subscriptions from the Pope of such things as come from his voluntarie and proper liberalitie, as the grants of Benefices and other things, which are also generally committed to the Great Penitentiarie, and all matters which pertayne to Justice in things Ecclesiasticall thorow all parts of the World, as also in things profane of the temporall patrimonie of the holy Church of Rome, and of any other place of the World which have recourse to the Court of Rome, by reason of the person being Ecclesiasticall, or by Princes sending it, or by consent of the parties. The Pope for the more easie dispatch of Sutors in all these things, hath ordayned two Audiences, in one of which they demand matters of Grace, in the other those of Justice.

Officers and Counsellors of the Popes state.

But for these and the like Officers, the Vice-chancellor, the Audience of the Chamber (as it were his privie Counsel) the private dispatches by the Secretarie, the Chamberlan (which hath power in the Temporall State) Treasurer, Advocate, Proctor, Commissaries, Marshalls (to

one of which the Whores of the Citie pay a yeerly Taxation, which they call Tribute) I omit and referre the Reader to the Author. The last he mentions is the Vicar of Rome, who hath the same authoritie which the Pope hath over the Priests in all things, in Rome and in the Diocese, hearing all Clergie cases as Ordinarie; imposeth Penance, conferreth Sacraments, calleth Congregations, visits Churches and Monasteries, makes Inquisition, correcteth, punisheth, remooveth and giveth Benefices: his authoritie extends fortie miles out of Rome, in some cases. The Pope hath also given him all those Pontificalia, which every Ordinarie exerciseth in his Diocese, as to consecrate places profane, to reconcile such as are profaned, to promote to holy Orders, to punish Blasphemies, Usuries, Perjuries, Incests: and in case of corporall punishments to send them to the Secular Judges. He hath foure Notaries or publike Scribes, and two Vicars substitute. So farre is the Pope degenerated from a Bishop in any thing but Title, and using that onely, that through covetousnesse with fayned words he might make merchandise of men, as turpilucricupidus, a lover of filthy gayne (even that of Curtezans filthinesse) yea, of the soules of men, which are reckoned among the Babylonian wares of these Merchants of the earth. And what else are these dispensations thus abused, but soule-sale, which is made more evident (is any thing more impudent then a Whore?) by their Taxa Cameræ, a Booke published in print, whereby men may know the prices of their Absolutions for Simonie, Sodomie, Incest, Homicide, and other the Master and Monster sinnes and degenerations of mankind. In which marke also, that being breaches of the Law of God, an inferior Penitentiarie by his Booke of Taxation can absolve, but those crimes against humane Lawes require the chiefe Penitentiarie to turne the Law into a Net, and become a good Sponge-man to exenterate his purse more thorowly.

Vicario di Roma.

2. Pet. 2. 3.

Apoc. 18. 13.

Soules sold, whiles their sin remaynes, though their mony be gone; yea is increased with boldnesse and frequency in hope of Dispensations: sinnes being thus made both veniall and venall. Bud. de Asse. li. 5.

And as Rome by Dispensations is made a Merchants shop, Litium officina capturarumque improbarum, where

are kept perpetuall Marts of Sacriledge, which make sinnes not onely Veniall but Venall; and Golden Canons become Lesbian Rules by Papall Leaden Bulls, flexible and pliant according to the price and banke of the Romish money changers: so by Indulgences hath she beene indulgent to all her Chapmen (except they wanted money) and hath made them the foundation of the Tower of Babylon; in this, Indulgences and Dispensations agreeing that nothing hath more raysed, nothing more razed her gorgeous and glorious Fabriques; Henrie the eight, upon the one occasion forsaking wonted commerce with Rome, and Luther by the other provoked to open his mouth so wide and loud, that he awakned all Europe to behold her filthy whoredomes. And if any thinke the later times either more Casta, or more Cauta, let him observe what Novus Homo, an unknowne Supplicant of Rome, hath revealed touching the mysteries of the Datarie (the Office where matters of Benefices are dispatched) where the bestowing of Benefices is deferred, that inquirie may be made of the richest Competitors; each Living is charged with a pension of halfe, or a third, or two thirds of the worth, and then by another Ordination by present payment of five yeeres purchase extinguished. As if the Benefice bee worth three hundred crownes a yeere, a pension is imposed of two hundred, leaving one hundred for the Incumbent; who paying one thousand crownes and a hundred more for Seales and Expedition, buyes repentance at a deare rate. The Regressus and Expectativæ forbidden by the Councell of Trent, are deluded with Coadjutorships, sold for a yeeres profit in colour of expediting Bulls, with assurance of future succession: by which and like meanes (you may not call that Simonie which the Pope doth; and it is disputable amongst them, whether the Pope can commit that sinne, although the very name come from Simon Magus his seeking to contract with Simon Peter) Paul the fifth is reported to have extracted out of his Lead twentie hundred thousand Scutes, to buy Lands for his Nephew (or sonne) Borghesius. The truth of which, by

Novus homo, in a Supplication by a Romish Catholike to his Majestie, Englished by M. Cr.

the Registers (saith the Author) in the Office of Bettus, a publike Notarie, in a particular kept secret, appeareth. [II. viii. 1261.]

§. IIII.

Of Indulgences.

THus have we seene the Popes Temporalties, arising from Conspiracies against Emperours, his Collations from the spoile of all Kings and Princes of their Investitures, in pretence of Simonie, to further intensions and extensions of Simonie; his Dispensations, Factors and Bawds for Compensations, by this Man of Sinne, which thus sinned and kept a Trade, Shop, Mart, Sale, and gaine of Sinne: but that which had least shew of reason, and yet was the right fore-legge of the beast, whereon he had surest standing, whereby he had securest holding his prey, wherewith he made strongest fights against his Adversaries, was Indulgences. And whereas the River of the Popes Eden, is parted into foure heads, this first compasseth the whole Land of Havila, where there is Gold, and the Gold of that Land is good. Of which the Author of the Historie of the Councell of Trent, relateth that this manner of gaining Money was put in practise, after Pope Urban the second had given a plenarie Indulgence to all that should make war in the Holy Land; imitated by his Successors, some of which granted it to those that maintained a Souldiour, if they went not in person. And after, the same Indulgences or Pardons were given, for taking Armes against those that obeyed not the Church of Rome, although they were Christians: and for the most part, infinite exactions were made under those pretences, all which, or the greater part were applied to other uses. Thus Pope Leo the tenth, 1517. sent an Indulgence thorow all Christendome, granting it to any which would give Money and extending it to the dead; for whom his will was, that when the disbursement was made, they should be delivered from the paines of Purgatorie: giving also power to eate Egges

Gen.2.10.11.
Hist.C.T.l.1.

Originall of Indulgences.

and Whitmeats on fasting daies, to chuse themselves a Confessor, and other such like abilities. And although the execution of this enterprise of Leo had some particular neither pious nor honest, notwithstanding many of the Grants made by the preceding Popes, had causes more unjust, and were exercised with more Avarice and Extortion. He distributed part of the Harvest before it was reaped or well sowne, giving to divers persons the Revenues of divers Provinces, and reserving some also for his owne Exchequer. The Indulgences of Saxonie, and from thence to the Sea, he gave to Magdalene his Sister, Wife unto Francescheto Cibo, Bastard Sonne of Innocent the eight; by reason of which marriage, this Leo was created Cardinall at the age of foureteene yeares. She to make the best of it, committed the care of preaching the Indulgences, and exacting the Money unto Aremboldus, a Genoa Merchant, (now a Bishop and Merchant too) who found Ministers like unto himselfe, who aymed at nothing but game: which would not use the Hermite Friers (as had beene the custome of Saxonie in this case) but Dominicans, which to amplifie the value, spake many strange things; and in Tavernes, games, and other things not fit to bee named, spent that which the people spared from their necessarie expences, to purchase the Indulgences.

Occasion of Luthers preaching.

By this meanes Martin Luther an Hermite Frier, first began to speake, first against these new abuses; and after being provoked by the Pardoners, he set himselfe to studie this matter, being desirous to see the rootes and foundations of the Doctrine of Indulgences. He published ninetie five Conclusions herein, to be disputed on in Wittenberg, which none accepted: but John Thecel proposed others contrarie in Frankfort of Brandeberg. Luther proceeded to write in defence of his, and John Ecchius to oppose; and these Writings being gone to Rome, Sylvester Prierias, a Dominican Frier, wrote against Luther: which contestation inforced both the one and the other partie to passe to other things of greater importance. For the Doctrine of Indulgences having not beene well

examined in former Ages, the essence and causes of them were not well understood. Some thought they were nothing but an absolution made by Authoritie of the Prelate from Penance, which the Church in most ancient times imposed by way of Discipline upon the penitent, (which Imposition was assumed in succeeding Ages by the Bishop onely, after delegated to the Penitentiarie Priest, and in conclusion left wholly to the will of the Confessor) and that they delivered us not from paying the debt due to the Justice of God. Others thought, that they freed from both. But these were divided: some thinking that they freed us, though nothing were given in recompence, others said, that by reason of mutuall participation in charitie of the members of holy Church, the Penance of one might bee communicated to another, and free him by this Compensation. But because it seemed that this was more proper to men of holy and austere life then to the authoritie of Prelates, there arose a third opinion, which made them in part an absolution, (because authoritie was necessary for them) and in part a Compensation. But because the Prelats lived not in such sort as they could spare much of their Merits to others, there was made a treasurie in the Church, full of the Merits of all those who had more then would serve their owne turne: the dispensation whereof is committed to the Pope, who when he giveth Indulgences, recompenseth the debt of the Sinner, by assigning so much in value out of the Treasure. It being opposed that the Merits of Saints being finite, this treasure might be diminished; they added the Merits of Christ which are infinite: which caused another doubt, what needed those drops to this Ocean; which gave cause to some to make the Treasure to be onely of the Merits of Christ.

Doctrine of Indulgences unknowne. Divers opinions of them.

Effects of the opinion of merit and supererogation.

[II. viii. 1262.]

These things then so uncertaine, and had no other foundation then the Bull of Clement the sixt, made for the Jubilee, 1350. Wherefore Thecel, Echius, and Prierius, laid for their ground-worke the Popes Authoritie, and Consent of the Schoolemen, concluding that the Pope

not being able to erre in matters of Faith, and himselfe publishing the Indulgence, it was necessarie to beleeve them as an Article of Faith. This made Martin to passe from Indulgences to the Popes Authoritie, &c.

Pope Adrian the Sixt.

After Leos death, Adrian succeeded, who being a Devine, had written in that matter, and thought to establish his Doctrine by Apostolicall Decree, that is, that an Indulgence being granted to one which shall doe such a Worke, the Worker obtaineth so much of it as is proportionable to his Worke; thinking Luthers objection thus answered, (How a peny could gaine so great Treasure) and yet Indulgences remaining in request, seeing he that hath not all, hath his proportionable part. But Cardinall Cajetan told him it was better to keepe this secret, lest the Popes grant might seeme to profit nothing, that Indulgences are but absolutions from Penance imposed in confession onely: and if he would restore the disused penitentiarie Canons, men would gladly seeke Indulgences. This being proposed in the Penitentiary Court, Cardinall Puccio, Datarie to Pope Leo, a diligent Minister to finde out Money, (which had counsailed Leo to those Indulgences, and was now cheefe Penitentiarie) related to the Pope with a generall assent the impossibilitie; that those Canonicall Penances were gone into disuse, because they could be no longer supported for want of the ancient zeale, whereas now every one would be a Judge and examine the reasons; and in stead of curing they would kill. At length the Cardinall of Volterra proposed the way to extinguish Heresies, to bee not by Reformations, but by Crusados, (as is said before.) And in the Councell of Trent, when Indulgences came to bee examined, the Bishop of Modena told them they would finde it difficult, and to require a long time, it being impossible to make that matter plaine, but by determining first whether they be Absolutions, or compensations onely and suffrages; or whether they remit the penalties imposed by the Confessors onely, or all that are due; whether the treasure be of the Merits of Christ onely, or of the Saints also; whether

Mysterie.

Hist.C.T.l.8.

they extend to the dead, or though the receiver performe nothing; with other difficulties. But to determine that the Church may grant them, and that they are profitable to those which worthily receive them, needed no great disputation, and a Decree might be composed without difficultie: and hee with other Frier Bishops was deputed to make a Decree in this sense, adding a provision against the abuses.

Thus farre have we gleaned out of that fertile Cornefield. As for that of Clements Jubilee Indulgence, it is not amisse to recite some part, in which every Pilgrime to Rome hath power granted, to chuse his Confessor or Confessors, to whom hee gives full power to absolve all Papall cases, as if the Pope himselfe were personally present: and if he dies in the way being truly confessed, that he be quite free, and absolved from all his sinnes: and moreover, wee command the Angels of Paradise that they carrie the soule into the glory of Paradise, being fully absolved from Purgatorie. Theodorike a Niem speaking of Boniface the ninth his Indulgences, saith that his pardoners got in some one Province by sale of them, one hundred thousand Florens, releasing all sinnes to such as were confessed, even without Penance, Dispensing for Money with irrigularities, &c. Yea, some Pardoners descended sometime (saith Gascoigne) to take for them a supper, a nights-lodging, a draught of Wine or Beere, a game at Tennis, and sometime a venereall Act. Pope Alexander the sixt gave thirtie thousand yeares Indulgence, for the saying of a certaine Prayer to Saint Anne. And Julius his warring Successor gave large Indulgences to every man which should kill a French-man, with whom he had Warres. Others to Stations, Rosaries, Crosses, Churches, Images, Graines, Pilgrimages, Prayers, throwing Wood into the Fire to burne Heretickes, and other like parts of Faith and Charitie. But let us come to the Originall of this sinke.

Tract. de Jub. Jo. Phesteo ap. Morn myst. Iniq. pag. 1036.

Theod. l. 1. *c.* 68. *Plat. in Bon.* 9. *Krantz. Metrop. l.* 11. *c.* 10.

T. Gasc. in Diction. Theol.

Some ascribe their beginning to Pope John, about the yeare 880. which yet is but giving his opinion of them

Jo. Epist. 144.

that die in Warre against Infidels, not an Indulgence to any. Petrus Damianus tels of Monks, redeeming Penances with Psalmodies, and selfe-whippings, redeeming a yeares penance with a thousand stripes, and five thousand stripes with once singing the whole Psalter, with other voluntarily imposed taskes. Sigonius tels of Pope Alexander, about the same time, Anno 1071. consecrating the Church of Cassinum, and giving great Indulgences to all present; which brought thither most Italian Princes and Bishops, and Agnes the Empresse. Some tell of Gregorie the first, in the time of publike Pestilence, enjoyning a publike kind of Penance, the Letanies, and Stations or visiting on set daies certaine Churches, with prayers for deliverance, and remission to be given by the Priests, to such as penitently confessed their sinnes. These Stations gave occasion to Boniface the eight, of proclaiming his Jubilee every secular yeare in imitation of the Secular games, which Clement reduced to fiftie, and Sixtus Quartus to five and twentie. These Jubilees begunne in Anno 1300. have Indulgence generation, Jewish and Ethnicke imitation, which the other have little Commerce with, as being void of Commerce. Bishop Fisher of Rochester writing against Luther, doth more fitly make Indulgence, a Daughter of Purgatorie Family: Quamdiu enim (saith he) nulla fuerat de Purgatorio cura, nemo quæsivit Indulgentias. Nam ex illo pendet omnis Indulgentiam existimatio. Si tollas Purgatorium, quorsum Indulgentiis opus erit? Cæperunt igitur Indulgentiæ postquam ad Purgatorii cruciatus aliquandiu trepidatum est. And indeed Purgatorie hath beene the gainefullest fire to the Pope, and as a painefull-gaine-foole Mother, might well procreate this Daughter: both issuing from conceit, that temporall punishment remaineth to be satisfied, after the fault of sinne remitted. Therefore have they invented that Treasurie of the Merits of Christ and the Saints to bee this way employed, a name fitting the nature, being the best Treasurie, (for externall Treasures) which ever the Pope had; in warre to pay

P. Dam. ep. ad Petrum cereb. & ap. Sur. Oct. 14. *vid. Spalat. rep. Eccles. l.* 5. *c.* 8. *Sig. de Reg. Ital.*

P. Virg. de In. rer. li. 8.

Ludi sæculares.

Roff. art. 18.

[II. viii. 1263.]

Souldiers, warring in his cause, at their owne costs, in peace to fill his Coffers. But let us looke to a purer generation, whereof this is the corruption and degeneration.

When as in the first times of the Church, onely feare of God and Ecclesiasticall Discipline held men in awe, the Magistrates being Ethnicke; severe Canons, and sincere Zeale held things in order. And if men transgressed, yet either for intension of their superabundant sorrow, or for encouragement and provocation to Martyrdome, or in danger of death relaxation was made and Indulgence; the Church receiving some satisfaction for the externall scandall, and beleeving that God for the merit of his Sonne, and propense mercy was satisfied also in that sacrifice of a contrite heart and broken spirit; God graciously accepting that Care, feare, clearing of ones selfe, zeale, indignation, desire, and revenge, (the affects and effects of true repentance) and the Church imitating the mercy of the heavenly Father; as wee see in the incestuous Corinthian. This satisfaction did not by merit redeeme, but in Faith and Penance appease him, being reconciled in his Sonne; for he sheweth Mercy (not Merit) to thousands in them that love him and keepe his Commandements: he turning to them when they turne to him. Indulgences and Dispensations were adulterously commixed to destruction of this both publike and private Penance, when men were taught in stead of a Contrite heart, to give a contrite purse; and in stead of satisfying God, (to use that word) that is, appeasing and meeting him by repentance, doing what he exacts and expects; or satisfying the Church in her Sanctions, by externall humiliation, testifying internall humilitie and conversation; to put over all to a Jubilee and Plenarie Indulgence. Which if they bee good, why doth not the Popes Charitie freely give what he freely received? What greater Simonie then sale of Merits, the chiefe graces of the holy Ghost; yea, of Christs owne Merits? And what shall become of this Treasurie after the last day?

2. *Cor.* 7.

Adulterous commixtion of Indulg. and Dispens.

Let Bellarmine and Valentianus alledge the communion

of Saints, and other Scriptures of seeming supererogation, as Col. 1. 24. and the power of the Keyes, yet doth Valentia confesse their novitie, whence followes their invalencie and vanitie. Once; their Money-valencie and Man-valency, was not begun before by Gregorie the seventh against the Emperour, as is said, and by Urban heere applied to the Holy Land Warre. Yea, these of Urban did but give occasion to the after Popes, to make them so strong pillars of the Babylonicall Tower, the Indulgences being then but Calves, which after grew to be Bulls, as appeareth by the various reports of this his Speach, and Act in the Councell of Claremont. I have read seven or eight severall Orations, written most of them by men of that time, and some professing themselves present, which yet have made it the triall of their wits, what they could, or else have added what Urban at divers times, did say or write, or other Popes after him: the later composing themselves to their own times, when Indulgences were common and current. You have heard Robertus and Fulcherius already. Baldricus the Archbishop being present, delivers that part of his speech, which looks this way in these words: Confessis peccatorum suorum ignorantiam, securi de Christo cœlestem pasciscimini veniam. Guibertus, peroraverat vero excellentiss. omnes qui se ituros voverant, (in his long Oration I find nothing to this purpose) Beati Petri potestate absoluit, eadem ipsa authoritate Apostolica firmavit, &c. Malmesbury had it of those which heard it in this sense, Ituri habentes per Dei concessum & beati Petri privilegium omnium absolutionem criminum, & hac interim lætitia laborem itineris alleviant, habituri post obitum fœlicis martyrii commercium. Vitriacus Bishop of Acon, Omnibus in remissionem omnium peccatorum peregrinationem injungens. William Archbishop of Tyre thus, Nos autem de misericordia Domini & Beatorum Petri & Pauli authoritate confisi fidelibus Christianis qui contra eos arma susceperint, & onus sibi hujus peregrinationis assumserint, injunctas sibi pro suis delictis

Greg. de Valent. de Indulg. vid. Spal. l. 5. c. 8.

Vid. Gesta Dei per Francos.

G. Malm. l. 4. Baronius hath the same. Jacob. de Vitriac. hist. Jer. W. Tyr. hist. l. 1.

pœnitentias relaxamus. Qui autem ibi in vera pœnitentia decesserint, & peccatorum indulgentiam & fructum æternæ mercedis se non dubitent habituros. M. Paris after them, & more fitted to Indulgences, Nos autem de Omnipotentis Dei maximè & BB. App. ejus Petri & Pauli authoritate confisi, ex illa quam nobis (licet indignis) Deus ligandi atque solvendi contulit potestatem, omnibus qui laborem istum in propriis personis subjerint & expensis, plenam suorum peccatorum, si veraciter fuerint corde contriti & ore confessi, veniam indulgemus, & in retributione justorum salutis æternæ pollicemur augmentum. Thus the later, perhaps from some later Popes,* which after Urban had broken the Ice, gave further Indulgence to the spirit of Indulgences, til (like the Frog in the fable) they cracked themselves in sunder with swelling. Some you see mention only the merit of the worke, some adde the power of the Keyes in loosing, or absolving from sinne in the Conscience, others absolution from enjoyned penances (by the Confessor) the last to a plenary Indulgence, yet at most but an absolution and that from penall Canons, as it were by commutation of penance, in stead of that imposed by the Ghostly Father, or Canonicall sentence of the Prelate, undertaking in person, or by purse in maintenance of another this peregrination. Upon this timber they soone after built hay and stubble, which hath by Luthers kindling set Rome on fire.

*Matth. Paris his very words are in Pope Gregories Indulgence granted, Anno 1234. and before that in Cælestine and Innocent.

In following times, this Expedition and Indulgences thereof, were followed by the opinions of satisfying God for former sinnes or imputations (as in Henry the Second for Beckets murther) to be expiated by this Warre. Secondly, of freeing of others soules hereby out of Purgatory. Thirdly, of freedome from Oathes, as is before mentioned out of the Councell of Lions. Fourthly, of Immunity of persons and goods, as of Priests to be absent, and yet taking the profits of their Livings for three yeares present, and to be free from payments; Laymen freed from Collections, Taxations and other publike grievances. Fiftly, against private Sutes, their persons and goods

[II. viii. 1264.] *See of all these Mat. Paris and the Relations before recited.*

after the Crosse received, to be under Saint Peters and the Popes protection, and the defence of the Church, by speciall Protectors appointed, that till their returne or death certainly knowne, none might meddle with them under paine of Excommunication (a good proviso for Bank-rupts.) Sixtly, the proportion of this Indulgence to the proportion of ayde or counsell (concilium vel auxilium) or money that way employed. Seventhly, the Suffrage and Prayers of the Synod, that this Journey might profit worthily to their salvation. Eightly, power for all whomsoever but Regulars to goe, though unfit; redeeming, changing, or deferring it by the Popes grant. Likewise, they increased sinne by this meanes, Murtherers, Theeves, Adulterers, Bank-rupts, and others having the Holy Land for refuge against Law, and for safety of them and theirs, yea, for Merit and Indulgence; that becomming hereby the very sinke of sinne, confluence of all villanie, the heart and centre of abomination: as appeares in Vitriacus and others.

Hurts in Faith and Manners by these Expeditions, and Pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

And as morally, so also doctrinally, Purgatorie, Merit, Supererogation, Superstitious Pilgrimages, and the like, tooke further rooting by these Holy Land Expeditions; but especially the Popes power hereby increased in and over Kings and Kingdomes, thus intermedling, perverting and preventing courses of Justice by his Indulgence-Buls horned with Excommunication: by imposing this Expedition on Kings as Penance: by exhausting their Treasures, Souldiers and Forces; by busying them farre off, whiles he and his might take and make oportunitie to adulterate all at home: by pushing with these hornes of Indulgences against Kings themselves; without other force, employing the forces of one Prince against another, and of their owne subjects against their Sovereignes. So was King John forced to surrender his Crowne, and take it of the Pope in farme, the French and his owne being armed against him: so Conrade, Memfred, Ladislaus, and other Kings of Sicil; George, King of Bohemia, &c. By this was the Imperiall Eagle plucked and stripped, greater

Pope grew great by Holy Land warres.

Indulgences being given, that more money might bee gathered to maintayne with Holy Land money, his warre against Fredericke the Emperour; sending simple Messengers with Legatine power, which by Commanding, Minacing, Excommunicating, Preaching, Praying, besides, his white white Bull, which might moove stony hearts (melting out their metall) as to succour the Holy Land, indeed, to ruinate the Emperour. For which cause he had procured a Tenth, of Clergy and Laity in many Kingdomes;* and that with strict Inquisition of the value to the Popes best commodite, even of the fruits before the Harvest, present pay to bee made under paine of Interditing and Excommunicating: which made the Prelates sell their Chalices and Church goods, that I mention not the usurers his Chaplen, and Agent Stephen had to byte, slay and devoure the flocke with further exactions. This was Gregorie the Compiler of the Decretals. These moneyes the Pope gave to John de Bresnes, to warre against the Emperour then in the Holy Land, and forced thither by the Popes Excommunication. He extorted also a fifth of beneficed Forreiners for that purpose, & absolved his Subjects from their Allegeance. And when some expostulated with the King of England, for suffering his Kingdome to be made a prey, He answered, I neyther will nor dare contradict the Lord Pope in any thing: so that hee obtayned a fifth in England: and after that, sent Peter Rubeus to new un-heard of execrable exactions by lyes and cavilations. What shall I tell * of Rustandus, which was sent to gather new Tenths, and to exchange the Kings Vow for the Holy Land, into a Sicilian Expedition against Memfrede, with equall Indulgences? Yea, greater Indulgences are granted to such as would warre against Christians, if the Popes Enemies, as before you have read, then in the Holy Land against the Turkes.

M. Paris, p. 535.

**Pag.* 653. *of all Christendome.* *Pag.* 485.

Pag. 703.

**Pag.* 1219.

Contrary to Indulgences are Interdictments, as Samsons Foxes having a fierie conjunction in their tayles: of which Hildebrand is noted first Author; by which, if a Prince offended, his Subjects and whole Dominions were

**Spalat. de rep. E. l.* 5. *c.* 9.

Interdicted, that is in Papall Interpretation, a publike Excommunication was denounced against him and his, and all externall publike Holies suspended. You shall have it in Mat. Paris his words of King John, who being offended that the Pope had rejected from the Archbishopricke of Canterburie, the Bishop of Norwich, whom the greater and sounder part of the Monkes in due solemnity, by the Kings consent had chosen, obtruding one of his Cardinals Stephen Langton upon him, whom he refused: the Pope caused the Bishop of Ely and Worcester, to denounce his Interdict, which was also contrary to Papall Priviledges observed. There ceased therefore in England all Ecclesiasticall Sacraments (except confession, and housell in danger of death, and Baptisme of children.) The bodies of the dead were carried out of Cities and Villages, and buried like Dogges in by-wayes, and Ditches without Prayers and Ministerie of the Priests: whereupon divers Bishops forsooke his Land and such combustions followed, that the Pope excommunicated him (which was denounced by the former Bishops) after which hee absolved his Subjects from their Alleageance and prohibited them in paine of Excommunication to avoyd his table, counsell, conference. All which yet were of no great force till the dismall sentence of deposition, nor that but by Indulgences and Crusados.

M. Paris, pag. 302. & seq.

[II. viii. 1265.]

For the Pope writ to the French King Philip to undertake the execution, for the remission of all his sinnes; and expelling the King of England, to hold the Kingdome of England to him and his Successors for ever. He wrote also to all great men, Knights and Warriours in divers Nations, that they should signe themselves with the Crosse for the dejection of the King of England, following the French King in this Expedition, labouring to revenge the quarrell of the universall Church. Hee ordained also that whosoever should bestow his goods, or helpe to expugnate that obstinate King, they should remayne secure in the peace of the Church (even as they which visit the Sepulchre of our Lord) in their goods and persons

and suffrages of soules, (or deliverance of soules out of Purgatory.)

The issue whereof was, that great provisions were made on both sides, King John having at Barhamdowne, threescore thousand armed men, besides a strong Navy at Sea: the French on the otherside was come to the Sea with his owne and the English, an innumerable Army, when Pandulfus the Popes Legate craftily sent to him to satisfie the Pope, which he could no way doe but by resigning his Crowne and Kingdome, to receive it againe in fee farme of the Pope, doing him homage, and paying him rent: which when the King had granted, Pandulfus sought to perswade the French party to peace, and the English to returne. The French hereupon stormed, invaded the Earle of Flanders, King Johns Confederate, who now with his forces succored him with five hundred ships, which tooke three hundred French shippes richly provided, and burned one hundred others: the French being crossed in a double sense, not without great effusion of Christian bloud: the Pope ayming at his owne designed greatnesse, to use the French against the English, and the Subjects against their Prince; as afterward taking the Kings part against his Subjects, and excommunicating the French, that as in the Fable, he might play with both, and pray on both; spending themselves in mutuall emulations.

Miserable warres and bloudshed of Christians by Papall procurement.

Yet would not his Subjects obey him, providing great forces to invade France, till the Sentence were released: whereupon he entertayned Stephen, and the other Bishops falling at their feet with teares, desiring them to have mercy on him, and the Kingdome of England, who thereupon absolved him, swearing to the conditions propounded: his Designes against France, through that delay prooved frustrate notwithstanding. In the Pope and his Bishops, he found so little certainty that he sent Embassadors to the King of Morocco, offering vassallage to him, if he would protect him; which being refused, knowing (saith the Author) that the Pope was above all mortall men ambitious and proud, and an insatiable thirster after

King abased to his subjects.

money, and waxen, and prone to all villanies, for bribes or promises, he sent him Treasure, and promises of more, and alway to bee his Subject, if hee would confound the Archbishop, and excommunicate the Barons whose parts he had before taken; that he might so imprison, disherit and slay them. Innocent was contented to be thus nocent, and released the Interdict, which had continued sixe yeares, three monethes and fourteene dayes, to the irreparable losse of the Church in Temporals and Spirituals. The Pope taking part now with the King, hee had opportunitie to revenge himselfe of his Peeres, who hereupon raysed Civill Warres, and sware themselves to the French Kings Sonne, England remayning thus on fire, till the death of King John, (which hapned amidst these flames) to the terrour of his Successors in so daring attempts against the Pope.

Interdict of six yeares and three moneths.

And thus you see what Crusadoes and Indulgences could doe in those dayes, in and over this Kingdome: Interdicts can intend and pretend nothing, but raysing Discontents and Rebellions, as if God should impiously be deprived of his worship, and men uncharitably of the meanes of their salvation, for one mans fault, if a fault, if not the Popes only fault as well as tyrannicall punishment. For Gods Law forbids the fathers eating sower Grapes to set the childrens teeth on edge, and the sonne to beare the fathers fault, but the soule that sinneth shall dye: which the Venetian lately understood, and nobly vindicated against the Pope, as King John would have done, if the times had beene answerable. But Indulgences you see heere, were the Executors and Executioners of the Popes fury, even to the subjection of the most unwilling Kings and Kingdomes, which is the Masterpiece of Popery in the getting. And for the keeping and mayntayning this Monarchie, Crusadoes and Indulgences stayd not heere, but by the same Innocent (the first Decreer also of Transubstantiation) was extended against the Albigenses, or Waldenses, then reputed Heretikes, (as wee now are by the Papists) and condemned for those

Interdicts; how unjust.

Ez. 18.

Albigenses, or Waldenses.

Doctrines, which they had learned out of the Scriptures against the Papall Pride and Superstition. Other things are ascribed to them, as now to us by the Jesuits, with like Truth and Charity, as out of their owne Authors which best knew, is evident. As Urbans intent had beene against the Antipope, which his Successors after followed, so Innocent and other Popes disposed the Crosse and Indulgence against those which mayntayned the Truth of the Gospell, and in all likelihood had but for this opposition, ruined the Papacie. He sent Preachers (sayth Matthew Paris in whose steps we still insist) unto all the Regions of the West, and enjoyned Princes, and other Christian people for remission of their sinnes, that they should signe themselves with the Crosse to root out this pestilence, and opposing themselves to such mischiefes, by force and armes should defend the Christian people. He added also by authoritie of the Sea Apostolike, that whosoever to expugnate them, shall undertake the enjoyned labour, should remayne secure aswell in their goods as persons from all incursions of enemies. At this preaching, so great a multitude of men which tooke the Crosse assembled, as is not beleeved at any time to have met together in our Climate. But wee will learne this businesse of others which better knew it.

Pag. 322. *A.* 1213.

[II. viii. 1266.]

Poplinerius saith, the Waldenses against the will of all Christian Princes (so did the Apostles against the will of Ethnike Princes, (and Princes called Christians, were now made drunke with the Whores cup) sowed their Doctrine, little differing from that which the Protestants now embrace, not only thorow all France, but almost all the Coasts of Europe. For the French, Spaniards, English, Scots, Italians, Germanes, Bohemians, Saxons, Polonians, Lithunians, and other Nations, have stiffely defended it to this day. One of Innocents Decrees in the Councell of Lateran, which also decreed Transubstantion, is, that if a Temporall Lord being required and warned by the Church, shall neglect to purge his Countrey from hereticall filthinesse, the Bishops shall excommuni-

Pop. hist. Fran. lib. 1. *fol.* 7.

Tom. 4. *Concil. Edit. Rom.* 1612. *pag.* 44.

cate him: if he continue so a yeare, let it be signified to the Pope, that he may free his vassals from their alleageance, and expose his Land to bee occupyed of Catholikes, which may possesse it without contradiction, the Heretikes being rooted out, &c.

Umbert. serm. p. 2. Ser. 64. See D. Usher de C. Ec. Stat. c. 8. 9. 10. Sabel. En. 9. l. 6.

Indulgences were preached in this sort, the Text, Psal. 94. 16. Who will rise up for mee against the evill doers, &c. or the like applyed to the people: You see beloved, how great the malice of Heretikes is, &c. Therefore the holy Mother Church, though unwilling, calleth against them a Christian Armie. Whosoever therefore hath the zeale of the faith, whosoever is touched with the honour of God; whosoever will have this great Indulgence, let him come and take the signe of the Crosse, and joyne himselfe to the Christian Souldierie. Some thinke that the Crouched Order of Crucigeri, was then comfirmed by this Innocent; many Crossed, and going to or returning from Syria, winning the Popes favour by their Exploits against the Albigenses. I might adde the Orders of Militarie Knights, as Templars, Hospitulars, and others which hence had their originall, and were so potent in wealth and numbers, that they could beard Kings, and had their dependance and priviledges of the Pope.

Military Orders, lay Fraternities and Friers. See Usher, pag. 261. Inquisition begun. Jun. Ep. dec. l. 1.

Dominicke Author of the Dominicans, preached to convert with the word, and had helpers with the Sword, to expugnate those which his word could not. These were called, Fratres de militia B. Dominici, and they and their wives were a certaine guilde, called the Brethren and Sisters of Penance of Saint Dominicke. Likewise, the Office of the Inquisition was instituted by this Innocent, charging the Bishops in remission of their sinnes, to receive his Commissaries, and to assist them against Heretikes, drawing forth the Spirituall Sword against those which were by the Inquisitors named; and let the Laymen confiscate their goods, and cast them out of their possessions. And whosoever should devoutly assist them, we grant that Indulgence of their sinnes which we grant to those which visit the staires of Saint Peter, or Saint James.

This he wrote in behalfe of Rainer and Guido. But after this Inquisition was delegated to Dominicke, for the Countries of Provence, who raysed this Dominican Order, (ordure) whose chiefe care should be against Heretikes: he somewhat verified the Popes Dreame, seeming to stay the Church of Laterane, beeing readie to fall, which the Franciscans apply to Saint Francis. And indeed, had not these in this Age upheld the Lateran Babylon, together with the Schoolemen,[a] the best of which were Friers, and the Canonists; it is likely the Albigenses, Waldenses, Pooremen of Lions, Inzabbatati, (other names they give them) had then ruined it, they then with like Arts, Dispensations, and Reputation doing that, which since Luther and Calvine the Jesuites have laboured.

[a] *Most of the chiefe Schoolmen were Dominicans or Franciscans.*

The new Locusts * supplanted the former Clergie, exercised Penances, Unctions, Baptismes, and began two Fraternities, wherein they received men and women so generally, that scarsly any were free: the people being unwilling to heare others preach; that the Priests were defrauded of their Tithes, and had not to live: the Churches now retayning nothing but a Bell, and old dustie Image. The Friers began at Cottages, and now have Kings Houses and Palaces erected, and having no riches are richer then all rich men, whiles we begge, &c. These became acute Schoolemen, Sententraries, Questionists, Summists, Quodlibetists, and I know not what irrefragable, subtle, Angelical Doctors and Disputants, bringing in Oppositions of Science falsly called, languishing about Questions and strifes of words: these made Divinitie a Linsey wolsey garment; not as their Master of Sentences, of Fathers and Scriptures; but admitted Aristotle free of the Divinitie Schooles, and ploughed with an Oxe and an Asse, their Miscelan fields.

* *Pet. de vin. l.* 1. *Ep.* 27.

1. *Tim.* 6.

These Dominicans and Franciscans were appointed also, Inquisitores hereticæ pravitatis, and made many bloudy Sacrifices, for their unbloudy Sacrifice, and other Popish Heresies in pretence of Heretical pravitie: growing into such numbers, that Sabellicus numbred of Dominicans,

Sabel. En. 9. *l.* 6.

one and twenty Provinces; twentie foure thousand, one hundred forty three Covents, and in them Fryars entred, fifteene hundred Masters or Doctors of Divinitie, in all twenty sixe thousand, foure hundred and sixtie. Of Franciscans, forty Provinces devided into Warden-ships, Covents, and Places; the persons innumerable, conjectured threescore thousand. Yea, the Generall promised to Pope Pius of bodies able to serve in his intended war against the Turke, thirty thousand Franciscans, thirtie thousand Augustine Friars, the Carmelites more, and other Orders I mention not, nor can I number these Locusts.

[II. viii. 1267.]

Pag. 561. Matth. Paris inveigheth often against the insolencie of these Friars and their Papall priviledges, odious to the Monkes and Secular Clergie. They were (saith he) Counsellors and Messengers of great men, Secretaries of our Lord the Pope, getting hereby Secular favour: quarrelling about prioritie of Order, that in three or foure hundred yeeres the Monkes had not so degenerated, as these within foure and twentie yeeres after their first Mansions in England, whose buildings now grow Royall Palaces. They wait on rich men dying, extort Confessions and secret Testaments, commending themselves and their owne Order alone, sollicitous to get Priviledges; in the Courts of Kings and great men, Counsellors, Chamberlans, Treasurers, makers of Marriages, Executors of Papall exactions; in their Preachings bitter or flattering, Revealers of Confessions, Contemners of other Orders, accounting the Cistercians Semi-laikes and Rustikes, the blacke Monkes proud and Epicures, seeking to be entertayned as Legats or Angels of God in their preaching. And if a man were confessed of his owne Priest, what say they, of that Idiot, ignorant of Theologie, the Decrees, Questions? they are blind Leaders of the blind: come to Us, we know to distinguish leprie from leprie, know hard, difficult things and the secrets of God: whereupon Noble-men and Ladies entertayned them, contemning their owne Priests and Prelates. And to returne to Indulgences, These were the Popes

Pag. 823.

Pag. 921.

Pag. 1017.

Publicans, preaching the receiving of the Crosse (giving notice of such preaching before-hand, and entertayned by the Clergie in Vestments with Banners and Procession) to all Ages, Sexes, Conditions, to the Sicke and Aged, the next day for money absolving them from their vowed Pilgrimage. But I am wearie of this stinking sinke of hypocrisie, which for the World denyed the World, the Flesh for the Flesh, and obeyed to such enormous rebellions.

Yet let us examine the Indulgences against the Waldenses, in the yeere 1208. innumerable multitudes received the Crosse in their brests; the Pope writ to King Philip and all his Princes, to invade Narbone, Tholouse, and other parts. The next yeere, from all parts of France, Flanders, Normandie, Aquitane, Burgundie, the Bishops, Earles, and Barons, with an infinite number, met at Lions and came to Byterræ, where they slue sixtie thousand, promiscuously Papists and Waldenses, by advise of the Popes Legat, who said, The Lord knoweth who are his: some say an hundred thousand, not sparing Sex or Age, burning the dead bodies. Thence they went to Carcasson, where they spared onely the mens lives, not leaving them their apparell. Simon Montfort, Earle of Leicester, was made Generall, who tooke Roger the Lord of the Countrey, and all the Countrey with an hundred Castles, and many others rendred themselves. In the yeer 1210. was a new Expedition of these crossed Votaries out of France, England, and Loraine, which tooke Minerbia, where an hundred and fourescore chose rather to burne then turne: entred Tolouse, wasting all, taking Cities and Castles, burning such as would not turne. They tooke Raimund and his Castle of Thermæ, his Wife and Daughter; he dyed in prison, they with other Ladies in the fire. Leopold Duke of Austria, Adolph Earle de Monte, William Earle of Juliers went thither out of Almaine. An. 1211. a new Armie from many parts, tooke many Cities and Castles, burning and hanging many, committing the conquered Countrey to Simon

See Ush. de Christ. Eccles. Stat. c. 10.

Montfort. Lavallis was taken, and choise given to turne or burne, three hundred and fiftie choosing this. The Ladie was cast in a Well and stones throwne on her.

**R. Earle of Tolouse had the Countrey of Saint Giles, Provence, Dauphine, Venasme, Ruthen, Cadure, Albig. &c.*

Raimund * Earle of Tholouse had aide of the King of Arragon, and was an hundred thousand strong (Armoricanus hath two hundred thousand) but was over-throwne by the Crosses and Montfort, and the King of Arragon slaine, and the certayne number, saith Paris, of the slaine, could not be certainly numbred: some say two and thirtie thousand. Hence new crossed Knights which served for Indulgence and spoile, in the yeeres 1214. and 1215. Simon possessing himselfe of the great Countries of Earle Raimund, by the Popes procurement, and King Philips grant. The Warres continued 1216. 1217. 1218. in which Simon was slaine. The Warres were prosecuted by Amalricus his sonne, and Lewis sonne to King Philip. These tooke Miramonda and slue Man, Woman and Child.

Anno 1219. Tolouse was besieged in vaine, Famine and Mortalitie plaguing the Armie. The Warre continued 1220. 1221. In the yeere 1223. the Pope sent his Legat, a Cardinall, with twentie Bishops. King Philip died and appointed twentie thousand pounds to helpe Amalricus against the Albigenses, which grew now strong in Dalmatia, Bulgaria, Croatia. Anno 1225. King Lewis made an Expedition to besiege Avinion, seven yeeres excommunicate by the Pope, with an Armie of Crusado's. But Earle Raimund had plowed the grounds and prevented all provision, that Sword, Famine and Pestilence dismayed that huge Armie, wherein the King himselfe died, and above two and twentie thousand of the Assailants. Loth to wearie you with such bloudie spectacles, effects of Antiphrasticall Indulgences, this Warre is said to continue about seventie yeeres. The Waldenses encreased notwithstanding daily, and the Warre, saith Thuanus, was of no lesse weight then that against the Saracens (which occasioned this whole discourse) and they were rather in the end spoiled then converted or convicted, some remayn-

Bertrand. Gest. Tolos.

Thu. Præfat. hist.

ing close in Provence, some in the Alpes, some in Calabria to our times, and some in Brisaine. *Æn. Syl. hist. Bo. Dubr. ul.* 23. 24. & *seqq.*

The Bohemians also were their issue, against whom the Pope used like courses of Indulgences, one hundred and fiftie thousand at one time crossed under Sigismund to the war, being out of divers Kingdomes, not to mention the Crusado's by the Cardinals of Winchester and Julian, with innumerable bloudshed. But I am loth to lothe and wearie you with such cruell Indulgentiall morsells, the Popes feast of mans flesh to the blinded World. Those Bohemian warres had first originall from Hus his preaching, and that also against Indulgences preached against the King of Naples: they were long and bloudie, but more long and bloudie have those of this last and worst Age beene from like originall, which I leave to other Authors, to reckon the many many hundreths of thousands of Christians, which one neighbour Countrey, yea one little piece of her neighbour Countrey (not to mention others still bleeding, crying, dying) have lost in quarrels, died in the bloud of Religion. Money is the life of merchandise, Sinowes of warre, and upholder of Greatnesse, without which, Peters succession, pasce Oves, I have prayed for thy Faith, Constantines supposed donation, and the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, had not prevailed to a Papall earthly Monarchie. And Indulgences and Crusado's have beene his best both Mine and Mint for Money: first, in sharing with Kings which tooke the Crosse, and by Papall power imposed Tenths that he might have a Twentieth, as he did to Saint Lewis of France. *Matt. Par.* Secondly, in letting out his Indulgences to Kings at a Rent, whereby at this day some get more then by some Kingdomes. Thirdly, by redeeming the Vowes by such meanes as you have now heard of the Friars, one binding to the Vow, another for money loosing, like a blacke and white Devill witching and unwitching the superstitious vulgar. Fourthly, Kings taking the Crosse to oppresse their Subjects for the charge, with part of the purchase purchasing a Papall Absolution. Fiftly, agreeing with Kings to fleece the [II. viii. 1268.]

Church for the Holy Land, that he might doe as much against the Emperour. Sixtly, letting out these Crusado's to ferme, by which Richard Earle of Cornwall, in Matt. Paris, daily so enriched himselfe, how much more the Pope? the Popes preacher (playing the harvest man, to bring into his Barnes or Treasurie) that the fame of his money made him to be chosen Emperour. He of one Archdeaconrie reaped six hundred pounds. William Longspat got by the late gift of the Pope, above a thousand marks. Seventhly, giving Indulgences, that is, the money which might be made of them in recompense of friendship, labours, expenses. Eightly, selling Indulgences to Churches, Images, Altars, Graines, Prayers, &c. thorow the Christian world. Ninthly, by Jubilees, whereof Crusado's were Fore-runners and Apparitors. Tenthly, by dispensations the Juno, sister and wife of this Indulgent Jove, or Pluto rather. Eleventhly, by instituting Offices; Penitentiaries, Notaries, and I know not what rabble for these purposes and his Exchequer Receits, and then selling those multiplyed Offices for the greatest summe. But who can summe up these Accounts? especially being workes of Darknesse, mystie mysteries, which yet are thus farre revealed, enough to prove the Author the Man of sinne, which by his owne verie sinne, and supposed pardon of others, hath let the raines of the World loose to Sinne; and hereby ruled the World holding the raines in his owne hand. Once; his temporall Monarchie, Collations of Benefices, Dispensations had never under-propped this mysticall Monarchie, had not Crusado's and Indulgences awed Kings, excited and incited furious Armies, armed furies; depopulated and ruined Kingdomes, and by mayne force bett downe all Opponents abroad, and filled his Coffers at home.

Page. 977.

See Act. and Mon. of Tho. Cromwell.

But for this of money, Sixtus or Xistus the fourth, was wont to say, that hee should never want money so long as he wanted not a Hand and a Pen. And Xistus the fifth, in five yeeres and a halfe had gathered five millions of treasure, notwithstanding his magnificent and admir-

able expenses, in Palaces, Churches, Obeliskes, Conduits, and the like. So much could Friars Minors skill of getting both Papacie and Money. And that you may know of what use prohibited marriages to Priests and religious Orders are, you may consider how the Pope may make Armies of their numbers in extremitie; and of their purses at pleasure make sponges. Pius the fourth levied at one time of the Religions foure hundred thousand Ducats; and if he would have admitted Resignations of Benefices with Regresses, as he was advised, he might that way have made a million. Paul the third maintayned twelve thousand foot and five hundred horse at his pay, under Charles the fift against the Lutherans, and yet raysed his house as you see: Clement the seventh hath notwithstanding his captivitie done more for his House. Pius the fift sent foure thousand foot and one thousand horse, to aide Charles the ninth against the Protestants. But I have wearied the Reader in observing the effects of this Pope holy Expedition to Jerusalem, and the Papall advancement thereby. I will adde the vertues of those Holy Land Inhabitants, and then you shall see it the Holy Land indeed, so termed by Antiphrasis, Dignum patella operculum, Lettice sutable to the lips of His Holinesse, who may also have that Title for the selfe same cause.

§. V.

[II. viii. 1269.]

Superstition advanced in and by the Holy Land Expeditions, and the Christians Christianitie in those parts worse then in other. Divers Sects of Christians in the East.

FIrst for superstition, this voyage proved a Mart for Reliques, as is before in part observed of the multiplyed Crosse, of the Speare, of the Bloud of Christ, solemnely carried by King Henrie to Westminster, of our Ladies haires, &c. Of the Crowne of Thornes, *Pag.* 731. Matth. Paris tells, that Baldwin, Emperour of Constanti-

nople before mentioned, sold it to the French King for money, to pay his Armie. Peter the pilgrime Bishop of Winchester, bequeathed inestimable summes of money to Religious Houses by him founded at Hales, Tikeford, Seleburne, Portsmouth: and whereas two Churches had beene dedicated * to Saint Th. Becket at Acon, he removed one of them to a more convenient place, and changed their Order into a more competent, subject to the Templars, and gave besides by Will five hundred marks to it. But Vitriacus, the Bishop of Acon, will best acquaint us with their conditions, who having reckoned the Peeres of that Kingdome, the Earle of Tripolis, Lords of Berith, Sidon, Caiphas or Porphyria, Cæsarea, Mount Royall, of Assur, of Ibelim, with some others; the Prince of Galilee, Lord of Tiberias; Earle of Joppe and Ascalon, &c. tells us of the flourishing state of Religion by the odor of holy and venerable places there, sorted and fitting to mens devouter humours; some choosing to live in the Desart called Quarantena, where our Lord was tempted, living Heremiticall lives in petie Cells; others, in imitation of Elias in Mount Carmell neere Caiphas, in Hives of small Cells, foure miles from Acon: others, in the Desarts of Jordan; others living solitarie in the Desart of Galilee, where Christ preached. In Thabor was a Monasterie builded, and in divers other places. Others chose rather to live in Cities, especially Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethleem.

**By Englishmen.* *Pag.* 634.

Peeres of the Kingdome of Jerusalem.

Quarantena.

Jerusalem described.

Jerusalem was the Mother of the Faith, as Rome is of the faithfull; it stands on a high Hill, is on both sides Mountaynous, abounding with Wheat, Wine, and Oile, and all temporall good things: yet hath but one Fountayne, called Siloe, flowing out of Sion, sometimes having little or no Waters. And as it is more holy then any place, so it hath drawne to it more religious Persons. In it is a Temple of huge quantitie, whence the Templars have their name, called Salomons Temple. Whatsoever places (in all that Countrey) our Lord trod on, are esteemed holy and consecrated, and for precious Reliques by the faithfull; whence Religious both Clerks and Laymen,

Templars, so called of a Temple built by Mahumetans.

aswell militarie as of other condition, have beene drawne thither: namely, the Brethren of the Hospitall of Saint John, the Templars, and the Brethren of the Hospitall of Saint Marie of the Dutch. The Hospitalars were *Hospitalars.* from the time of the Surians, having a Latine Church of Saint Marie, the Abbot whereof built an Hospitall in honor of Saint John Eleemon. After the Franks Expedition, Gerard the Master, adjoyning some others to him tooke a religious habit and white Crosse, whom Agnes the Abbesse followed. These buried their dead in Acheldama, and whiles they were poore obeyed the Abbot, and payed their Tithes, and called the poore to whom they ministred, their Masters and Lords, but after became as Princes of the Earth. The Templars also were at first *Templars.* Lions in battell, Lambs at home, Eremites and Monkes in the Church, having Banners blacke and white (as mild to Christians, terrible to the Infidels) severe in their owne societie, obsequious to the Patriarke, beloved for their Religion and humilitie, as the former, insomuch that Dukes and Princes denyed the World and followed them.

Acheldama.

And because a threefold Cord is not easily broken, that *Dutch Knights originall.* of the Dutch Knights was added, from a small beginning increasing into a swelling streame. For one Dutch man with his family dwelling at Jerusalem, many of his Countrey Pilgrimes, which knew not the language, were glad of his entertainment in a small Hospitall by him therefore builded, to which also he added a Chappel in honour of our Lady, and partly procured of his owne goods, partly by almes, to the poore and sicke Pilgrimes. Some Dutchmen liking the intent, gave all they had thereto, binding themselves by vow; and when some of Gentle and Noble bloud had adjoyned themselves, they became both followers of the Hospitulars in their care of the poore, and of the Templars in Military Devotion.

The Holy Land also flourished with Regulars, Religious, *Holy Land Inhabitants.* Anchorites, Monkes, Canons, Nuns, Inclosed persons, Virgins, Widowes. It was also full of peoples, Genuois, Pisans, Venetians, men fit for the Sea, and sage Counsels;

Frankes, Almans, Britons, Englishmen, lesse ordered or circumspect, more impetuous, more superfluous in Dyet, prodigall in Expenses, devout in the Church, fervent in Charity, more couragious in Battell, and formidable to the Saracens: which yet for the vanitie of some, are by the Pollans, called the Sonnes of Hemaudius. They which descended of the Conquerors are called Pollans, eyther because they were Pulli, in respect of the Surians, or because their Mothers were most of them Apulians; the Army wanting women enough, and procuring from Apulia, the neerest place of the Westerne Church. There are besides in the Holy Land, Greekes, Jacobites, Maronites, Nestorians, Armenians and Georgians, of much service for husbanding the Earth and other commodities.

Colts, Chickens or young things.

[II. viii. 1270.]

But when the Devill (I still follow our Author) had found no rest in the first poore Pilgrims; hee found the house emptie, swept and garnished (men idle and dwelling securely, abounding with temporall goods) and taking seven spirits worse then himselfe (the seven deadly sinnes, for their ingratitude worse) hee entred againe, and the last state was worse then the former. They were proud, high-minded, contumelious, seditious, malicious, sorcerers, sacrilegious, covetous, slouthfull, drunkards, gluttons, adulterous, theeves, robbers, homicides, traitors, men of bloud, disobedient to Parents and Elders, without affection, truce breakers, mercilesse: Reproach and lying, manslaughter, and theft, and adulterie over-flowed, and bloud touched bloud. So was the imagination of wicked mens intent to evill at all times, so farre was all vertue and religious honestie decayed, that there was scarsly any found which made difference betwixt the holy and profane, or separated the precious from the vile. All were gone head-long to confusion; from the sole of the foot to the crowne of the head there was no soundnesse; and as was the People, such was the Priest.

The Authour doth heape more sentences of Scripture to discover their abominations, then here are mentioned, to shew them deplorate and desperate: especially considering their sins out of measure sinfull, and their Holies so leavened with manifold superstitions.

For when all the World in manner had made it selfe tributarie in Almes, Gifts, Oblations, the Pastors fed themselves, minding the Wooll and Milke, not the Soules

of the Flocke; yea, became examples of Treason, rich by Christs povertie, proud by his humilitie, glorious by his ignominie, fattened and grosse by the patrimonie of him Crucified; howsoever Christ had said, Feede my Sheepe, not, Sheare my Sheepe. They sought their owne, not the things of Christ, became blinde guides of the blinde, dumbe Dogs not able to barke; entring the Lords House pompously, wanting the Key of knowledge, polluted with Gehezis leprosie, erecting the Chayres of Dove-sellers and Money-changers, which our Lord over-threw, in the Churches every-where, saying with Judas, What will you give mee? and I will betray him to you. All of them loved Gifts and followed Rewards, taking the Keyes from Simon Peter, and delivering them to Simon Magus: manifold wayes luxurious, idle; feeding not with crummes from the Lords Table, but with whole Loaves and delicate Meates, their Whelps which of filthy Concubines they themselves more filthy had procreated.

Regular Orders, Masters of misse-rule and disorder.

The Regulars also infected with the poyson of Riches, and increased with possessions beyond measure, contemned their Superiours, and not onely became irksome to the Ecclesiastikes, but envied and detracted each other to the grievous scandall of Christendome, to contumelies, open hatreds, conflicts, violences, battells. For having begunne to build the Tower of Babel, with divided Tongues, they not onely disagreed amongst themselves, but bandying factions procured discords amongst others. And howsoever many of them as graines of Corne amongst Chaffe, and Lillies amongst Thornes, as the times gave leave, observed their rules, and sate not downe in the Chayre of pestilence; yet the impietie of the worse prevailed, and their iniquitie superabounded, that in contempt of Ecclesiasticall Discipline, they received to their Holies those which by name had beene excommunicated: Abbots, Priors, Monkes, their miserable and mercenarie Chaplens, thrust their Sickles into others Harvests, made unlawfull marriages, visited and houselled the sicke for gayne, not for godlinesse; binding and loosing against God and holy

Canons, the Soules which belonged not to their charge; admitted the dead to burialls (their Pastors contradicting,) and usurped Parochiall right. Nunnes also leaped out of their Cloysters, frequenting publike Baths with secular persons. And as any were greater amongst the Laymen, so much more perniciously corrupted they their wayes: a corrupt Generation, as Lees of the Wine, Cockle of Wheat, and Rust of Silver.

Pullani, wicked and abominable.

These Pullani, delicate, wanton, effeminate, more accustomed to Baths then Battells, given to uncleannesse and leacherie, curiously dressed after womens wont, were contemned of the Saracens, and (if they had none of the Westerne people with them) more vilipended then Women. They made league with the Saracens, and quarrelled with themselves, for light matters raysing civill warres, and often borrowing aide of the Infidells, spending the Treasure and Stocke of Christians against Christians. They were deepe Dissemblers, not easie to bee perceived in their fallacies till they had deceived; jealous mewers up of their wives, that their owne Brethren and neerest Kindred might scarsly have accesse; and keeping them from the Churches, and Sermons, and other things necessarie to their soules, hardly once in the yeere admitting them the Church. The richer sort erected Altars neere their wives beds, and by some * wretched Chaplens and unlearned Sir Johns, procured Masses to bee said, that they might seeme Christians. And how much closer their wives are kept, so much more they whet their wits with a thousand devises and infinite plots to finde starting holes; furnished by the Surians and Saracen women, with sorceries, mischiefes, and innumerable abominations. They are ingratefull, and many wayes irksome to those Pilgrims, which come from remote parts to their aide, with great labours and intolerable expenses, liking better their ease and carnall pleasures, then warres with the Saracens. These Pilgrims they entertayne at immoderate charge, defrauding and impoverishing them in buying, and bartering to their owne exceeding enriching; afflicting them

**Per miseros Capell, & imperitos presbyteruculos.*

[II. viii. 1269.]

with reproaches and wrongs, and calling them * Sonnes of Hernaud, as it were Fooles and Ideots.

* *Before filios Hemandy, one is false printed.*

There are others, continuing from ancient times under divers Lords, Romanes, Greekes, Saracens and Christians, called Surians, unfit for Warre, men for the most part Unfaithfull, Double-dealing, Lyers, Inconstant, Fortune-fawners, Traytors, Gift-takers, esteeming Theft and Robbery for nothing, Spyes to the Saracens, imitating their Language and Condition. These shave not, but nourish their beards, as doe the Greekes with great care, attributing thereto much virilitie, gravitie, authoritie and glorie. Whereupon, when Baldwin Earle of Edessa, having marryed the Daughter of a rich Armenian, suffered his Beard to grow; to extort money from his Father-in-law, he said, he had impawned his Beard for a great summe to certaine Creditors; who gave him thirtie thousand Bizantines, to prevent that disgrace to his Family, and on condition never to engage his Beard againe. These Syrians use the Tongue and manner of writing of the Saracens in contracts, and all saving their Divinitie and Holies, for which they have the Greeke Letter; so that their Laity understand not their service, as the Greekes doe, whose Rites they wholly observe. They obey the Latine Prelates, for feare of the Princes, otherwise not having Greeke Bishops of their owne, nor would regard their censures, but that our Lay-men in contracts and other businesse, would not have to doe with them being excommunicated. For they say amongst themselves, that the Latines are all excommunicated, and therefore cannot excommunicate. The Surians and Greekes admit not fourth Marriages. Their Priests marry not after their Orders, but use their wives which before they marryed. They account not Sub-deaconship in holy Orders. Their simple Priests confirme with Chrisme, which with the Latines is not lawfull but to Bishops. They keepe Saturday holy, nor esteeme Saturday Fast lawfull but on Easter Eeven. They have solemne Service on Saturdayes, eate flesh, and feast it bravely like the Jewes.

Surians.

The Westerne Church for many Ages used much shaving, as in old pictures is seen Beards of price.

Force of Excommunication against contracts.

Jacobites. There are also in the Holy Land and the East parts Jacobites, so called of one James a Disciple of the Patriarke of Alexandria. These of long time have inhabited the greater part of Asia, some amongst the Saracens, and some, as in Nubia, and great part of Æthiopia, possessing whole Countries. They Baptise and circumcise their children, and observe not Auricular Confession: some make Crosses with fire in their cheekes or temples; and they maintaine but one nature in Christ. Some of them use the Chaldee Letter, others the Arabike, that is, the Saracenicall. There are in the Holy Land, and by themselves in India, Nestorians, especially, in the Countrey of Presbyter [b] John. These, with the Jacobines, are said to be more then the Latines and Greekes: and besides those which dwell by themselves entyre, there are said to be more of these Christians subject to the Infidels, then are of Saracens themselves. They divide the person of Christ, making the Virgin Mary Mother of the humane Person, & the Son of God another divine Person. Nestorius and this his Heresie were condemned in the Ephesine Councell. They use the Chaldee Letter, and leavened Hosts as the Greekes doe.

See of this our former Abassine Relations.

Nestorians.

[b] *Not the Abassine, but in Asian India, where the Portugalls found Bishops and other Christians, called S. Thomas Christians.*

The Tartars caused much alteration in these parts.

Maronites. About Libanus are some called Maronites, many in number which acknowledged (Maro was their Master) but one nature in Christ. These Monothelites were condemned in the sixth generall Councel at Constantinople. They used Sacraments by themselves five hundred yeares, and after by Aimerike, Patriark of Antiochio, were reduced to the Roman Faith, whose Traditions they follow; insomuch, that when all the Easterne Prelates except the Latines, use no Rings, Miters, nor Pastorall Staves, nor Bels, (but Boords on which they knocke with a Sticke or Hammer to call the Assembly) the Maronites use all; and their Patriarke was present at the Councell of Laterane, under Innocent the Third. They use the Chaldee Letter and Saracen Language.

Armenians. The Armenians are divided from all other Christians in Rites; having a Primate of their owne, whom they call

Catholicon, observed by all of them as another Pope. They have Letters and Language proper, and Lyturgies in the vulgar. At Christmasse they fast, and at Twelf-day they solemnize our Lords Baptisme, and his Spirituall Nativitie, as they improperly speake.

Lent they fast so strictly, that they not only abstayne from Flesh, Egges, Whit-meates, but also from Fish, Oyle, and Wine, yet fast not but eate fruites, and as often as they please. On some Fridayes they eate flesh. They mixe no water with Wine in the Sacrament. The Armenians promised obedience to the Pope, when their King received of Henry the Emperor his Land, and the Crown of the Archbishop of Mentz: but retayne their old Rites notwithstanding. There is also a warlike people dreadfull to the Saracens, called Georgians, of Saint George; whom they have for their Patrone, and worship as their Ensigne bearer above other Saints, using the Greeke Holies. Their Priests have round crownes, the Lay-men square: and when they come to Jerusalem on Pilgrimage, they enter with Banners displayed and without Tribute: the Saracens forbearing them, lest they should after their returne bee revenged on other Saracens. Their noble women use Armes in Battels, as Amazons. *Georgians.*

The Mosarabes are Latine Christians, and observe the Romish Rites, dwelling amongst the African and Spanish Saracens. Yet some of them divide the Sacrament into seven parts, others into nine, whereas the Romane Church doth it into three. There are other miserable Easterne people, as Essees of Jewish descent, and Assasines, and Saducees, and Samaritans. *Mosarabes, or Moxarabes.*

They which have best knowne the Holy Land Affaires and Changes, affirme, that no greater plague hath hapned then flagitious and pestiferous men, Sacrilegious Theeves, Robbers, Murderers, Parricides, Perjured, Adulterers, Traytors, Pirates, Drunkards, Jesters, Dicers, Players, Runnagate Monkes, and Nunnes becomne common Whores, and such women as leaving their Husbands have followed Bawdes, or such as have forsaken their Wives and marryed others. [II. viii. 1270.] *The Holy Land the receptacle of all Impietie and Impuritie from other parts of Christendome.*

These Monsters have runne away, and flying to the Holy Land, have so much more boldly perpetrated there their former evils without shame, as they have beene further from those which knew them; neither fearing God nor respecting men. The easinesse of escaping, and impunitie of sinning have loosed the reines to their Impietie: because that after villanies committed, they runne to the Saracens, and deny Christ, or else by ship flye to some Ilands, or getting to the houses of Regulars,* which every where they found, by their pernicious libertie of Priviledges, defending the wicked, they escaped without punishment. Some Murderers also condemned to mutilation or death in their owne Countries, by praying or paying obtayned often to bee condemned to perpetuall Exile in the Holy Land; and never altering their manners, have there preyed on Pilgrimes and Strangers, kept Bawdie-houses and Gaming-houses, and Receptacles for Theeves and Murthers, paying a yeerely Pension to the potent and rich, to patronize them in these exorbitancies; extorting the same with greater summes from Whores and Gamesters. Many also came to the Holy Land, not for Devotion, but Curiositie and Noveltie.

**The Templers, &c.*

Thus you have had a view of the Inhabitants, both Clergie and Laitie, Native and accessorie: all flesh corrupting their way, and making it the most unholy Sinke in the World, not the navill of the Earth, as some call it, but the Knave-ill, Slave-vile, and base confluence of villanie; not the foundation of Religion, but the fundament of the Devill and of Irreligion, as formerly in other Ages, so worse then all worsts in this, that it was inhabited by these Pullans and Pilgrimes. Neither have I in this Relation augmented or exagerated, but for brevitie have fallen farre short of the Authors blacke pitchie colours, wherein hee describeth their Hellish darknesse. And howsoever he much commends the first Pilgrimes (as comparatively they deserved) yet even that their righteousnesse was but pannus menstruatæ, dyed in a deepe graine of Superstition, besides their other pollutions which the

former Storie hath related. The best was a Popish pietie, the worst was farre farre worse then Heathenish Impietie (Corruptio optimi pessima) so little good did Religion & Christianity hereby receive even here. And as for the hurt it received in the West, we have declared and proved at large; Religion comming to the West and worst, and that bright Sunne almost set in a darke misty mysticall Cloud, and darknesse from the bottomlesse Pit, principally by this meane and occasion.

Let none traduce me, as if I held it wholly unlawfull to visit holy places, or to warre against Infidels, or that I envy the Pope himselfe, his Temporalties: (howsoever gotten at first, as you have heard) or absolutely deny Absolutions, Dispensations, Indulgences: the abuses I taxe, and historically have shewed how by corruptions, confusions, combustions, the face and body of the Church hath beene empayred, weakned, and sicke (so neere to death in so many many members and limmes) of the Antichristian or Romish Disease. As Christ is the name not of the Head alone, but of the whole mysticall body, which is one Seed, one City, one Temple, one Vine, one New man, one Christ:* So is Antichrist both the head & mystical body; the name howsoever it be most properly due to the Popes in their successions, as the head, yet competible also to the whole body of the Popish Church, which together makes up that mysticall Babylon, which thus by the carnall Jerusalem, and Jewish Opinion and Rites, hath so impoverished the new, spirituall and heavenly Jerusalem, and her Celestiall Priviledges, whereof we are children by Regeneration, and enfranchised citizens in manifold Priviledges. Neyther perhaps, did any one stratageme so farre reduce Judaisme, or induce Poperie, or seduce the Christian world, as this Holy Land unholy degeneration. Christianity, is to live by faith and not by sight, and to have a conversation heavenly, and the exercise of a spirituall warfare against the World, the flesh, the Devill, by the panoply of God, hope of Salvation for a Helmet, Brest-plate of Righteousnesse, Girdle of Sin-

*1.*Cor.* 12.12. *Antichrist signifieth in the stead of Christ, against Christ, or emulous of Christ. The Pope is all, in profession his Vicar, in shew emulous by zeale, indeed an emulous Corrivall, and close Enemie of Christ. Vid. B. Downam de Antichrist, l.* 1. 1. *Thes.* 5. *Ephes.* 6. *Heb.* 11.

cerity, Greaves of the Gospell, Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and Shield of Faith (the evidence of things not seene, the ground of things hoped for) with perseverant Watching and Prayer. But these Expeditions first hapned in a tumultuary warring and spoyling Age; were begun for temporall respects in the first moovers; in many if not most of the followers apprehended to like purpose of spoyle (all being as you have seene, the Souldiers owne, hee could get) which blanched over with Honour, Religion, Merit; Once; being the service of two Masters at once, God and Mammon, (which in true Religion is incompetible) easily wonne entertaynment. And if men now will adventure voluntarily to fight any quarrels of any Region or Religion, for foure shillings a week, (eight dayes to the weeke) in an Age more composed generally to words then workes: is it any marvell, if so many inducements, in such a mist and smoke could whet so many Swords and courages in those Martiall times, where earthly purchases were the guerdon of the living, with Fame, Novelties, and many many sensuall Holies; and Martyrdome was the Crowne of the dead with God, Heaven and Eternitie.

To conclude, Hypocrisie was the beginning, Bloud was the proceeding, Superstitious Pietie that is impietie or impious pietie, with impuritie and desolation were the end. This whole businesse was (as the Serpents seducing Eve, and was prophesied of Antichrist) not an open professed enmitie against Christ, but in coloured love of Christ and his patrimonie, a more subtle deceitfull working, the Devill transformed into an Angell, that hee might prove the worse Devill: this Expedition being after the working of Satan with all power, and signes, and lying wonders, and with all deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse, as was foretold of that Sonne of perdition (which hereby and herein he hath proved, if ever by any one course, as is shewed, to the perdition of thousands and thousands of thousands, both bodies and soules) a strange Chymera, headed like a Lion, and in shew

[II. viii. 1271.]

2. *Thes.* 2.

presenting a Lionlike fortitude, for the honor of that Lion of the Tribe of Juda; yet after the Goats belly of various lusts, tayled like a Dragon, and envenoming to manifold deaths with the poyson of the old Serpent: in shew kissing, indeed betraying, with Judas; in shew lifting Christ higher, indeed crucifying him; the Pope in shew crowning these Pilgrims, but with a crowne of Thornes, with manifold externall miseries, void of all internall consolation, his Indulgences notwithstanding; in shew presenting the faces of men, and haire of women, indeed the tayles of Scorpions, which those Locusts had in their tayles. Once; herein was Christ many wayes crucified betwixt two theeves, in Urban and Boamund the first Founders; in superstition and hypocrisie, the principall Movers; in Revelations of Peter the Heremite and others, and Papall Indulgences, the chiefe Confirmers: in the Greekes and Infidels, the one by Treacherie, the other by open Violence, the mayne Confounders, (like two Mill-stones, grinding the Westerne Christians and this whole exploit, to poulder) in exposing Christian bodies to bloudie crueltie, and their soules to crueller impietie; in confusions and manifold disorders in Families and Commonwealths, by absence of Over-seers at home, and buying vanitie, nothing, and lesse then nothing (for that was the end) with Seas of bloud and heapes of carkasses abroad; in abasing the lawfull power of Kings, and exalting (in manner as yee have heard) the usurped Papall Monarchie; that is, by Excommunications, Interdicts, Treasons, Crusado's, Votifrages, Perjuries, abolishing them which are called Gods; and Him by whom Kings reigne, both in this his Ordinance, and in the whole face of his Religion; that the Man of sinne might exalt himselfe above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that now, and principally hereby, He as God sitteth in the Temple of God, shewing himselfe that he is God. This was then a mysterie hidden from the wise and prudent: but now, and hereby, that Wicked is revealed.

Chap. VII.

Monuments of Antiquitie, taken out of ancient Records, to testifie the quondam commerce betwixt our Kings and their Subjects, and those Easterne Princes.

Literæ Henrici tertii Regis Angliæ Coradino Soldano Damasci, de captivis redimendis. Dorso Claus. Anno 12. Regni sui. & An. Dom. 1228. Patentes, Anno 17. Henrici tertii.

REx Coradino Illustri Soldano Damasci, salutem. De transmissis nobis à Nobilitate vestra muneribus per Anselmum de Jenua mallonum Soldani, gratiarum vobis rependimus actiones; prompti as parati in hiis quæ licet, vestræ placere voluntati. Hoc quidem à Serenitate vestra pro ampliori petimus munere, ut, si quos terræ nostræ Christianos captivatos tenetis, eos liberos & expeditos reddere, & intuitu nostri nobis mittere velitis: certis datis indiciis, quod ad eorum liberationem noster eis profuit interventus. Quo intellecto ad condignam vicissitudinem Serenitati vestræ merito teneamur. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium, Anno Regni nostri duodecimo.

Pro Philippo de Albiniaco.

Henricus Rex, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse, dilecto & fideli nostro Philippo de Albiniaco, quod si de eo humanitus contigerit, antequam iter peregrinationis suæ arripuerit versus terram Jerusalem, quicquid ante obitum suum assignaverit, vel legaverit de terra de Periton, quam habet de dono nostro, & de terris de Clyneton, Bamton, & Wytton, quas habet de Ballivo nostro ad debita sua acquietanda, vel eleemosynas faciendas, vel ad mercedem militibus & servientibus suis pro servicio suo retribuendam, nisi prius terras illas hæredibus eorum, per voluntatem nostram, vel per pacem reddiderimus, ratum habemus & stabile usque in tres annos à die obitus sui completos. In cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 14. Julii, Anno Regni sui decimo septimo.

Patenter, Anno 19. Henrici tertii.

Rex concessit & licenciavit Simonem de Wistlegray, quod peregrini de partibus istis euntes peregre versus terram Jerusalem, Sanctum Jacobum, & alibi ad partes

transmarinas, in Nave ipsius Simonis, quæ vocatur Gladyghyné salvo & secure transfretare possint. Et mandatum est omnibus Ballivis & fidelibus Regis, &c. Quod eidem Simoni & hominibus suis in ducendo Peregrinos in Nave prædicta, sicut prædictum est, nullum faciant, nec fieri permittant damnum vel gravamen. Et durant literæ usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis. Teste Rege apud Rading, quinto die Aprilis, Anno Regni sui decimo nono.

Pro Olivero de Sancto Georgio.

Rex omnibus, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis, quod concessimus dilecto & fideli nostro Olivero de Sancto Georgio, quod in auxilium peregrinationis suæ, quam facturus est in Terram Sanctam, invadiare possit terram suam de Brocton usque ad terminum trium annorum, à festo Sancti Michaelis, Anno Regni nostri decimo nono. Ita quod ipse cui terram illam invadiaverit, illam teneat usque ad terminum prædictum trium annorum, quicquid de ipso Olivero interim contingat. In cujus rei testimonium &c. Teste Rege apud Windesoram vicesimo octavo die Aprilis, Anno Regni sui decimo nono.

[II. viii. 1272.]

The Kings Letters to the Prelates, to excite their charitable devotions, for reliefe of the Hospitall of Saint Samson in Constantinople, and the Licence granted to Friar Thomas their Messenger for one yeere, granted at Windsor, A. Reg. 22. is here omitted.

**Sennor vel Domini.*

Rex Saladino, socio Thath Nuncii* Veteris de Mussa, salutem. Significavimus prædicto Thath, quod bene placet nobis, quod ad nos in Angliam veniat, expositurus nobis Nuncium suum, pro quo ad nos venistis in Angliam, sicut per literas nostras Patentes, quas ei mittimus, plenius ei significamus. Et ideo vos scire volumus, quod bene placet nobis, quod si cum literis nostris prædictis ad ipsum personaliter accedere volueritis, id libenter faciatis: vel eas per quem volueritis prædicto socio vestro transmittatis. Teste Rege apud Kenynton 20. die Julii, Anno Regni sui 22.

Pro Magistro Militum Templi de denariis concessis ad redemptionem Fratrum.

Rex omnibus ad quos &c. salutem. Sciatis, quod concessimus Magistro Militum Templi Jerusalem quingentas Marcas ad opus suum, reddendas in Anglia vel Hibernia

Magistro Militiæ Templi Anglicanæ, ad redemptionem Militum & Fratrum ejusdem Templi Jerusalem, qui à Saracenis capti fuerunt in bello inter Castra de Gastun & Trepeshac in terra Antiochiæ. Teste Rege apud Geldeford primo die Januarii, Anno Regni sui vicessimo secundo.

Patentes, Anno 32. Henrici tertii. Pro Gerardo de Rodes.

Gerardus de Rodes, qui profecturus est ad Terram Jerusalem de licentia Domini Regis, habet literas Domini Regis de protectione, cum hac clausula, quod quietus sit de secta Comitatuum & Hundredorum, & de omnibus placitis & querelis, exceptis placitis de dote, unde in his habet, assisa novæ disseisinæ, & ultimæ præsentationis Ecclesiarum, duraturas quamdiu idem Gerardus fuerit in peregrinatione prædicta. Teste Rege apud Winton, sexto die Junii, Anno Regni sui tricessimo secundo.

DeProtectione.

Robertus de Ver, qui de licentia Regis peregre profecturus est in Terram Jerusalem, habet literas Regis de protectione Patentes sine clausula, duraturas per triennium. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 27. Junii, Anno Regni sui tricessimo tertio.

Pro Galfredo de Lezignan.

Rex Ademaro de Lezignan, salutem. Sciatis, quod dedimus Gulfredo de Lezignan fratri nostro, in auxilium ad faciendam peregrinationem in Terram Sanctam, ducentas Marcas, quas nobis debetis pro custodia terræ, quæ fuit Thurstani Dispenser &c. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quatenus prædictas ducentas Marcas præfato Galfredo, vel ejus certo Nuncio sine difficultate solvatis. In cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 10. Januarii, Anno Regni sui 34.

The Kings letters to Dolgiet the King of Tartaria. Rotula Rome, Anno 1. Edw. 2. Anno Domini 1307.

Excellentissimo Principi, Domino Dolgieto, Regi Tartarorum Illustri, Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, & Dux Aquitaniæ salutem, & fœlices ad vota successus. Celsitudinis vestræ Nuncios ad celebris memoriæ Dominum Edwardum imper Regem Angliæ, Patrem nostrum, qui antequam ad ipsum venissent, extremum clauserit fati diem, cum literis vestris missos post dicti Patris nostri decessum admisimus: & literas vestras prædictas, & ea quæ iidem Nuncii vestri nobis ex parte

vestra per commissam à vobis credentiam retulerunt, audivimus & intelleximus diligenter: de benevolentia & amore quos vos & progenitores vestri erga dictum progenitorem nostrum & nobis hactenus gessistis, & adhuc geritis, necnon de missione Nunciorum vestrorum, & dilectione & unitate, quas inter vos & nos hinc inde crescere cupitis, & augeri: Et de eo præcipuè, quod amicitiam inter nobiles Antecessores vestros & genitorem nostrum prædictum habitam memoriter retinetis, prout literarum vestrarum series patefecit: ac aliis rumoribus contentis in eisdem vestris literis & expressis, grates referentes vestræ magnificentiæ Regiæ speciales. De pace siquidem ab ortu solis usque ad confinia ultra mare Deo propicio per vos facta gaudemus in Domino, & efficimur valde læti. Cæterum super eo, quod intelligi vobis datur, quod inter nos, qui discordes fuimus citra mare pax & concordia reformatur: Excellentiæ vestræ Regiæ volumus esse notum, quod inter nos firmiter credimus & speramus, super quibuscunque, dicordiis & controversiis hinc inde suscitatis, in brevi, mediante Dei præsidio, finalem fieri & concordiam atque pacem. Datum apud Northampton decimo sexto die Octobris, Anno Regni nostri primo.

Another Letter to the King of Tartarie, against the superstition of Mahomet.

Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, Tartarorum Imperatori Potentissimo, Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, & Dux Aquitaniæ, fœlicem regnandi gloriam cum salute. Reges & Principes terreni tanto magis dinoscuntur Regi Cœlestis gloriæ complacere, quanto simplices Christi fideles ardentius defendere, & nocivos & perfidos nituntur viribus debellare. Quibus ex collato sibi divinitus incumbit officio æqua justitiæ libra rempublicam gubernare, & Christi infideles Christianæque, fidei contrarios & rebelles impugnare & destruere juxta posse. Hinc est quod cum in partibus Asiæ & Affricæ à longissimis retroactis temporibus multum invaluerit prophana secta & sordida Machometi, circumquaque, pullulans & diffundens sua infecta germina nimis late pestem sæculo suæ contagionis nephariæ immittendo: Nos qui, Deo permittente, sumus sceptro Regio insigniti ad tam

nefandæ sectæ eradicationem libenter intenderemus, si loci distantia, & alia ardua negocia nobis incumbentia hoc fieri permitterent quovis modo. Nam tempus ad hoc adest acceptabile, ut accepimus his diebus, maxime cum in libris ipsorum contineri dicatur, infra breve tempus terminari & adnullari debere sectam nephariam Machometi. Vos igitur vestrum laudabile propositum in hac parte continuantes inchoata per vos ad hujusmodi sectam sordidam à [II. viii. 1273.] seculo penitus abolendam velitis perducere ad effectum. Ad hæc ad vestram accedunt præsentiam Religiosi, honesti, & literati viri, ut populum vestrum ad fidem Catholicam, sine qua salvus fieri nemo potest, divina operante virtute, reducant, & instruant in eâdam: Ac ad sumendum bellum contra detestabilem Machometi sectam habilitent & informent: venerabilis scilicet frater Willielmus Dei Gratia Lidden Episcopus, vir utique discretus, moribus & scientia præditus, cum sua venerabili comitiva: quem ob honorem omnipotentis Dei, & favorem fidei Christianæ vobis quanto affectuosius possumus, commendamus. Rogantes ex corde quatenus eundem Episcopum & ejus Comitivam Dei intuitu, sub cujus imperio cuncta consistunt, gratiose & curialiter admittentes, eisdem in prosecutione negocii prædicti exhibere vos velitis favorabiles & benignos præfato Episcopo, in his quæ vestræ magnificentiæ pro augmentatione fidei Catholicæ eduxerit exponenda, fidem credulam exponendo. Datum apud Langley ultimo die mensis Novembris, Anno Regni nostri primo.

Like Letters of commendation of the said Bishop William, to the King of Armenia, and others to the Prince Gentis Matalorum in partib. orient. are upon Record, but here for brevitie omitted. Another to the said King here followeth.

Anno. 1. Edwardi. 2. The Kings Letters to the king of Armenia.

Serenissimo Principi, & amico suo charissimo, Leoni Dei Gratia Armenorum Regi illustri, Edwardus Rex Angliæ, &c. Salutem & fœlices ad vota successus. Literas vestras de credentia per discretos viros Theodorum, Cantorem Abbatiæ de Tresarco, Dominum Baudinium filium Domini de Negrino, consobrinum vestrum, & Dominum

Leonem, Milites, familiares vestros & Nuncios speciales, super novis periculis vobis & Regno vestro, cunctisque ejusdem Regni Christicolis emergentibus nobis missos recepimus. Et ea quæ iidem Nuncii vestri vobis ex parte vestra per credentiam eis commissam exponere voluerunt, audivimus & intelleximus diligenter. Super quibus dolemus in intimis, & turbamur. Verum quia claræ memoriæ Dominus Edwardus Rex Angliæ, pater noster, viam universæ carnis est ingressus; quamobrem ejusdem Regni regimen suscepimus, & Coronacionis nostræ solennia celebrari fecimus, non est diu; diversaque & ardua ex hiis causis nobis incumbunt negocia hiis diebus: dictorum negociorum requisitionibus ex parte vestra nobis factis annuere non possumus in præsenti. Sed cum tempora nobis ad hoc advenerint oportuna, libenter adhibebimus cum Dei præsidio super requisitionibus prædictis consilium quod poterimus bono modo. De xenio siquidem quod vestra munificentia nobis misit, vestræ serenitati grates referimus speciales: parati semper ad ea facienda quæ vestris utilitatibus noverimus convenire. Datum apud Westmonasterium tertio die Martii, Anno Regni nostri primo.

Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. Religioso viro, & sibi in Christo charissimo, fratri Johanni de ordine Minorum, Leonis quondam Regis Armenorum illustris filio primogenito, salutem cum delectione sincera. Literas vestras de credentia, &c. ut supra.

Anno sexto Edwardi secundi. De conductu pro Episcopis Samaritanis prædicare volentibus, literæ Regis Davidi Regi Jurgianorum: or of the Georgians.

Magnifico Principi ac potenti, David Dei gratia Regi Jurgianorum, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, & Dux Aquitaniæ prosperorum incrementa successuum, cum augmento fidei Orthodoxæ. Creator & Redemptor humani generis Jesus Christus, qui omnes vult salvos fieri, & neminem vult perire, hominem ad suam factum imaginem, proto parentis Adæ lapsu à supernis exclusum sedibus, tanto dilexit caritatis affectu, ut pro ipsius redemptione perpetua, de intemerato Virginis nascens utero, nostræque humanitatis indutus velamine, tanquam Pastor optimus pro suis ovibus mortem

pati, & suam dare animam non horreret, qui post passionem suam, secundum Scripturas, tertia die resurgens à mortuis, discipulis suis se vivum præbuit in multis argumentis, per dies quadraginta apparens eis, & loquens de Regno Dei, & eos spiritus Sancti virtute perlustrans & sapientia, misit in omnem Judæam, & Samariam, & usque ad ultimum terræ, suæ resurrectionis gloriam & doctrinam Evangelicam prædicare, ut in omnem terram sonus eorum exiret, & in fines orbis terræ verba eorum, credentibus panderent. Euntes, inquiens, in mundum universum prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ: Quid credit & baptizatus fuerit salvus erit: Qui vero non crediderit condemnabitur. Cum igitur vir religiosus & providus frater Guillermus de Villa Nova, ordinis Minorum Episcopus, præsentium lator, sanctæ fidei Orthodoxæ Professor & Zelator fervidus, de mandato Sanctæ sedes Apostolicæ ad partes Tartarorum, & aliorum, qui fidem non norunt Catholicam, una cum nonnullis Co-episcopis & fratribus ejusdem ordinis, ut vobis, & ipsis Evangelium Christi, verbumque salutis annunciet, & transferre proponat: vos rogamus & hortamur in Domino Jesu Christo, per vestræ salutem animæ requirentes, quatenus præfatos Episcopos cæterosque Religiosos & Catholicos, eisque adhærentes, & adhærere volentes per loca vestræ ditioni subjecta libere, salvo, & secure transire. Verbumque Dei, & sanctum Domini Jesu Christi Evangelium prædicare audire volentibus per mittentes, ipsis faciatis ob Divinæ Majestatis reverentiam, nostrorumque contemplatione rogaminum securum præstari conductum, ipsosque malignantium incursu defendi. Datum apud Dovarram vicissimo secundo die Maii, Anno Regni nostri sexto. Teste Regi.

Eodem modo mandatum est Imperatori Trapezandarium. Teste Rege, ut supra.

Rex potenti viro Imperatori Aquilonari, deposito Gentilitatis errore, lumen verum agnoscere quod est Christus Creator & Redemptor humani generis Jesus Christus, qui omnes vult salvos fieri, & neminem vult perire, &c. ut supra. Teste ut supra.

Eodem modo mandatum est subscriptis: videlicet; [II. viii. 1274.]
Carpentæ Persarum & Medorum Imp.
Imperatori de Cathay.

Divers others of Richard the Second, Henry the Eight, &c. collected to this purpose. I have omitted.

To the Reader.

LIke that Scribe which brings out of his Treasurie new and old; so have I here done, and so our Author following. To those elder Stories and Records I have added this later Voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople: and He, besides his Travels, hath added his Studies, the Voyage of his Minds Industrie, aswell as of his bodies Peregrination; as a Learned Argus, seeing with the Eyes of many Authors, and comparing things old and new. Pardon me, that I have here much pruned his sweet Poetrie, his farre-set Antiquitie, and other fruits of his Learning: I would not have his owne Worke out of request. I present men rather as Travellers, then as Scholers; and in this Historicall Stage produce them, telling what they have seene; not what they can say, or what other Authors have written: not that I disprove this (for what else is my whole Pilgrimage?) but that I hold on here another course; where if every man should say all, no man could have his part; and where even brevitie it selfe is almost tedious (as you see) by Multitudes. The other parts of Master Sandys are not simply superfluous, yet are these to our present purpose sufficient.

Chap. VIII.

A Relation of a Journey begunne, Anno Dom. 1610. written by Master George Sandys, and heere contracted.

§. I.

His journey from Venice to Constantinople, and Observations by the way.

Marriage of the Sea.

FRom Venice wee departed on the twentieth of August, 1610. in the Little Defence of London. The Venetians are Lords of this Sea, but not without contention with the Papacie. On Ascention day, the Duke accompanyed with the Clarissimoes of that Signiory, is rowed thither in the Bucentoro, a triumphall Galley, richly, and exquisitely gilded: above a roome (beneath which they row) comprehending the whole length and breadth of the Galley; neere the poope a throne, the rest accomodated with seates, where he solemnely espouseth the Sea: confirmed by a Ring throwne therein, the Nuptiall Pledge and Symboll of subjection. This Ceremonie received a beginning from that Sea-battell fought and wonne by the Venetians, under the conduct of Sebastiano Zani, against the forces of Fredericke Barbarossa, in the quarrell of Pope Alexander the Third. Who flying his furie in the habit of a Cooke repayred to Venice, and there long lived disguised in the Monastery of Charitie. Zani returning in triumph with the Emperours Sonne, was met by the Pope, and saluted in this manner: Here take, O Zani, this Ring of Gold, and by giving it to the Sea, oblige it unto thee. A ceremonie that shall on this day bee yearely observed, both by thee and thy Successors, that Posteritie may know how you have purchast the Dominion thereof by your valours, and made it subject unto you, as a Wife to her Husband.

We sayled all along in the sight of Dalmatia, at this day Sclavonia, of the Sclavi, a people of Sarmatia. They dissent not from the Greeke Church in their Religion. Throughout the North part of the World their Language is understood and spoken, even from thence almost to the Confines of Tartarie. The men weare halfe-sleeved Gownes of Violet cloth, with Bonnets of the same. They nourish onely a locke of haire on the crowne of their heads: the rest all shaven. The women weare theirs not long; and dye them blacke for the most part. Their chiefe Citie is Ragusa (heretofore Epidaurus) a Commonwealth of it selfe, famous for Merchandize, and plentie of shipping. Many small Ilands belong thereunto, but little of the Continent. They pay Tribute to the Turke, fourteene thousand Zecchins yearely: and spend as much more upon them in gifts and entertainment, sending the Grand Signior every yeare a ship loden with Pitch for the use of his Gallies. Whereby they purchase their peace; and a discharge of duties throughout the Ottoman Empire. *Sclavonia.* [II. viii. 1275.]

Corfu, the first Iland of note that we past by, lyeth in the Ionian Sea; stretching East and West in forme of a Bow: foure and fiftie miles long, foure and twentie broad, distant about twelve from the mayne of Epirus, called formerly Corcyra, adorned with Groves of Oranges, Limons, Pomegranates, Fig-trees, Olives and the like: enriched with excellent Wines and abundance of Honey. Upon the North-side stands a Citie that takes the name of the Iland, with a Castle strongly seated on a high Rocke, which joyneth by an Isthmos to the Land, and impregnably fortified. The Turkes have testified as much in their many repulses. It is the Chaire of an Archbishop, inhabited for the most by Grecians, as is the whole Iland, and subject to the Venetians.

Saint Maura lyeth next unto this, once adjoyning to the Continent, and separated by the labour of the Inhabitants: yet no further removed then by a bridge to bee past into. Called it was formerly Leucadia, of a white Rocke which

lyeth before it, toward Cephalonia. On which stood the Temple of Apollo. In this Iland they have a Citie inhabited for the most part by Jewes: received by Bajazet the Second; at such time as they were expulsed Spaine by King Ferdinand.

Val de Compare, a little beyond presenteth her rockie Mountaines, contayning in circuit about fiftie miles, now inhabited by Exiles and Pirates. Once called Ithaca, so celebrated for the birth of Ulysses: Betweene this and the mouth of the Gulph of Lepanto, (once named the Gulph of Corinth) lye certaine little Ilands, or rather great Rockes, *Curzolari.* now called Curzolari, heretofore Echinades, made famous by that memorable Sea-battell there obtayned against the Turke by Don John of Austria, in the yeare 1571. and sung by a crowned Muse.

We sayled close by Cephalenia, triangular in forme, one hundred and sixtie miles in circumference: the Mountaynes intermixed with profitable Valleyes, and the Woods with Champian. Unwatered with Rivers, and poore in Fountaines, but abounding with Wheate, Honey, Corents, Manna, Cheese, Woqll, Turkeyes, excellent Oyle, incomparable (though not long lasting) Muscadines, and Powder for the dying of Scarlet: This growes like a blister on the leafe of the holy Oke, a little shrub, yet producing Acornes: being gathered, they rub out of it a certaine red dust, that converteth after a while into wormes, which they kill with Wine when they begin to quicken. Amongst her many harbours, Argostoli is the principall, capacious enough for a Navie. The Inhabitants of this Iland are Grecians, the Venetians their Sovereignes. Having past through the Streights, that divide this Iland from the next, (vulgarly called Canale del Zant,) on the second of September we entred the Haven of Zacynthus, and saluted the Castle with our Ordnance.

This Iland (nine hundred miles distant from Venice) *Zacynthus, or Zant.* so called of Zacynthus the Sonne of Dardanus, and at this day Zant; contayneth in circuit not past threescore miles. On the South and South-east sides rockie and mountayn-

ous, but plaine in the midst, and unspeakably fruitfull, producing the best Oyle of the World, and excellent strong Wines, both white and red, which they call Ribolla. But the chiefe riches thereof consisteth in Corents, which draweth hither much trafficke (especially from England and Holland, for here they know not what to doe with them:) insomuch that wheras before they were scarce able to free themselves from importunate famine, they now (besides these private gettings, amounting to one hundred and fiftie thousand Zecchins) doe yearely pay unto Saint Marke fortie eight thousand Dollars for Customes and other Duties. It is impossible that so little a portion of Earth, so employed, should be more beneficiall, the mountaynous part being barren, and the rest comprized within two or three not very ample Valleyes, but those all over husbanded like an entyre Garden. They sow little Corne, as employing their grounds to better advantage: for which they sometimes suffer, beeing ready to starve, when the weather continueth for any season tempestuous: and they cannot fetch their provision, which they have as well of Flesh as of Corne, from Morea, being ten leagues distant. They have Salt-pits of their owne, and store of fresh water, but little or no wood, though celebrated for the abundance thereof, by Homer and Virgil.

Store of Corants.

It is here a custome strictly observed (as also else-where within the Streights belonging to the Christians) not to suffer any to trafficke or come ashoare before they have a Pratticke from the Signiors of Health, which will not be granted untill fortie dayes after their arrivall, especially if the ship come from Turkie, and bring not a Certificate, that the place from whence they came is free from the infection: if so, perchance their restraint may be shortned, during which time they have a Guardian set over them. They will not suffer a Letter to be delivered, if sealed with thred, before it be opened and ayred. If such as come to speake with them doe but touch one of the ship, or sometimes but a rope, they shall be forced to ascend, and remayne there for the time limited; it being death to

Pratticke of health.

him that shall come ashoare without licence. Notwithstanding, they upon request will carrie you to the Lazaretto (which is the nature of a Pest-house) there to abide untill the date be expired. But if any fall sicke amongst them in the meane-season, their Pratticke is accordingly prolonged. A great inconvenience to the Merchants, but at Venice intolerable, where when they have Pratticke, they are enforced to unlade at the Lazaretto. So under pretence of ayring their goods are opened; their quantitie, qualitie and condition known; redounding much to their detriments. But for that we came from Venice, wee were freed from this mischiefe, and presently suffered to land.

[II. viii. 1276.]

The Towne, taking or giving a name to the Iland, stretcheth along betweene the West side of the Haven and the foote of the Mountayne: perhaps a mile in length, in breadth but narrow. The streets unpaved, the building low, by reason of the often Earth-quakes whereunto this Iland is miserably subject. Two hapned during my short abode heere, though of small importance. Although the seate of the Towne be excessive hot, yet is it happily qualified by a North-east gale that bloweth from Sea most constantly about the midst of the day.

The Great Turke hath yearely a present of Falcons from the Governor (accompanyed, as some say, with twelve hundred Zecchins) which he calleth a Tribute: it beeing in his power to distresse them at his pleasure, by restrayning the reliefe of victuals which they have from Morea, and his adjoyning Dominions. Whilest wee were here, the Captaine Bassa past by with sixtie Gallies: who yearely about this time sayleth in circuit, to receive Tribute, suppresse Pirates, and to doe some exploit upon the Malteses, Spaniards, and Florentines, with whom they are onely in hostilitie. Divers of their Gallies putting into the Haven, were courteously entertaynd for the Venetians endeavour, as much as in them lyes to keepe good quarters with the Turke; not onely for the reason aforesaid, (which perhaps might extend as farre as their Citie: their Territories though large and fruitfull, too narrow to sustayne

so populous a State, if unrelieved from Turkie, and that their passage into the mid-land Sea were interrupted) not for the losse they should sustayne by the cessation of Trafficke with the Mahometans: but knowing him by deare experience too powerfull an Adversary for them by Land, and though they are perhaps strong enough by Sea, yet should they lose a Navie, their losse were unrecoverable, whereas the Turke within the space of a yeare is able to set forth another.

The Inhabitants of this Iland are in generall Grecians (of whom wee will speake no more then concernes the particular customes of the place, reserving the rest to our relation of that people): in habit they imitate the Italians, but transcend them in their revenges, and infinitely lesse civill. They will threaten to kill a Merchant that will not buy their Commodities, and make more conscience to breake a Fast, then to commit a Murther. One of them at our beeing heere, pursued a poore Sailer (an Englishman) for offering but to carrie a little bagge of Corents aboord uncustomed, and killed him, running up a paire of staires for succour. He is weary of his life that hath a difference with any of them, and will walke abroad after day-light. But cowardize is joyned with their crueltie, who dare doe nothing but sodainly, upon advantages; and are ever privately armed. Encouraged to Villanies by the remisnesse of their Lawes: for none will lay hands upon an offender, untill fourteene dayes after that hee bee called to the Scale, (an eminent place where one doth stand and publikely cite the offenders:) who in the meane-time hath leisure to make his owne peace, or else to absent himselfe: if then he appeare not, they banish him; and propound a reward according to the greatnesse of the offence, to him that shall either kill or take him alive: and if it be done by one that is banished, his owne banishment (the least reward) is released. The Labourers doe goe into the fields with Swords and Partizans, as if in an Enemies Country, bringing home their Wines and Oyles in Hogs-skins, the in-sides turned outward. It is a custome

Murtherers.

Danger of remisse Lawes.

amongst them to invite certaine men unto their Marriages, whom they call Compeeres. Every one of these doe bestow a Ring, which the Priest doth put upon the Bride and Bridegroomes fingers, interchangeably shifting them; and so hee doth the Garlands on their heads. Of these they are never jealous (an abuse in that kind reputed as detestable a crime, as if committed by a naturall Brother,) so that they lightly chuse those for their Compeeres that have beene formerly suspected too familiar. The Bridegroome entring the Church, stickes his Dagger in the doore; held available against Inchantments. For heere it is a common practice to bewitch them: made thereby impotent with their Wives, untill the Charme be burnt, or otherwise consumed: insomuch that sometimes (as they say) the Mothers of the betrothed, by way of prevention doe bewitch them themselves, and againe unloose them as soone as the Marriage is consummated. The Nuptiall sheets (as in some cases commanded by the Mosaicall Law) are publikely showne: and preserved by their Parents as a Testimonie of their uncorrupted Virginities.

There be here two Bishops, one of the Greekes, and another of the Latines. The Greekes have divers Churches, the principall that of S. Nicolas, (which giveth to the Haven a name, and not far removed) with a Monastery of Caloieros; for so are their Monkes called. On the other side of the Harbor, upon the top of the Promontory, they have another far lesse; with a Chappell dedicated to the Virgin Mary, called Madonna del Scopo, reputed effectresse of Miracles, and much invocated by Sea-faring men. As the Duke of Venice doth marrie the Sea, so yearely doth this Bishop upon the Twelfe day baptize it: although with lesse state, yet with no lesse Ceremonie. The Venetians heere (as in Candy) doe joyntly celebrate the Grecian Festivals: either to gratifie, or else to avoid occasions of tumult. As for the Romane Catholike Bishop, hee hath his Cathedrall Church and residence within the Castle: where there is a Covent of Franciscans. A mile and halfe off, in the sight of the

[II. viii. 1277.]

Towne, on the side of a Mountaine, they have another Monasterie, called the Annuntiata, where the Latins have their burials, built in the yeere 1550. when under the ground there were found two Urnes; one full of ashes, and the other of water, in an ancient Sepulchre. Upon a square stone that covered the Tombe, was engraven M. Tul. Cicero lave et tu Jeptia Antonia, and under the Urne which contayneth the ashes, Ave Mar. Tul. It being supposed that Cicero was there buried: peremptorily affirmed by a Traveller then present; reporting withall, that he saw this Epitaph:

Sepulchre of Cicero.

Johannes Zualardus in Itin. lib. 1.

Of Orators the Prince, of Speech the Pride,
Tullie, with his Wife in this Urne abide:
Tullie, that of himselfe thus writ; O Rome
Blest, in that I thy Consul, am become.

Ille oratorum princeps, & gloria linguæ
Romanæ, jacet hac, cum conjuge Tullius urna.
Tullius ille, inquam, de se qui scripserat olim,
O fortunatam natam, me consule, Romam.
Adamus Tefellenius in suo Itin.

The Jewes have here a Synagogue, (of whom there are not many) one having married an English woman, and converted her to his Religion. They weare a blue riband about their hats for a distinction. The forraine Merchants here resident, are for the most part English, who by their frequent deaths doe disprove the aire to be so salubrious as is reported: who have their purchased interments in gardens: neither suffered by Greekes nor Latines to be buried in Churches. If a Stranger here take a fraught of a Venetian, and a Venetian ship be in Port, the Master thereof upon a protestation, will enforce the Stranger to unlode, and serve his owne turne therewith, if it be for his benefit. In this Iland there are fortie Villages.

On the fourteenth of September I embarqued in another English ship, called the Great Exchange; first bound for Chios, and then for Tripolis. With a prosperous wind wee compassed a part of Morea: more famous by the name

Morea.

of Peloponnesus: shaped like a Plantan leafe, and embraced almost by the Corinthian and Saronian armes of the Mediterraneum: on the North adjoyning by a narrow Isthmos to the rest of Greece; where stood that renowmed *Corinth.* Citie of Corinth. But I rather thinke, for their wholsome advice, and expedite execution, in freeing the State of those monsters, called the Dogs of Jupiter, that is, infernall Furies, and ministers of his vengeance. Alphonsus King of Naples, was wont to say merrily, that the Harpyes had *Strophades.* left the Strophades to inhabite at Rome: intimating thereby the avarice of that Clergie. Wee left on the left hand two Rockes, at this day called the Strivaly: where onely live a few Greeke Coloieros, that receive their sustenance of almes from the neighbouring Ilands. There is in one a Spring of fresh water, supposed to have his originall in Peloponnesus, and so to passe under the Sea, in regard of a certaine tree over-shadowing a little Lake, the leaves thereof (or like unto those) being often found in this Fountaine, there growing none of that kind in the Iland. Wee thrust betweene Cape Malio and Cerigo, about five miles distant; once Porphyris, of his excellent Porphyr; but better knowne by the name of Cythera. An Iland consecrated unto Venus. In the Towne rising two furlongs up from the Haven, stood her celebrated Temple (the most ancient that the Grecians had of that Goddesse,) and therein her Statue in complete armour. Out of this it is said, that Paris made a rape of Helena, or rather here first enjoyed her in his returne from Sparta. The ruines are now to be seene, together with that of Uranias. The Iland is sixtie miles in compasse; it hath divers Harbours, but those small and unsafe. A delightfull soyle, inhabited by Grecians, and subject to the Venetians.

Mare Ægeum. This is the first of the Ægean Sea: the largest arme of the Mediterraneum, extending to the Hellespont, and dividing Greece from the lesser Asia. A Sea dangerous and troublesome to sayle through, in regard of the multitude of Rockes, and Ilands, every where dispersed.

Insomuch, that a man is proverbially said to sayle in the Ægean Sea, that is, encumbred with difficulties. The Ilands of this Sea were anciently divided into the Sporades, and Cyclades. The Sporades are those that lie scattered before Crete, and along the coast of Asia: The Cyclades, so called in that they lie in a circle.

Amongst the rest of the last named wee sayled by Delos, (now Diles) hemd with sharpe Rockes. The ruines of Apollos Temple are here yet to be seene, affoording faire Pillars of marble to such as will fetch them, and other stones of price, both in their nature, and for their workmanship; the whole Iland being now uninhabited. *Delos.*

Three dayes after our embarkment (as quicke a passage as ever was heard of) we arrived at Sio, a famous Iland, called formerly Chios. Sixscore and five miles it contayneth in circuit, extending from South unto North: the North and West quarters extraordinarie hilly. In the middest of the Iland is the Mountaine Arvis (now Amista) producing the best Greeke Wines. But the Lenticke tree, which is well-nigh onely proper to Sio, doth give it the greatest renowne and endowment. These grow at the South end of the Iland, and on the leasurely ascending hills that neighbour the shoare. In heighth not much exceeding a man, leaved like a Service, and bearing a red berrie, but changing into blacke as it ripeneth. *Chios.*

In the beginning of August lanch they the rine, from whence the Masticke distilleth untill the end of September, at which time they gather it. None suffered to come amongst them during the interim, it being death to have but a pound of new Masticke found in their houses. The wood thereof is excellent for tooth-picks. By reason of these trees they have the best Honie of the world, which intermingled with water, is not much inferiour in relish to the costly Shurbets of Constantenople. The Iland produceth Corne and Oyle indifferent plentie. Some Silke they make, and some Cottons here grow, but short in worth unto those of Smyrna. It hath also quarries of excellent Marble, and a certaine green earth, like the rust *Masticke.* [II. viii. 1278.]

of Brasse, which the Turkes call, Terra Chia: but not that so reputed of by the ancient Physicians. The coast, especially towards the South, is set with small Watch-towers, which with smoake by day, and fire by night, doe give knowledge unto one another (and so to the up-land) of suspected enemies. The environing Sea being free from concealed Rockes, and consequently from perill. On the East side of the Iland, foure leagues distant from the Maine of Asia, from that part which was formerly called Ionia, stands the Citie of Sio, having a secure Haven (though daily decaying, yet with a something dangerous entrance, streightned on the North side by the sea-ruined wall of the Mould, incroching neerer the Diamond, which stands on the other side of the Mouth, so called of the shape, rising out of the Sea, and supporting a Lanterne, erected by the Genoeses,) insomuch that ships of the greatest size doe anchor in the channell: but ours thrust in, when going ashoare, I was friendly entertayned of the *English Consul.* English Consull. The Towne stretcheth along the bottome of the Haven, backt on the West with a rockie Mountaine, the building meane, the Streets no larger then Allies. Upon the Castle hill there is a Bannia, which little declines from the state of a Temple; paved with faire tables of marble, and supported with Columnes, contayning severall roomes, one hotter then another, with Conduits of hot water, and naturall Fountaines. On the North side of the Citie stands the Castle, ample, double walled, and environed with a deepe ditch: manned and inhabited by Turkes, and well stored with munition. This not many yeeres since was sodainely scaled in a night by the Florentines, who choaking the Artillerie, and driving the Turkes into a corner, were now almost masters thereof: when a violent storme of wind, or rather of feare, enforced their companions to Sea, and them to a composition; which was, to depart with ensignes displayed. But the Governour having gotten them into his power, caused their heads to be strucke off, and to be piled in morter on the Castle wall; where as they yet remayne,

but not unrevenged. For the Captaine Bassa upon his comming, strangled the perfidious Governour, either for dishonouring the Turke in his breach of promise, or for his negligence in being so surprised. Since when, a watch-word every minute of the night goeth about the walls, to testifie their vigilance. Their Orchards are here enriched with excellent fruits; amongst the rest, with Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Pomgranats, and Figs. Upon these Fig-trees they hang a kind of unsavoury Figge: out of whose corruption certaine small wormes are ingendred, which by biting the other (as they say) procure them to ripen. Partridges here are an ordinarie food; whereof they have an incredible number, greater then ours, and differing in hue, the beake and feete red, the plume ash-colour. Many of them are kept tame; these feeding abroad all day, at night upon a call returne to their severall owners.

Solyman the Magnificent, picking a quarrell with the Governour for the Genoas, for a suspected correspondencie with the great Master of Malta, during those warres, and discovery of his designes; having besides neglected accustomed presents, with the payment of two yeeres tribute, sent Pial the Captaine Bassa to seize on the Iland; who on Easter day in the yeere 1566. presenting himselfe before Sio, with fourescore Gallies, so terrified the Inhabitants, that before they were summoned, they quietly surrendred both it and themselves to his disposure. The Governour, together with the principall families, intending to depart for Italie, hee sent unto Constantinople; and suffered the common people to stay or remove at their liking: So that the whole Iland is now governed by Turkes, and defiled with their superstitions: yet have the Christians their Churches, and unreproved exercise of Religion. Besides impositions upon the land, and upon commodities arising from thence, the Great Turke receives yeerely for every Christian above the age of sixteene, two hundred Aspers: but the husbandmen are exempted untill marriage. The Inhabitants for the most part, are Turkes

120. *Aspers amount to a Sultanie.*

and Grecians; those living in command, and loosely: the other husbanding the earth, and exceeding them infinitely in number. They are in a manner releast of their thraldome, in that unsensible of it: well meriting the name of Merrie Greekes, when their leasure will tolerate. Never Sunday or holiday passes over without some publike meeting or other: where intermixed with women, they dance out the day, and with full crownd Cups enlengthen their jollitie. Frequented by forraine Merchants, Natolia affoording great store of Chamolets and Grogerams, made about Angra; and a part brought hither, before such time as the Goats (whose haire they pull, white, long, and soft) were destroyed by the late Rebels, consisting for the most part of the expulsed Inhabitants of burned Townes; who having lost all that they had, knew not better how to recover their losses, then by preying upon others; and so joyned with their undoers, led by Calender Ogly and Zid Arab: and growne to so fearefull a head, that the Great Turke (some say) had once a thought to have forsaken the Imperiall Citie, they being fiftie thousand, but destitute of Artillerie. After foyled by Morat Bassa the great Vizer, who for that service (but chiefly for the over-throw of Janballat the Bassa of Aleppo, and naturall Lord of the rich Valley of Achillis) was called by him his Father and Deliverer. They besieged this Citie, and were by certayne English ships that lay in the Roade, unfriendly saluted. In the end, burnt a part thereof, and tooke a ransome for sparing the rest. But their principall commoditie is Cotton wooll, which here groweth in great quantitie. With the seeds thereof they doe sow their Fields, as wee ours with Corne. The stalke no bigger than that of Wheate, but tough as a Beanes: the head round and bearded, in size and shape of a Medler: hard as a stone; which ripening breaks, and is delivered of a white soft Bombast intermixed with seeds, which they separate with an instrument. You would thinke it strange, that so small a shell should contayne such a quantitie, but admire if you saw them stive it in their ships:

Turkish Rebels.

[II. viii. 1279.]

English service.

Cotton.

enforcing a Sacke as bigge as a Wooll-packe into a roome, at the first too narrow for your arme, when extended by their instruments: so that oft they make the very decks to stretch therewith.

Taking with me a Greeke that could speake a little broken English, for my Interpreter: on the twentieth of November, I did put my selfe into a Barke, Armado of Simo, a little Iland hard by the Rhodes (the Patron a Greeke, as the rest) being laden with Spunges. That night we came to an anchor, under the South-west side of Mitylen. This Iland, not past seven miles distant from the Continent of Phrygia, contayneth eight score and eight miles in circuit. The South and West parts Mountaynous and barren, the rest levell and fruitfull, producing excellent Corne. *Mitylen or Lesbos.*

On the one and twentieth of September, the Windes grew contrarie: and the Seas (though not rough) too rough to be brooked by so small a vessell, no bigger, and like in proportion to a Graves-end Tilt-boate, yet rowing under the shelter of the Land, we entred the Gulfe of Calonus, they hoping to have found some purchase about a ship cast there away but a little before; divers of them leapt into the Sea, and diving unto the bottome, stayed there so long as if it had beene their habitable element. And without question, they exceed all others in that facultie, trayned thereunto from their child-hood, and hee the excellentest amongst them that can best performe it. Insomuch, that although worth nothing, he shall be proffered in marriage the best endowed, and most beautifull Virgin of their Iland. For they generally get their living by these Spunges, gathered from the sides of Rocks about the bottome of the Streights: sometimes fifteene fathome under water. A happie people, that live according to nature; and want not much, in that they covet but little. Their apparell no other then linnen breeches, over that a smocke close girt unto them with a Towell; puting on sometimes when they goe ashoare, long sleevelesse Coates of home-spun Cotton. Yet their Backs need not envie *Cunning Divers.* *Spunges.*

their Bellies: Biscot, Olives, Garlicke and Onions being their principall sustenance.

Upon the two and twentieth of September, the winds continuing contrarie, we but a little shortned our journey. Descrying a small Saile that made towards us, and thinking them to bee Pirats, we rowed backe by the shoare with all possible speed. In the evening we returned to the place that we fled from. When going ashoare, one attyred like a woman, lay groveling on the Sand, whilest the rest skipt about him in a ring, muttering certayne words, which they *Charmes.* would make me beleeve were prevalent Charmes to alter the weather to their purpose. On the three and twentieth wee continued weather-bound, remooving after it grew darke unto another anchorage; a custome they held, lest observed by day from Sea or Shoare, they might by night be surprised. We lay in a little Bay, and under a Cliffe, where not one of us but had his sleepe interrupted by fearfull dreames, he that watched affirming, that he had seene the Devill, so that in a great dismay we put from shoare about mid-night. But whether it proceeded from the nature of the vaporous place, or that infested by some spirit, I leave to decide. It is reported of a little Rockie Iland hard by, named formerly Æx, and sacred unto Neptune (whereof we have spoken something alreadie) that none could sleepe upon it for being disturbed with apparitions.

On the foure and twentieth the Sea grew calme, and wee proceeded on our voyage. Towards evening we went ashoare on the firme of Asia for fresh water, and came that *Tenedos.* night unto Tenedos. With the morning they renewed their labour, rowing along the chalkie shoare of the lesser *C. Janizari.* Phrygia. Now against Cape Janizari (desirous to see those celebrated fields, where once stood Ilium the glorie of Asia, that hath affoorded to rarest wits so plentifull an argument) with much importunitie and promise of reward (it being a matter of danger) I got them to set mee ashoare. When accompanied with two or three of them, we ascended the not high Promontorie, levell above, and

crowned with a ruined Citie, whose imperfect walls doe shew to the Sea their antiquitie. Wherein are many spacious Vaults and ample Cisternes for the receit of water. The foundation hereof should seeme to have beene laid by Constantine the Great, who intending to remove the seate of his Empire, began here to build; which upon a new resolution he erected at Byzantium. This is that famous Promontorie of Sigeum, honoured with the Sepulchre of *Sigæum.* Achilles, which Alexander (visiting it in his Asian expedition) covered with flowers, and ranne naked about it, as then the custome was in Funerals: sacrificing to the ghost of his Kinsman, whom he reputed most happy, that had such a Trumpet as Homer, to resound his vertues. In the [II. viii. Playne beyond us (for wee durst not straggle farther from 1280.] the shoare) wee beheld where once stood Ilium by him founded, called Troy promiscuously of Tros. Afterward feigned to have beene walled about by Neptune and Phœbus, in the dayes of Laomedon. Who hath not heard of this glorious Citie, the former taking, the ten yeeres warre; and later, finall subversion? which befell according to Eusebius, in the yeere of the World 2784. and second of Abdons government of Israel. The ruines at this day not more then conjecturally extant.

These Rivers, though now poore in Streames, are not yet so contemptible, as made by Bellonius, who perhaps mistaketh others for them, (there being sundrie Rivolets that descend from the Mountaynes) as by all likelihood he hath done the site of the ancient Troy. For the ruines *Troy.* that are now so perspicuous, and by him related, doe stand foure miles South-west from the aforesaid place, described by the Poets, and determined of by Geographers: seated on a hanging Hill, and too neere the navall station to affoord a Field for such dispersed Encounters, such long Pursuites, interception of Scouts, (then when the Trojans had pitched neerer the Navie) and executed stratagems, as is declared to have hapned betweene the Sea and the Citie. These reliques doe sufficiently declare the greatnesse of the later, and not a little the excellencie. The walls (as

Bellonius, but more largely, describeth it) consisting of great square stone, hard, blacke, and spongie, in divers places yet standing supported on the inside with Pillars, about two yards distant one from another, and garnished once with many now ruined Turrets, contayning a confusion of throwne-downe buildings, with ample Cisternes for the receit of Raine, it being seated on a sandie soile, and altogether destitute of Fountaynes. Foundations here are of a Christian Temple, and two Towers of Marble, that have better resisted the furie of Time; the one on the top of the Hill, and the other neerer the Sea in the Valley. From the wall of the Citie, another extendeth (supported with Buttresses, partly standing, and partly throwne downe) well-nigh unto Ida, and then turning, is said to reach to the Gulfes of Satelia, about twentie miles distant. Halfe a mile off, and West off these Ruines, opposing Tenedos, are the hot water Baths, heretofore adorned, and neighboured with magnificent buildings; the way thither inclosed, as it were, with Sepulchres of Marble (many of the like being about the Citie,) both of Greeks and Latins, as appeareth by the severall Characters. Two Baths there be; the one choked with rubbidge, the other yet in use, though under a simple coverture. But now the ruines beare not altogether that forme, lessened daily by the Turkes, who carried the Pillars and stones unto Constantinople, to adorne the buildings of the great Bassas, as they now doe from Cyzicus. This notable remainder of so noble a Citie was once a small Village of the Ilians. For the Ilians, after the destruction of that famous Ilium, often shifting the seate of the new, here fixt it at last, as is said, by the advice of an Oracle, contayning one onely contemptible Temple, dedicated to Minerva, at such time as Alexander came thither, who then offered up his shield, and tooke downe another (that which he after used in his fights) enriching the Temple with gifts, and honouring the Towne with his Name, exempting it from tribute, and determining upon his returne to erect in it a sumptuous Temple, to institute sacred Games, and to make it a great Citie. But

Alexander dying, Lysimachus tooke upon him that care, who immured it with a wall, contayning fortie furlongs in circuit, yet suffered it to retayne the name of Alexandria. After it became a Colonie, and an Universitie of the Romanes, of no meane reputation. Fimbria the Questor, having in a sedition slaine the Consul Valerius Flaccus in Bithynia, and making himselfe Captaine of the Roman Armie, the Citizens refusing to receive him, as a Robber and a Rebell, besieged this Citie, and in eleven dayes tooke it; who boasted, that he in eleven dayes had done that, which Agamemnon with five hundred saile of ships and the whole Greeke Nation, could hardly accomplish in ten yeeres. To whom an Ilian answered, That they wanted a Hector to defend them. Pieces of ruines, throughout these Playnes, lye every where scattered.

Returning againe to our Barke, hard by on the left hand left we Imbrius, now called Lembro, once sacred to Mercurie; and not farre beyond Lemnos, famous for the fabulous fall of Vulcan. Whereupon, and no marvell, he ever after halted. The Grecians there now inhabiting, doe relate, that he brake his Thigh with a fall from a Horse on the side of a Hill, which at this day beareth his name: the Earth in that place thereupon receiving those excellent vertues of curing of wounds, stopping of fluxes, expulsing poysons, &c. now called Terra Sigillata, in that sealed, and there onely gathered. This Hill lyeth South of the ruines of that ancient Hephæstia, which gave a name unto Vulcan, and about three flight-shots removed. Betweene which standeth Sotira, a little Chappell, frequented by the Greeke Coloieros upon the sixt of August; where they begin their Orisons, and from thence ascend the Mountayne to open the veine from whence they produce it: which they doe with great preparations and solemnities, accompanied with the principall Turkes of the Iland. That which covereth it, being remooved by the labour of wellnigh fiftie Pioners, the Priests take out as much as the Cadee doth thinke for that yeere sufficient (lest the price should abate by reason of the abundance) to whom they

Lemnos.

Terra Sigillata.

deliver it; and then close it up in such sort, as the place where they digged it, is not to bee discerned; the veine discovered, this precious Earth, as they say, doth arise like the casting up of Wormes, and that only during a part of that day: so that it is to be supposed, that they gather as much as the same will affoord them. Certayne bags thereof are sent to the Great Turke, the rest they sell (of which I have seene many Cups at Constantinople:) but that which is sold to the Merchants, is made into little Pellets, and sealed with the Turkish Character: the ceremonies in the gathering hereof were first inducted by the Venetians.

[II. viii. 1281.]

And now we entred the Hellespont, so called of Helle, the Daughter of Athamas King of Thebes, and Sister of Phryxus; who, flying the stratagems of their step-mother Ino, was drowned therein. Bounded on the left hand with the Thracian Chersonesus (vulgarly called Saint Georges Arme) a Peninsula pointing to the South-west, whereon stood the Sepulchre of Hecuba, called Cynossema, slaine by them, and buried in the aforesaid Promontorie. On the right hand, the Hellespont is confined with the lesser Phrygia, dividing Europe from Asia, in sundrie places not above a mile broad, and in length about fortie, (now called the Channell of Constantinople) and having a Current that setteth into the Ægeum: a trade-wind blowing either up or downe, which when contrarie to the streame, doth exceedingly incense it. The Mountaynes on each side are clothed with Pines, from whence much Pitch is extracted. Three leagues above the entrance, and at the narrowest of this Streight, stand Sestos and Abydos; opposite to each other, formerly famous for the unfortunate loves of Hero and Leander, drowned in the uncompassionate Surges, and sung by Musæus. Here Xerxes, whose populous Armie drunke Rivers drie, and made Mountaynes circumnavigable, is said to have past over into Greece, upon a Bridge of Boats; which when broken by Tempests, he caused the Sea to be beaten (as if sensible) with three hundred stripes,

Hellespont.

Sestos and Abydos.

and Fetters to be throwne therein; forbidding any to sacrifice unto Neptune.

Abydos stands in Asia, which the Milesians first founded, by the permission of Gyges King of Lydia, unto whom all the Countrey was subject. Taken by the Turke in the reigne of Orchanes. Sestos stands in Europe, though never great, yet strongly built, and once the principall Citie of Chersonesus: afterward defaced, a Castle was built in the roome thereof. Abydos is seated upon a low levell; and Sestos on the side of a Mountayne, yet descending to the Sea: both bordering the same with their Castles; whereof the former is foure square, the other triangular. These at this day are vulgarly called the Castles. All ships are suffered to enter, that by their multitude and appointment doe threaten no invasion; but not to returne without search and permission, of which we shall speake in the processe of our Journall. A little beyond wee past by the ruines of a Castle, which the Turkish Carmasals and Gallies still sayling by, salute with their Ordnance, it being the first Fort by them taken in Europe, who call it Zembenic. That night wee came to Callipoly, some twentie miles distant, and thrust into a little Haven North of the Towne, but only capable of small Vessels.

Callipoly is a Citie of Chersonesus, seated at the bottome of a Bay; so shallow, that ships doe there usually anchor, as throughout the whole Hellespont. Callipolis maketh a faire shew a-farre off; but entred, is nothing lesse then it promised: a part thereof possessing the shoare, and the rest the rising of the Mountayne: unwalled, and without either Citadell or Fortresse. Along the shoare, there are divers drie stations for Gallies. On the South side of the Citie in a little Playne, are sundrie round Hills; the Sepulchres, as they say, of certayne Thracian Kings: for such was the ancient custome of buriall. The Countrey above is Champan, and not barren, but rarely inhabited. Here is a Ferrie for transportation into Asia. Greekes and Jewes, together with the Turkes, *Calliopoli.*

doe inhabit the Towne, and are admitted their Churches and Synagogues. Here also is a Monasterie of Romish Friars, of the Order of Saint Augustine; one of them being at this time (but not dwelling in the Covent) the Franke Consul; whose office is to dispatch, and discharge the dues of all Christian ships, not subject to the Grand Signior, and admitted free trading below at the Castles. To this house I repayred, with hope of some refreshment after my wearisome voyage: but hee then from home, I was forced to returne to my water-bed; there being no *No Innes.* Innes for entertainment throughout inhospitall Turkie: yet is this Towne well furnished with all sorts of provision. What is here sold by the Greekes, you may agree for on a price: but the Turks will receive your money, and give you a quantitie for it, according to their owne arbitrement; but truly enough, and rather exceeding, then short of your expectation. For two or three Aspers (whereof twentie are neere upon a shilling) a Butcher will cut off as much Mutton (for they divide it not into joynts) as will well satisfie three, though hungrie; which they carrie to the Cookes, who make no more adoe, but slicing it into little Gobbets, pricke it on a Prog of Iron, and hang it in a Fornace. Derided and flurted at by divers of the baser people, at night we returned to our Barke. And departing the next morning, were forthwith met with a contrarie winde, which drove us to the shelter of a Rocke not farre from the Towne: where we abode all that day, and the night ensuing: they opening and washing part of their Sponges, which laid on the shoare, by the bulke you would have thought to have beene a fraught for a Pinnace; which stived into Sackes, when wet, were bestowed under the side Benches and crosse Bankes of this little Vessell.

On the seven and twentieth of September, before day wee left the shoare, and after a while entred the Proponticke Sea: confined with Thrace on the one side, and with Bithynia on the other. Having climbed the Mountayne steepe towards the Sea, wee got to the Towne, and

bought us some victuals, at night we returned to our Boate, which lay in an obscure Bay, where they spent the next day in washing the residue of their Sponges, whilest I and my Interpreter spent our times on the top of the Mountayne in the Vineyards, not well pleased with this their delay, now more affecting their ease then when without the Hellespont: being rid of that feare (for no Pirat dare venter to come within the Castles) which had quickned their expedition. In the evening we descended, where we found the Patron lying on his backe upon a Rocke, all dropping wet: speechlesse, and strugling with death to our seeming. The Greekes together by the eares, every one with his fellow; some in the Boate, and some upon the Shoare. Amongst the rest there was a blinde man, who had married a yong wife, that would not let him lie with her; and thereupon had under-taken this journey to complaine unto the Patriarch: hee hearing his brother crie out at the receit of a blow; guided to the place by the noise, and thinking with his staffe to have strucke the striker; laid it on with such a force, that meeting with nothing but Ayre, and not able to recover himselfe, he fell into the Sea: and with much difficultie was preserved from drowning. The clamour increased with their contentions, and anon the Patrone starting up, as if of a sodaine restored to life; like a mad man skips into the Boate, and drawing a Turkish Cymiter, beginneth to lay about him (thinking that his Vessell had beene surprized by Pirats,) when they all leapt into the Sea; and diving under water like so many Dive-dappers, ascended without the reach of his furie. Leaping ashoare, hee pursues my Greeke, whom feare had made too nimble for him; mounting a steepe Cliffe, which at another time hee could have hardly ascended. Then turning upon me onely armed with stones, as God would have it, hee stumbled by the way, and there laid like a stone for two houres together; that which had made them so quarrelsome being now the Peace-maker, having cast the fetters of sleepe upon their distemperatures. For it beeing pro-

[II. viii. 1282.]

Merrie Greekes.

claimed death to bring Wine unto Constantinople, and they loth to powre such good Liquor into the Sea, had made their bellies the over-charged Vessels. When the Patron awaked, and was informed by my Greeke how he had used me, and withall of my resolution (which was rather to retyre unto the Towne, and there expect a passage, than to commit my safetie unto such people) he came unto me, and kissed me, as did the rest of his companions, (a testimonie amongst them of good-will and fidelitie) and so enforced mee aboord. The winds the next day blew fresh and favourable. That night wee came to anchor a little below the seven Towers: and betimes in the morning arrived at the Custome-house. Then crossing the Haven I landed at Galata, and so ascended the Vines of Pena; where by Sir Thomas Glover, Lord Embassador for the King, I was freely entertayned: abiding in his house almost for the space of foure monethes. Of whom without Ingratitude and Detraction I cannot but make an honourable mention.

Galata.

Sir T. Glover.

§. II.

Constantinople described, the Turkes Seraglio, Pera; the Turkish Empire and Government: Some Observations of the Turkish Religion.

THis Citie by destinie appointed, and by nature seated for Soveraigntie, was first the seat of the Romane Emperors, then of the Greeke, as now it is of the Turkish: built by Constantine the Sonne of Helena, and lost by Constantine the Sonne of another Helena (a Gregorie then Bishop, whose first Bishop was a Gregorie) to Mahomet the second, in the yeare 1453. with the slaughter of her people, and destruction of her magnificent structures. The like may bee observed of the Romane Emperours, whose first was Augustus, and whose last was Augustulus.

It stands on a Cape of Land neere the entrance of the Bosphorus. In forme triangular, on the East-side washed

with the same, and on the North-side with the Haven, adjoyning on the West to the Continent. Walled with bricke and stone, intermixed orderly, having foure and twentie gates and posternes; whereof five doe regard the Land, and nineteene the water, being about thirteene miles in circumference. Than this there is hardly in nature a more delicate Object, if beheld from the Sea or adjoyning Mountaines; the loftie and beautifull Cypresse Trees so intermixed with the buildings, that it seemeth to present a Citie in a Wood to the pleased beholders. Whose seven aspiring heads (for on so many hils and no more, they say it is seated) are most of them crowned with magnificent Mosques, all of white Marble, round in forme, and coupled above; being finished on the top with gilded Spires, that reflect the beames they receive with a marvellous splendor; some having two, some foure, some sixe adjoyning Turrets, exceeding high, and exceeding slender; Tarrast aloft on the out-side like the mayne top of a ship, and that in severall places equally distant, from whence the Tasilmanni with elated voices (for they use no Bels) doe congregate the people, pronouncing this Arabicke Sentence, La Illah Illella Muhemet re sul Allah: viz. [II. viii. 1283.] There is but one God, and Mahomet his Prophet. No Mosque can have more then one of these Turrets, if not built by an Emperor. But that of Sancta Sophia, once *S. Sophia.* a Christian Temple, (twise burnt, and happily, in that so sumptuously re-edified by the Emperour Justinian) exceedeth not onely the rest, by whose patterne they were framed, but all other Fabrickes whatsoever throughout the whole Universe. A long labour it were to describe it exactly, and having done, my eies have seene it, would but condemne my defective Relation. The principall part thereof riseth in an Ovall, surrounded with Pillars, admirable for their proportion, matter and workmanship. Over those others, through which ample Galleries, curiously paved and arched above, have their prospect into the Temple, dignified with the presence of Christian Emperours at the time of Divine Service, ascended by

them on Horse-backe. The roofe compact, and adorned with Mosaike Painting: an Antique kind of worke, composed of little square pieces of Marble; gilded and coloured according to the place that they are to assume in the figure or ground, which set together, as if embossed, present an unexpressable statelinesse, and are of a marvellous durance: numbred by Pancirollus amongst things that are lost, but divers in Italie at this day excell in that kind, yet make the particles of Clay, gilt, and coloured before they be neiled by the fire. The rest of the Church, though of another proportion, doth joyne to this with a certaine harmonie. The sides and floore all flagged with excellent Marble, vaulted underneath, and contayning large Cisternes, replenished with water from an Aquæduct. Before the entrance, there is a goodly Portico; where the Christians that visit it upon curiositie, as well as the Turkes, doe leave their shooes before they doe enter. Within on the left hand, there is a Pillar covered with Copper, ever sweating, (I know not why, unlesse in beeing past through by some Conduit) which the Turkes wipe off with their Handkerchers, through a vaine Superstition perswaded, that it is of sacred and soveraigne vertue. The doores are curiously cut through, and plated; the wood of one of them fained to be of the Arke of Noe, and therefore left bare in some places to be kissed by the devouter people. Evagrius that lived a thousand yeares since, affirmeth this Temple to have beene from East unto West, two hundred and threescore feet long, and in height one hundred and fourescore: and Antonius Menavinus, that in the dayes of Bajazet, it contayned at once sixe and thirtie thousand Turkes. Perhaps the ancient Fabricke then standing entire, whereof this now remayning, was little more then the Chancell. Better to be beleeved then Bellonius a moderne eye-witnesse, who reports that the dores thereof are in number equall to the dayes of the yeare: whereas if it hath five, it hath more by one, then by me was discerned. Mahomet the Great, upon the taking of the Citie, threw downe the Altars, defaced the

Mosaike painting.

Sweating Pillar.

Suntque in eo Templo (si licet dicere tot portæ quot in anno dies. Obser. lib. 2. cap. 76.

Images, (of admirable workemanship, and infinite in number) converting it into a Mosque. To every one of these principal Mosques belong publike Bagnios, Hospitals, with lodgings for Santons, and Ecclesiasticall persons, beeing endowed with competent Revenues. The inferiour are built for the most part square, many penthousd with open Galleries where they accustome to pray at times extraordinarie: there being in all (comprehending Pera, Scutari, and the Buildings that border the Bosphorus) about the number of eight thousand.

But of this Sophia, is almost every other Friday frequented by the Sultan, beeing neere unto the forefront of his Serraglio, which possesseth the extremest point of the North-east Angle, where formerly stood the ancient Byzantium; divided from the rest of the Citie by a loftie wall, contayning three miles in circuit; and comprehending goodly Groves of Cypresses intermixed with Plaines, delicate Gardens, artificiall Fountaines, all varietie of fruit-trees, and what not rare? Luxurie being the Steward, and the Treasure unexhaustable. The proud Palace of the Tyrant doth open to the South, having a loftie Gate-house without lights on the out-side, and ingraven with Arabicke Characters, set forth with Gold and Azure all of white Marble. This leadeth into a spacious Court three hundred yards long, and about halfe as wide, on the left side whereof stands the round of an ancient Chappell, contayning the Armes that were taken from the Grecians, in the subversion of this Citie; and at the far end of this Court a second Gate, hung with Shields and Cymiters, doth leade into another full of tall Cypresse Trees, lesse large yet not by much then the former. The Cloysters about it, leaded above, and paved with stone, the Roofe supported with Columnes of Marble having Copper Chapters, and Bases. On the left hand the Divano is kept; where the Bassas of the Port doe administer Justice, on that side confined with humble buildings, beyond which Court on the right hand there is a street of Kitchens: and on the left is the Stable, large enough

Turkes Palace, or Seraglio.

for five hundred Horse; where there is now to be seene a Mule so admirably streakt, and dapled with white and blacke, and in such due proportion, as if a Painter had done it, not to imitate Nature, but to please the Eye, and expresse his Curiositie. Out of this second Court there is a passage into a third, not by Christians ordinarily to be entred, surrounded with the Royall Buildings, which though perhaps they come short of the Italian, for contrivement and finenesse of workmanship; yet not in costly curiousnesse, matter, and amplitude. Betweene the East wall (which also serveth for a Wall to the Citie) and the water, a sort of terrible Ordnance was planted, which threat destruction to such as by Sea shall attempt a violent entrie or prohibited passage: and without on the North-side stands the Sultans Cabinet, in forme of a sumptuous Sommer House, having a private passage made for the time, of waxed Linnen, from his Serraglio: where he often solaceth himselfe, with the various objects of the Haven, and from thence takes Barge to passe unto the delightfull places of the adjoyning Asia. This Palace howsoever enlarged by the Ottomans, was first erected by Justinus, who named it Sophia of the Empresse.

Streakt Mule, perhaps a Zebra, of which see the former Booke in Andrew Battell.

[II. viii. 1284.]

Ottoman Monuments.

Now next to these the Ottoman Mausoleas doe require their regard, built all of white Marble round in forme, and coupled on the top; having stately Porches, within each is the Tombe of a severall Sultan, with the Tombes of his Children, that either have dyed before him, or have after beene strangled by their tyrannicall Brethren, according to the Turkish pietie. The Tombes nor longer, nor larger then fitting the included bodies, each of one stone; higher at the head then feet, and compast above: without other ornament then covers of Greene, and Turbants laid upon the upper ends, at the foure corners of those of the Sultans, there stand foure Tapers of Waxe as bigge as a thigh, but not lighted. The floores of the Monuments are spread with Carpets: and some there are that doe continually live therein, performing such duties of Prayers and Lamentations, as agreeth to their customes; at

certaine times besprinkled also with the teares of their Offspring.

The South-east Angle of this Citie is taken up by the seven Towers, called anciently Janicula: employed, as the Tower of London, for a Store-house of the Sultans Treasure, and Munition, being also a Prison for capitall Offenders. We omit to speake of the great mens Serraglios; that of the women belonging to the deceased Emperours; and that of the Virgins; the Alberges of Janizaries; the severall Seminaries of Spachies and Giamoglans: the Besestans (where finer sorts of Commodities are sold,) Hospitals; Markets of men and women, &c. since hereafter we are to treate of most of their Orders; the buildings themselves not meriting a particular description: converting our Discourse to those few remainders of many Antiquities, whereof the Aquæduct made by the Emperour Valentinian, and retayning his name, doth principally challenge remembrance. This hath his heads neere to the Blacke Sea, not farre from a Village called Domuz-dere, of the abundance of wilde Hogges thereabout, the place being woodie and mountaynous, where many Springs are gathered together, and at sundry places doe joyntly fall into great round Cisternes, from thence conveyed to conjoyne with others (amongst which, as supposed, is the Brooke Cydarius) led sometimes under the Earth, now along the levell, then upon mightie Arches over profound Valleyes, from Hill to Hill, for the space wel-nigh of thirtie miles, untill arriving at the Citie, and surmounting the same, it falleth at length as from a head-long Cataract into an ample Cisterne, supported with neere two hundred Pillars of Marble; and is from thence by Conduits conducted unto their publike uses. This was repayred by Solyman the Great, great-grand-father of this now reigning Achmet: whose wishes and endeavours are said to have aymed at three things; which were, the re-edifying of Ponte Picollo, and Ponte Grande, (which crosse two armes of the Sea, and the restoring of this Aquæduct; these he accom-

The Tower.

Other Seraglios.

plished: but the third, which was the expugnation of Vienna, he could never accomplish. Not farre from the Temple of Sancta Sophia, there is a spacious place surrounded with buildings, like to that of Smith-field; and anciently called the Hippodrom, for that there they exhibited their Horse-races, as now Atmidan by the Turkes, a word of like significance, where the Spachies of the Court play every Friday at Giocho di Canni; which is no other then Prison Bace upon Horse-backe, hitting one another with Darts, as the other doe with their hands; which they never throw Counter but at the backe of the Flyer. Nor is it the least contentment to the Christian to behold the terrible falls that they often get (not rarely costing them their lives) whilst by the wreathing of their bodies, or a too hastie turne, they seeke to avoid the Pursuer; and sometimes the Darts not lighting in jest on their naked neckes, and reversed faces. In this place there standeth a stately Hieroglyphicall Obeliske of Theban Marble.

A Brazen Columne and an Obelisk are omitted.

And in Auratbasar (that is, the Market of Women) there is an Historicall Columne to bee ascended within, farre surpassing both Trajans, and that of Antoninus, which I have seene in Rome, the Workman having so proportioned the Figures, that the highest and lowest appeare of owne bignesse.

And right against the Mansion of the Germane Emperours Embassador (who onely is suffered to lodge within the Citie) stands the Columne of Constantine, about the top whereof, you may reade this Distichon, ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΦΘΑΡΕΝ ΧΡΟΝΩ ΝΕΟΙ ΜΑΝΟυΗΛ ΕυΣΕΒΗΣ ΑυΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ. These are all the Remaines that are left (or all that are by the Christians to be seene, besides the Relikes of the Palace of Constantine, now made a Stable for wilde beasts) of so many goodly buildings, and from all parts congested Antiquities, wherewith this Sovereigne Citie was in times past so adorned: and with them are their memories perished. For not a Greeke can satisfie the

Inquirer in the History of their owne Calamities. So supine negligent are they, or perhaps so wise as of passed evils to endeavour a forgetfulnesse. But to say something of Constantinople in generall: I thinke there is not in the World an Object that promiseth so much afarre off to the beholders, and entred, so deceiveth the expectation. The best of their private buildings, inferiour to the more contemptible sort of ours. For the Turkes are nothing curious of their houses, not onely for that their Possessions are not hereditary; but esteeming it an egregious folly to erect such sumptuous Habitations, as if hee were to live for ever. None being above two stories high, some of rough stone, some of timber, some of Sunne-dryed bricke: their Roofes but rising a little, covered with such Tiles as are layd on the Ridges of ours, one contrary to another; yet some part of some of them flat, (those belonging to men of principall degree) planted with flowers and trees of the rarest colours, and productions. Many vacant places there are in the Citie, and many rowes of buildings, consisting of shops onely, all belonging to the Grand Signior, who lets them out unto Tradesmen; into which their wives come not: prohibited by Mahomet that women should buy or sell (though now not seldome they doe) or shew themselves publikely. The streets for the most part are exceeding narrow; some raised on the sides for more cleanlinesse: many having steep ascents, in many places bounded with long dead walls, belonging to great mens Serraglios; so negligent are they of exterior garnishings. All the suburbs that this Citie hath, lie without the gate of Adrinople, adjoyning to the North-west angle thereof, and stretching along the uppermost of the Haven; where within a stately Monument, there standeth a Tombe of principall repute in the Mahometan devotion: the Sepulchre of Jupe Sultan a Santon of theirs, called vulgarly and ridiculously, the Sepulchre of Job. To which the Captaine Bassa doth repaire before he set forth, and at his returne, there performing appointed orations and ceremonies: and upon a

Base buildings.

[II. viii. 1285.]

[II. viii. 1286.]

The Suburbs.

Holy Sepulchre.

victorie obtayned, is obliged to visite the same every morning and evening for the space of three weekes. Before this, in a Cypresse grove, there standeth a Scaffold, where the new Sultans are girt with a sword, by the hands of the Mufti their principall Prelate, with divers solemnities.

The Haven. Now speake wee of the Haven, rather devouring then encreased by a little River, called formerly Barbyses, now by the Greekes, Chartaricon, and Chay by the Turkes: much frequented by fowle, and rigorously preserved for the Grand Signiors pleasure, who ordinarily hawkes thereon; insomuch that a servant of my Lord Embassa-
Cruelty. dors was so beaten, for presuming to shoote there, that shortly after he died (as it is thought) of the blowes. This falleth into the West extent of the Haven; throughout the world the fairest, the safest, the most profitable. So conveniently profound, that the greatest ships may lay their sides to the sides thereof, for the more easie receit, or discharge of their burthen. The mouth of it is land-lockt by the opposite Asia, opening Eastward into the Thracian Bosphorus, which by a long narrow channell stretching North and South, joynes the blacke and white Seas: so call they the Seas North and South of the Bosphorus. So that no wind bloweth, which brings not in some shipping or other, to the furnishing of this Citie; having (as hath beene said before) on the left hand the Euxine Sea, with the Lake of Meotis, inhabited about by multitudes of Nations, and entred into by many navigable Rivers; whereby whatsoever groweth, or is nourished in those farre distant Countries, is easily transported unto it: on the right hand Propontis, and the Mid-land Sea, (bordered with Natolia, Syria, Ægypt, Africa, Spaine, France, Italie, Greece, and Dalmatia, with their fruitfull Ilands) and without, the great Ocean. Insomuch as it seemeth by the opportunitie of navigation to participate with their severall commodities, daily brought hither by forrainers; seated of it selfe in a Countrey, though not altogether barren, yet not sufficient to sustaine the Inhabi-

tants. Moldavia and Valachia doe serve them with Beeves and Muttons; and as for Fish, the adjoyning Seas yeeld store and variety, as the concaves of the Rockes doe salt, white, pure, and solid, made onely by the labour of the surges. Subject it hath beene to sundrie horrible combustions: unto that which befell in the dayes of Leo, and not long after in the reigne of Basilicus, (when amongst other infinite losses that famous Librarie perished, containing an hundred and twentie thousand volumes; wherein the inward skin of a Dragon the Odysses and Iliads of Homer were written:) and to divers others, this last, though lesse, may be added, which hapned on the fourteenth of October, in the yeere 1607. in which three thousand houses were burnt to their foundations. Nor is it to be marvelled at: the Citizens themselves not daring to quench the fire that burneth their owne houses, or by pulling some downe to preserve the remaynder: an office that belongeth to the Aga, and his Janizaries; who nothing quicke in their assistance, doe often for spite or pillage, beate downe such buildings as are farthest remooved from danger. So that the mischiefe is not onely wished for the bootie, but prolonged; and not seldome they themselves set the Jewes houses on fire; who made warie by the example, are now furnished of arched vaults, for the safeguard of their goods, which are not to bee violated by the flame. The fall of houses heretofore by terrible and long-lasting earthquakes, now by negligence in repayring, tempests, and the matter that they consist of, is heere also most frequent, many (as hath beene said) being built of Sun-dried bricke. And although it enjoyes a delicate aire, and serene skies, even during the Winter, when the East, the West, or South wind bloweth; yet the boysterous Tramontana, that from the blacke Sea doth sweepe his blacke substance, heere most violently rages, bringing often with it such stormes of snow, that in September I have seene the then flourishing trees so overcharged therewith, that their branches have broken, accompanied with bitter frosts, which dissolving, resolve

Terrible fires.

Janizaries insolence.

Tempests.

therewith the unfirme matter that sustaynes them. *Plague.* Lastly, the plague (either hapning through the vice of the Clime, or of those misbeleevers, or hither brought by the many frequenting Nations) for the most part miserably infesteth this Citie, encreased by the superstition of the Mahometans.

On the other side of the Haven (continually crossed by multitudes of little Boats, called Permagies, and rowed for the most part by Ægyptians) stands the Citie of *Galata or Pera.* Galata, so called, as some write of the Gaules, once the masters thereof, or as others will have it, of Galac, which signifieth Milke, for that there the Greekes kept their cattell; as Pera (another name thereof,) which signifieth Beyond, in that on the other side of the Haven; but more anciently Cornu Byzantium. Infirmely walled, yet great, if you comprehend the suburbs therewith, extending from along the shoare to the upper tops of the Mountaines, surpassing Constantinople in her loftie buildings built by the Genoas; who bought it of the Greeke [II. viii. 1287.] Emperours (in their declining estate, possest of little more then the regall Citie, and title; for the most part sustayned by forraine contributions) and by them surrendred unto Mahomet the Great, the day after the sacking of Constantinople. At the West end thereof the Grand Signiors Gallies have a drie station: and at the East end right against the point of his Serraglio, called Tophana and Fundacle, lies a number of great Ordnance unplanted; most of them the spoyle of Christian Cities and Fortresses, as may appeare by their inscriptions, and Impreses; and many of them of an incredible greatnesse.

Now, right against the mouth of the Haven, on the other side of the Bosphorus, stands Scutari, a Towne of *Scutari. Chalcedon.* Bythinia. Scutari sometimes belonged to Chalcedon, once a free Citie, and seated a little below it: so called of a Brooke, now without a name, that runs into Propontis; called also, The Citie of the Blind; because of the foolish Megarians that built it. Famous for the fourth generall

THE HISTORICALL COLVMNE IN AURAT BASAR

Councell there holden; and now onely shewing a part of her ruines.

The blacke Sea is distant some fifteene miles from Constantinople, so named of his blacke effects, or for the thicke mists that usually hang over it. *Blacke Sea.*

Here the Turke prohibiteth forrainers to trafficke, there being no other passage there into but by Rivers: neither this passage of Bosphorus, as some conjecture, hath beene alwayes: but forced by the violence of streames that fell into the over-charged Euxine. Where it rusheth into the Bosphorus there are two Rockes, that formerly bare the names of Cyaneæ and Sympligades: which for that so neere, as many times appearing but as one, they were fayned by the Poets unstable, and at sundry times to justle each other. Here upon the top of a Rocke, supposed by some to be one of these, yet too farre removed from a fellow to be so, stands a Pillar of white marble, called vulgarly, The Pillar of Pompey. Upon the shoare there is an high Lanterne, large enough at the top, to contayne above threescore persons, which by night directeth the Sayler into the entrance of the Bosphorus.

The Bosphorus setteth with a strong current into Propontis, and is in length, about twentie miles; where broadest, a mile; and in two places, but halfe a mile over. So called, for that Oxen accustomed to swim from the one side to the other. One of those two forementioned Streights lies before Constantinople; the other, five miles above and a halfe, where on Europe side there standeth a Castle, called formerly Damalis, and now, The Blacke Tower. *Bosphorus.*

The Turkish Empire is the greatest that is, or perhaps that ever was from the beginning. For first the European part thereof extendeth westward unto the Archdukes of Austrias Dominions, stretching to the Adriatick Sea by the confines of Ragusa, bounded on the South with the Mediterraneum; on the East, with Ægeum, Propontis, and Pontus, even to Theodosia, a Citie of the Scythian Chersonesus; and on the North almost to Russia and Polonia;

contayning Romania, Bulgaria, Servia, Rascia, the tributarie principalities of Valachia and Moldavia; the greater part of Hungary, Bosnia, Albania, Macedon, Epirus, all Grecia and Peleponnesus; all the fruitfull Ilands of the Ægean Sea: Ragusa payes for her libertie; nor is Candie, Zant, or Cephalania held without Presents. But what is this, compared to her Asian Territories? within which, all Natolia is comprised; on three sides embraced with the Ægean, Euxine, and Cilician Seas; contayning the Provinces of Pontus, Galatia, Bythinia, Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphilia, Cicilia Cappadocia, and the lesser Armenia; beyond which, Colchis stretching Northward to Cataie, and bounded on the East with the Countrey of the Georgians, whereof the Turkes possesse not a little. A great part it also contayneth of the greater Armenia: all Syria (in which Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, and Palestine;) Babylonia and Mesopotamia: Arabia felix, which stretcheth out into the South Sea, interposing the Persian and Arabian Gulfes, doe bow to that Soveraigntie: so doe the Inhabitants of Petrea, and Deserta; such I meane, as have knowne habitations. In Africa it extendeth all along the coasts of the Mediterraneum, even from the red Sea to Acrath, a Citie of Mauritania (except some few places possest by the Spaniard) wherein is the Countrey of the Troglodites, the miraculously fertile Kingdome of Ægypt, Tripoly in Barbarie, the Kingdome of Tunis, and Citie of the Argers with her Territories, with the tributarie Kingdomes of Fesse and Morocco. To this adde Cyprus, Rhodes, and all the fertile Ilands of the mid-land Sea, that lie East of Candie. Thus great at this day is the Ottoman Empire: but too great for it are their assumed Titles: as God on earth, Shadow of God, Sole Monarch of the World, King of Kings, Commander of all that can be commanded, Soveraigne of the most noble Families of Persia and Armenia, Possessor of the holy Cities of Mecha and Jerusalem, Lord of the blacke and white Seas, Sultan of Babylon, and so proceeding with a repetition of their severall Kingdomes.

Like swelling attributes gave this now reigning Sultan to our Soveraigne, in a Letter writ lately, which I will insert for the strangenesse: Unto the most glorious and most mightie King. James, one of the great Lords of the creation of Jesus, and most laudable amongst all the Princes of the Nation of Messia, a Judge of all debates and differences of the people of Nazarets, Possessor of great Majestie, riches, and of glorie, a Judge of the most great Kings of England, &c. farcing his Letter with like fustian, calling his owne Court, Our most happie and shining Port, a Port of refuge for the World: and subscribing, From our Imperiall residence of Constantinople, most strongly and mightily guarded: Yet in his owne stile more modest, contayning no more then Sultan Achmet Chan, Sonne to Mahomet Chan most invincible.

But the barbarous policie whereby this tyrannie is sustayned, doth differ from all other: guided by the heads, and strengthned by the hands of his slaves, who thinke it as great an honour to be so, as they doe with us that serve in the Courts of Princes: the Naturall Turke (to be so called a reproach) being rarely employed in command of service: amongst whom there is no Nobilitie of bloud, no knowne parentage, kindred, nor hereditary possessions, but as it were of the Sultans creation, depending upon him onely for their sustenance and preferments. Who disposeth, as well of their lives as their fortunes, by no other rule then that of his will; although sometime for forme he useth the assent of the never gain-saying Mufti. These are the sonnes of Christians (and those the most compleatly furnished by nature) taken in their childhood from their miserable Parents, by a levie made every five yeeres (or oftner, or seldomer, as occasion requireth) throughout the whole Empire, (excepting certaine priviledged places, amongst which are Sio and Constantinople,) who are bestowed in severall Seminaries, instructed in the Mahometan Religion (changing their names upon their circumcision) taught the use of their severall weapons, and made patient of hunger and labour, [II. viii. 1288. *Janizaries.*

with inured abstinence, and continuall exercise. These they call Jemoglans, who have their faces shaven (the token of servitude,) wearing long Coats and copped Caps, not unlike to our Idiots. The choicest of them for spirit and feature, are after a while received into the Grand Signiors Serraglio, distinguished by chambers like to those in Hospitals, according to their seniorities; where all are brought up in the discipline of warre; and not a few, acquainted with the secrets of State: such as by the excellency of their gifts doe assure the expectation of a future eminency. Those of the first chamber, are the first preferred: yet not in order, but according to the worth of the place, and worthinesse of the person. Of these come the Beglerbegs, (the name signifying, a Lord of Lords) of whom there be onely two, the one of Greece, and the other of Natolia: who command all the horse-men in those Countries under the Generall) the Great Bassas, (whereof some are Generals of Armies, some Vizers of the Port, the rest Vice-royes of Provinces) the Sanziaks [II. viii. Governours of Cities, for so the name signifieth, with their 1289.] Territories and Forces, and other Officers both of Warre and Peace; with those of the Court, of principall place and attendance. Of the other Jemoglans some come to bee Chauses, who goe to Embassies, execute Commandements, and are Pursivants, and under-Sheriffs; attending the imployment of the Emperour, who mounted on horse-backe, carrie Dabuzes (a weapon like a Mace) before him, and on the Courts of Justice: soliciting all the causes of *Spachies.* their Clients. But the Spachies and Janizaries which are made of these Jemoglans (the principall cause of their institution) are the nerves and supporters of the Turkish Monarchy. The Spachies are Horse-men, weaponed for the most part at once, with Bow, Mase, Lance, Harquebusse, & Cymiter: whereof they have the severall uses, agreeing with their fights, their flights or pursuments. For defence, some weare Bucklers, and shirts of Male. The skirts of their coats, when they ride, are gathered within long Stammell broges that

reach to their anckles, and they doe joyne to their Buskins; shod with Iron, and supplying the want of Spurres, with their large and sharpe Stirrops. Their Saddles are plated behind & before, the seate deep and hard: and for Caparison, use for the most part the skins of Leopards, Lions, Tygres, Panthers, and the like. In Cities when on foot, they weare Gownes of Stammell with long hanging sleeves, and are distinguished from others by the folding up of their Shashes. Of these there be two sorts; the Uleffigi, which is to say, stipendarie, who are almost altogether made of these Jemoglans; and the Timariots, who consist of all sorts of people. The first as yet unpreferred, under the command of severall Captaines, do attend upon the immediate imployment of the Emperor: who alloweth unto each the daily pension of ten Aspers, paid them every quarter. Of these there be 32000. the one halfe of them are called Spaheioglans, who weare red Pendants on their speares, & when in the field, march on the right hand the Sultan: as the other on the left, who are called Silihtarspaheis, bearing yellow & white Pendants. The other dispersed throughout the whole Empire, do live upon their particular Tenements for terme of life assigned them, and thereupon so called. It being the policy of this State, to erect in the conquered Countries a number of Timariots, answerable to the greatnesse thereof: whereby the principall part of the souldiery is provided for, and the Empire strengthned, both against forraine invasions, and revolts of the subdued. Of these, as they say, there are upward of seaven hundred thousand: every one being to find as many Horse, as his Farme doth double the yearely value of sixtie Sultanies, ready to be commanded by their severall Sanziacks, as they by their Bassas: these beare on their Lances white and red Pendants. But the Janizaries (a name that signifieth New Souldiery) are those that beare such great sway in Constantinople: insomuch, that the Sultans themselves have beene sometimes subject to their insolencies. They are divided into severall Companies

Timariots.

Some say there are a million.

under severall Captaines, but all commanded by their Aga, a place of high trust; and the third in repute through the Empire: howbeit, their too much love is to him an assured destruction. These are the Flower of the Turkish Infantry, by whom such wonderfull victories have beene atchieved. They call the Emperour Father, (for none other is there for them to depend on) to whose valour and faith in the time of warre hee committeth his person, they having their stations about the Royall Pavillion. They serve with Harquebusses, armed besides with Cymiter, and Hatchets. They weare on their heads a Bonnet of white Felt, with a flap hanging downe behind to their shoulders; adorned about the browes with a wreathe of Metall gilt, and set with stones of small value, having a kind of sheathe or socket of the same erected before, wherein such are suffered to sticke Plumes of Feathers as have behaved themselves extraordinary bravely. They tucke up the skirts of their coats when they fight or march, and carry certaine daies provision of victuals about with them, nor is it a cumber, it being no more then a small portion of Rice, and a little Sugar and Hony. When the Emperour is not in the field, the most of them reside with him in the Citie: ever at hand upon any occasion to secure his person, and are as it were the Pretorian cohorts with the Romanes. They are in number about fortie thousand, whereof the greater part (I meane of those that attend on the Court) have their being in three large Serraglios, where the Juniors do reverence their Seniors, and all obey their severall Commanders (as they their Aga) with much silence and humilitie. Many of them that are married (a breach of their first institution) have their private dwellings: and those that are busied in forraine imployments, are for the most part placed in such Garrison Townes as doe greately concerne the safetie of the Empire; some are appointed to attend on Embassadours; others, to guard such particular Christians as will be at the charge, both about the Citie, and in their Travels, from incivilities and violences, to whom

they are in themselves most faithfull: wary and cruell, in preventing and revenging their dangers and injuries, and so patient in bearing abuses, that one of them of late being strucken by an English-man, (whose humorous swaggering would permit him never to review his Countrey) as they travelled along through Morea, did not onely not revenge it, nor abandon him to the pillage and outrages of others, in so unknowne and savage a Countrey; but conducting him unto Zant in safetie, saying, God forbid that the villany of another should make him betray the charge that was committed to his trust. They are of one Trade or other: The pay that they have from the Grand Signior, is but five Aspers a day; yet their eldest Sons as soone as borne, are inrolled, and received into pension, but his bountie extendeth no further unto his [II. viii. 1290.] Progeny, (the rest reputed as naturall Turkes) nor is a Janizarie capable of other preferments then the command, of ten, of twentie, or of an hundred. They have yearely given them two Gownes apeece; the one of Violet cloath, and the other of Stammell, which they weare in the Citie, carrying in their hands a great tough Reede, some seven foote long, tipped with Silver, the weight whereof is not seldome felt by such as displease them. Who are indeed so awfull, that Justice dare not proceed publikely against them (they being onely to be judged by their Aga) but being privatly attached, are as privatly throwne into the Sea in the night time. But then are they most tumultuous (whereto they doe give the name of affection) upon the dangerous sicknesses of their Emperours, and upon their deaths commit many out-rages. Which is the cause that the great Bassas as well as they can, do conceale it from them, untill all things be provided for the presentment of the next for them to salute. Whereupon (besides the present larges) they have an Asper a day increase of pension: so that the longer they live, and the more Emperours they out-live, the greater is their allowance.

But it is to be considered, that all these before named, are not onely of that tribute of children. For not a few

of them are captives taken in their child-hood, with divers Renegados, that have most wickedly quitted their Religion and Countrey, to fight against both, who are to the Christians the most terrible Adversaries. And withall they have of late infringed their ancient customes, by the admitting of those into these orders that are neither the Sonnes nor Grandsonnes of Christians; a naturall Turke borne in Constantinople, before never knowne, being now a Bassa of the Port.

Tartars. Over and above these, and besides the auxiliary Tartars, whereof there are lightly threescore thousand (who live on spoile, and serve without pay) that are ever assistant; the *Achingi.* Grand Signior hath other Forces, whom they call Achingi, who have nothing but what they can get by foraging, being Hindes of the Countrey, and tyed to serve on Horse-backe, for certaine priviledges that they hold, in number about thirtie or fortie thousand: but small in value, as *Azapi.* are the Azapi, who serve on foote (yet properly belonging to the Gallies) better acquainted with the Spade then Sword; thrust forward with purpose rather to weary, then to vanquish the enemy, whose dead bodies doe serve the Janizaries to fill up ditches, and to mount the walls of assaulted Fortresses; besides many voluntaries, who follow the Army in hope to succeede the slaine Spaheis and Janizaries, now nothing curious at such a time to receive those that bee not the Sonnes of Christians into the Order. Such are the Turkish Forces, both in qualitie and proportion, and hee that shall see three hundred thousand of these in an Armie (as he might have done this last Sommer in Bithynia) so disciplined, so appointed, and so daringly resolute: whose onely repute consists in their valours; and whose defeats are punished in their Commanders as offences, furnished with such abundance of great Ordnance (much whereof they cast according to their occasions, carrying with them the Metall upon the backes of Camels) will not onely not wonder at their victories, but rather how the rest of the yet unvanquished world hath withstood them. I have heard a Prince (and he of no small experi-

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

ence) impute the sundry overthrowes given them, by a small number of Christians, to the paucitie of Commanders, and their want of experience, some one Sanziack having under his conduct five thousand Timariots; and he perhaps but newly crept out of the Sultans Serraglio, exercised onely in speculative conflicts. So that their numbers prove often but cumbers, and the advantage losse, encountred by the many expert Directors of few, who are also farre better defensively armed. But he that hath bounded the Sea, hath also limited their furies. And surely it is to bee hoped, that their greatnesse is not onely at the height, but neere an extreame precipitation: the body being growne too monstrous for the head, the Sultans unwarlike, and never accompanying their Armies in person; the Souldier corrupted with ease and libertie, drowned in prohibited Wine, enfeebled with the continuall converse of Women, and generally lapsed from their former austeritie of life, and simplicitie of manners. Their valours now meeting on all sides with opposition, having of late given no increase to their Dominions, and Empire so got, when it ceasseth to increase, doth begin to diminish. Lastly, in that it hath exceeded the observed period of a Tyrannie, for such is their Empire. Now when they march, the Tartars doe scoure the Countrey two daies journey before, then follow the Achingi, after them the Timariots, next those few Jemoglans that be, next them the Janizaries, the Chauses follow on horse-backe, (who carrie Bowes and Arrowes, besides their Mases and Cymiters) then comes the Sultan with the Officers of his Court, and Archers of his Guard, who are foot-men: the stipendarie Spaheis marching on either side of him. An hundred Coaches covered with red, with foure Horses apeece, are drawne after, which carrie the Hichoglans (his Pages) and Eunuchs; about these the Jemoglans, called Baltagies, are placed. The carriages of the Army ensue, followed by voluntaries, who goe in hope (as before said) to bee entertained in the roomes of the slaine, with the Servants of the Spaheis of the Court, and certaine

Janizaries Att-oglans Lepzlers and Devigilers. The Janizaries have the models of Elephants, Boots, Swords of Wood, and the like, borne before them for their Ensignes; and the Royall Standard is no other then a Horse taile tied to the end of a staffe.

Colours. Royall Standard.

As for their forces at Sea, they are but small in comparison of what they have beene, and compared to those of particular Christian Princes, but contemptible. Approved by the Florentine, who with sixe ships onely hath kept the bottome of the Streights for these three yeeres past in despite of them; insomuch as they have not dared to hazard the revenue of Ægypt by Sea, but have sent it over Land with a Guard of Souldiers, to their no small trouble and expences: the whole Armado comming often in view, yet not so hardie as to adventure the onset. The Admirall having thought it a safer course to employ the Pirats of Tunis and Algers in that service, who have many tall ships (the spoile of Christian Merchants) and warlikely appointed: now growne expert in Navigation, and all kind of Sea-fights, by the wicked instruction of our fugitive Pirats, and other Renegados. But those Pirats have no heart to such an enterprise, where the victorie would prove so bloudie, and the bootie so worthlesse. The Navie that is yeerly set forth in the beginning of May, to annoy the Enemie, suppresse Pirats, collect Tribute, and reforme disorders in the Maritime Townes that belong to the Admiraltie, consists of not above threescore Gallies, which are all that can be spared from their other places of imployment. During the Winter the Armado is dispersed, and the Gallies are drawne into their drie stations. In which time the Pirats, both Christian and Mahometan, doe rob on the Ægean and Mediterranean Seas uncontrolled, but by the defensive strength of the Assailed. So much the continuance of honors in Families are avoided, that when a Bassa is given (for so I may terme it) to the Sister or Daughter of a Sultan for an husband, the children begotten on them, doe most rarely rise above the degree of a private Captaine. But more severe are these Tyrants to their

Sea force. [II. viii. 1291.]

owne, who lop all the Branches from the Bole; the unnaturall Brother solemnizing his Fathers funerals, with the slaughter of his Brothers. So fearfull are they of rivalitie, and so damnably politike; making all things lawfull that may secure the perpetuitie of their Empire. Yet they mourne for those being dead, whom they murdered; honoring them with all dues of buriall, and customarie lamentations. Now if the Ottoman Line should faile, the Crim Tartar is to succeed (both being of one Familie, and of one Religion) as the Turke the Tartar; who hath at this day the election of the Tartarian Emperours: but with this limitation, that hee is to bee one of the sonnes of the deceassed.

They are commanded seven times a day to resort unto publike Prayers: the first assembling is called Timgil-namas, which is two houres before day: the second Sabah-namas, at day breake: the third Vyle-namas, at noone: the fourth Kyndy-namas, at three of the clocke: the fift Aksham-namas, after Sunne-set: the sixth Ghogic-namas, two houres within night: and the seventh Giuma-namas, at ten of the clocke in the morning: the last also on Fridayes observed by all, at other times but by the more religious. Congregated (as aforesaid) by the chanting of the Priests from the tops of steeples: at which times lightly, though they be in the fields, they will spread their upper garments on the earth, and fall to their devotions. Moreover, I have seene them conjoyntly pray in the corners of the streets, before the opening of their shops in the morning. Friday is their Sabbath; and yet they spend but a part thereof in devotion, and the rest in recreations: but for that time they observe it so rigorously, that a Turke here lately had his eares nayled to his shop-boord for opening it too timely. Before they pray, they wash all the Organs of their senses; their legs to their knees, and their armes to their elbowes: their privities after the purgings of nature; and sometimes all over from top to toe: for which there are houses of office with conduits belonging to every principall Mosque. Where

Their Sabbath.

water is wanting, they doe it with dust. At the doore of the Mosque they put off their shooes; and entring, sit crosse legged upon rewes of Mats, one behind another, the poore and the rich promiscuously. The Priest in a Pulpit before them, not otherwise distinguished in habite but by the folding up of his Turbant. When they pray, they turne their faces towards Mecha: first standing upright, without any motion of their bodies, holding the palmes of their hands upward; sometimes they stop their eyes and eares, and oft pull the haire on the sides of their faces: then thrice they bow, as in their salutations; and as often prostrating themselves on the earth, doe kisse it. Doing this sundrie times, they will looke backe upon no occasion, untill they come unto the salutation of Mahomet: at which time they reverse their faces, first over the right shoulder, and then over the left; beleeving that his comming will be behind them when they are at their devotions. The Priest doth somtimes reade unto them some part of the Alcoran (holding it, in reverence to the booke, as high as his chin) sometimes some of their fabulous Legend, intermixing Expositions and Instructions, which they hearken unto with heedie attention, and such steadie positures of body, as if they were intranced. Their Service is mixed with Songs and Responses: and when all is done, they stroke downe their faces and beards with lookes of devout gravitie. If they finde a Paper in the streets, they will thrust it in some Crevice of the adjoyning wall; imagining that the name of God may be contayned therein, and then prophane to be trod under foot, or otherwise defiled. They number their often repetition of the Names of God and his Attributes (with other short ejaculations of Prayer and Praise) upon Beades: some shaking their heads incessantly, untill they turne giddie: perhaps in imitation of the supposed trances (but naturally infirmitie) of their Prophet. And they have an Order of Monkes, who are called Dervises, whom I have often seene to dance in their Mosques, on Tuesdayes and Fridayes, many together, to the sound of barbarous musicke; dances that consist of

TheirPrayers.

Lyturgie.

Monkes.

[II. viii. 1292.]

continuall turnings, untill at a certayne stroke they fall upon the earth, and lying along like beasts, are thought to be rapt in spirit unto celestiall conversations. Now the Women are not permitted to come into their Temples (yet have they secret places to looke in through Grates) partly for troubling their devotions, but especially for that they are not circumcised, as are the women of Persia and Æthiopia. Nor circumcise they the Males untill they be able to answere the Priest, and promise for themselves, which is for the most part at the age of eight. They are circumcised in the houses of their Parents, at a festivall meeting, and in the midst of the Assembly, the Child holding up his fore-finger, in token that he is a Mahometan. As soone as cut, the Priest washeth the wound in water and salt, and bindeth it in linnen. Who changeth not his name, but is from thenceforth called a Musselman, which is, a true Beleever. This done, he is carryed unto the Bannia, where his haire (before that time worne at full length) is shaven, and so kept ever after, all saving a locke on the top of his crowne; by which they dreame that they shall be assumed by Mahomet into Paradise: then put they on him a white Turbant; and so returning with Drums and Hoboys, is with great solemnitie conducted to the Mosque, and presented with gifts according to his qualitie.

The Turkes doe fast one moneth in the yeere, which they call Ramazan: which changeth yeerly (so that in thirteene yeeres they fast one) wherein, they say, that the Alcoran was delivered unto Mahomet by the Angell. Observed by all but the Infirme and Travellers: who are to fast for as long a time, when so they recover, or come to the end of their journey. But they fast but during the day, in the night they feast, and then are all their steeples stucke round with Lamps, which burne till the morning, affording an object of great solemnitie. Such as in stead of abstayning from meates, doe abstayne at that time from their Mosques, they carrie about in scorne, and severely chastise; but such *Lent.*

as then drinke wine, they punish with death. Upon the discoverie of the new Moone (which they superstitiously gratulate, esteeming him happy that discovereth it first, and by the course thereof doe reckon their yeere) falling out this yeere on the seventh of December, the feast of the great Byram did begin, which doth continue for three dayes together, observed by them as Easter is with us. On the first day the Grand Signior riding to Sancta Sophia, in all the pompe and glorie of Empire (of which we shall speake hereafter) upon his returne we saw a sort of Christians, some of them halfe earth alreadie, crooked with age, and trembling with palsies; who by the throwing away of their Bonnets, and lifting up of their fore-fingers, did proffer themselves to become Mahometans. A sight full of horror and trouble, to see those desperate wretches that had professed Christ all their life, and had suffered no doubt for his sake much contumely and oppression; now almost dying, to forsake their Redeemer, even then when they were to receive the reward of their patience. To these the Tyrant a little inclined his body, who before not so much as cast his eye aside, but sate like the adored statue of an Idoll. For they hold it a great grace, and an act of singular pietie, to draw many to their Religion, presenting them with money, change of rayments, and freeing them from all Tribute and Taxes. Insomuch, that if a Christian have deserved death by their Law, if hee will convert, they will many times remit his punishment. But they compell no man. During this festivall they exercise themselves with various pastimes, but none more in use, and more barbarous, then their swinging up and downe, as Boyes doe in Bell-ropes: for which there bee Gallowses (for they beare that forme) of an exceeding height, erected in sundrie places of the Citie; when by two joyning Ropes that are fastned above, they will swing themselves as high as the transome: perhaps affected in that it stupifies the senses for a season: the cause that Opium is so much in request, and of their foresaid shaking of their heads, and continued turnings. In regard

Desperate impietie.

Gravitie.

whereof, they have such as have lost their wits, and naturall Idiots, in high veneration, as men ravished in spirit, and taken from themselves, as it were to the fellowship of Angels. These they honour with the Title of Saints, lodge them in their Temples, some of them going almost starke naked; others clothed in shreds of severall colours, whose necessities are supplyed by the peoples devotions, who kisse their Garments as they passe through the streets, and bow to their benedictions; yea, many by counterfeiting the Idiot have avoided punishment for offences which they have unwittingly fallen into. Whilst the Byram lasteth, you cannot stirre abroad but you shall be presented by the Dervises and Janizaries, with tulips and trifles, besprinkling you with sweet water; nor ceasse so to doe, till they have drawne Rewards from you. *Whether are the most Fooles and Mad?*

The Turkes are incouraged to almes by their Alcoran, as acceptable to God, and meritorious in it selfe, if given without vaine-glorie, and of goods well gotten, alledging it to be a temptation of the Devils, to abstayne from Almes, for feare of impoverishment. Their more publike Almes consist in sacrifices (if not so wrongfully termed) upon their festivals, or performance of vowes: when Sheepe and Oxen are slaine by the Priest, and divided amongst the Poore, the Owner not so much as retayning a part thereof. They say, they give much in private: and in truth, I have seene but few Beggers amongst them. Yet sometimes shall you meet in the streets with couples chained together by the necke, who beg to satisfie their Creditors in part, and are at the yeeres end released of their Bonds, provided that they make satisfaction if they prove afterward able. At their deaths they usually give Legacies for the release of Prisoners, the freeing of Bondslaves, repayring of Bridges, building of Canes for the reliefe of Passengers: and the great men, to the erecting of Mosques and Hospitals, which they build not seldome in their life time. But Mahomet the Great, and Solyman the Magnificent, have in that kind exceeded all others: whose stately and sumptuous structures doe give a [II. viii. 1293.]

principall ornament to the Citie; where the sicke and impotent are provided for, and the stranger entertayned (for here bee no Innes) the revenue of that of Mahomets, amounting to an hundred and fiftie thousand Sultanies. To these there belong Physicians, Chyrurgions, Apothecaries, the charge thereof committed unto their Priests, who bring up a certayne number of youths in the Mahometan Law, and frequently pray for the departed soules of the Founders in the Chappels of their Sepulchres. They extend their charitie to Christians and Jewes, as well as to them of their owne Religion; nay, Birds and Beasts have a taste thereof. For many onely to let them loose, will buy Birds in Cages, and bread to give unto Dogges; for most have in this Citie no particular owners, being reputed an uncleane Creature, and therefore not suffered to come into their houses, thinking it neverthelesse a deed of pietie, to feede and provide them kennels to litter in, most of them repairing to the Sea side nightly, where they keep such a howling, that if the wind sit South-ward, they may be easily heard to the upper side of the Citie of Pera.

With the Stoicks they attribute all accidents to destinie, and constellations at birth. Since death can be neither hastned nor avoided, being withall perswaded, that they die bravely that die fighting: and that they shall be rewarded with Paradise that doe spend their bloud upon the enemies of their Religion, called Shahids, which is Martyrs, by them. For although they repute murder to be an execrable crime, that cries to Heaven for vengeance, and is never forgiven: yet are they commanded by their law, to extend their profession by violence, and without compassion to slaughter their Opposers. But they live with themselves in such exemplary concord, that during the time that I remained amongst them (it being above three quarters of a yeare) I never saw Mahometan offer violence to a Mahometan, nor breake into ill language; but if they so chance to do, a third will reprove him, with, Fie, Mussel-men, fall out! and all is appeased. He that

Mahometans may in this be examples to Christians.

gives a blow hath many gashes made in his flesh, and is led about for a terror, but the man-slayer is delivered to the kindred or friends of the slaine, to bee by them put to death with all exquisite torture.

§. III.

The Muftie, Cadileschiers, Divans: Manners and attire of the Turkes. The Sultan described, and his Customes and Court. The Customes of the Greekes. Sir Tho: Glover.

THe dignitie of the Chaliph amongst the Turkes, with much abatement, doth now remaine in the Mufties (which name doth signifie An Oracle, or Answerer of doubts) as Successors to Ebbubecher, Omar and Ozman; the other being both High-Priests and Princes; these Patriarchs, as it were, and Soveraignes of their Religion. Throughout the whole Turkish Territories, there is but one, who ever resideth in the Royall Citie, or followes the person of the Emperour. He is equall to the ancient Popes, or rather greater both in repute and authoritie. The Grand Signior doth rise at his approach to salute him, and sets him by him, and gives him much reverence. His life is onely free from the Sword, and his fortunes most rarely subject to subversion. The Emperour undertaketh no high designe without his approvement. He hath power to reverse both his sentence, and the sentence of the Divan, if they be not adjudged by him conformable to the Alcoran, but his owne is irrevocable. In matters of difficultie they repaire to him, and his exposition standeth for a Law. To conclude, he is the supreme Judge, and rectifier of all actions, as well Civill as Ecclesiasticall, and an approver of the Justice of the Militarie. The place is given by the Grand Signiors, to men profoundly learned in their Law, and of knowne integritie. He seldome stirres abroad, and never admits of impertinent conversation. Grave is his looke, grave is his behaviour; Highly affecting silence, and most spare *The Mufti.*

of speech. For when any come to him for judgement, they deliver him in writing the state of the question, who in writing briefly returnes his oraculous answer. He commonly weareth a vest of greene, and the greatest Turbant in the Empire: I should not speake much out of compasse, should I say as large in compasse as a bushell. I oft have beene in this mans Serraglio, which is neither great in receit nor beautie, yet answerable to his small dependancie, and infrequencie of Sutors. He keepeth in his house a Seminarie of Boyes, who are instructed in the mysteries of their Law. He is not restrained, nor restraineth himselfe from pluralitie of Women. His incomes are great, his disbursings little, and consequently his wealth infinite; yet he is a bad paymaster of his debts, though they be but trifles. He much delighteth in Clockes and Watches, whereof, as some say, he hath not so few as a thousand.

[II. viii. 1294.]

Cadileschiers. Next in place to the Muftie, are the Cadileschiers, that are Judges of the Armies, (but not to meddle with the Janisarie) and accompany the Beglerbegs when they goe into the field. Of these there are onely two; one of the European part of the Empire, and another of the Asian. These are also elected by the Grand Signior, as the Cadies by them, (yet to bee allowed by the other, and to kisse his Vest:) of whom there is one in every Towne, who besides their spirituall Functions, doe administer Justice betweene partie and partie, and punish offenders. Of inferior Priests, there be some particularly appointed to sing at the tops of their steeples, and to congregate the people; some to looke to the Ceremonies, and some to reade and interpret the Alcoran. There are also other religious Orders, which I omit to speak of, being of their owne taking up, neither commanded nor commended, and rather to be esteemed Vagabonds then religious persons, consider we either their life or their habits.

Testimonie. Among the Turkish Commandements, one is that drawne originally from our Saviours, Thou shalt not doe what thou wouldst not have done to thee: whereupon for

the most part their Civill Justice is grounded, not disagreeing greatly from the Lawes of Moses. All evictions there, as elsewhere depend upon Witnesses: yet will not the oath of a Christian or a Jew be received against a Turke, as will a Turkes against them, and theirs one against another. But the kindred of Mahomet have their single testimonies in equall value with the testimonies of two others: notwithstanding the oath of a Mahometan will not be taken, if impeached for a drinker of Wine, or eater of Swines flesh. Every Bassa keepes a Divan (so they call the Court of Justice) within his Province: but the highest of all, and to which they may appeale from all other, is that, which is kept foure daies of the weeke in the Grand Signiors Serraglio, from whence no appeale is admitted but to the person of the Muftie. Here the Vizier Bassas of the Port, who are nine in number (or as many as then are not otherwise employed) doe sit in Justice (where also they consult of matters of State, and that publikely, not excepting against Embassadours Drogermen, lightly alwaies present: so presume they of strong hand) assisted by the *Admirall, and *Chancellor, (the *Treasurer in the same roome keeping his Court) where all causes whatsoever that are heard, within the space of three daies are determined, the Great Viziers Bassa being President of the rest. But Briberie, not knowne untill lately amongst them, hath so corrupted their integritie, that whose causes (if they beare but a colour of right) doe seldome miscarrie where gifts are the Advocates: yet this is the best of the worst, that they quickly know their successes. But many times when the oppressed subjects can have no Justice, they will in troupes attend the comming forth of the Emperor, and by burning Straw on their heads, or holding up Torches, provoke his regard: who brought unto him by his Mutes, doth receive his petition, which oftentimes turnes to the ruine of some of those great ones. For assurances of Purchases, they have no Indentures, no fines and recoveries. The omitting of a word cannot frustrate their estates; nor Quirks of Law prevaile

The Divan.

They were formerly but foure, to whom Mahomet the third added five.

**Caputain Bassa.*
**Ricekitab.*
**Testedar.*

Assurances and writings.

against Conscience. All that they have to shew, is a little Scedule, called a Hodget or Sigil, onely manifesting the possession of the Seller, as his of whom he bought it, or from whom it descended unto him, which under-written by the Cadie of the place, doth frustrate all after-claimes whatsoever.

Punishments. Now the punishments for offenders, be either Pecuniarie or Corporall. To impose the former, they will forge all the slanders that they can, to eate upon the lesse circumspect Christians, but the other are seldome unjustly inflicted. Their formes of putting to death, (besides such as are common else-where) are impaling upon stakes, ganching (which is to be let fall from on high upon hookes, and there to hang untill they die by the anguish of their wounds, or more miserable famine,) and another invented (but now not here used) to the terror of mankind, by some devillish Perillus, who deserved to have first tasted of his owne invention, viz: they twitch the offender about the waste with a Towell, enforcing him to draw up his breath by often pricking him in the body, untill they have drawne him within the compasse of a spanne; then tying it hard, they cut him off in the middle, and setting the body on a hot plate of Copper, which seareth the veines, they so up-propping him during their cruell pleasure: who not onely retaineth his sense, but the faculties of Discourse, untill hee be taken downe, and then departeth in an instant. But little faults are chastised by blowes, received on the soles of the feet with a bastinado, by hundred at a time, according to the qualitie of the misdemeanor. A terrible paine that extendeth to all the part of the body, yet have I seene them taken for money. The Master also in this sort doth correct his Slave; but Parents their Children with stripes on the belly. The Subashie is as the Constable of a Citie, both to search out, and punish offences.

Their persons and Manners. It remayneth now that we speake of the persons of the Turkes, their dispositions, manners and fashions. They be generally well complexioned, of good statures, and full

bodies, proportionably compacted. They nourish no haire about them, but a Locke on the crowne, and on their faces onely; esteeming it more cleanly, and to bee the better prepared for their superstitious washings. But their Beards they weare at full length, the marke of their affected gravitie, and token of freedome, (for slaves have theirs shaven) insomuch that they will scoffe at such Christians as cut, or naturally want them, as if suffering themselves to be abused against nature. All of them weare on their heads white Shashes and Turbants, the badge of their Religion, as is the folding of the one, and size of the other, of their vocations and qualitie. Shashes are long Towels of Callico woond about their heads: Turbants are made like great Globes of Callico too, and thwarted with Rols of the same; having little copped Caps on the top, of Greene or Red Velvet, being onely worne by persons of ranke, and he the greatest that weareth the greatest, the Mufties excepted, which over-sizes the Emperours. And though many Orders have particular Ornaments appointed for their heads, yet weare they these promiscuously. It is an especiall favour in the Turke to suffer the Christian Tributarie Princes and their chiefest Nobles to weare white heads in the Citie: but in them, what better then an Apostaticall Insinuation? But to beginne from the skinne, the next that they weare is a Smock of Callico, with ample sleeves, much longer then their Armes: under this a paire of Calsouns of the same, which reach to their ancles, the rest naked; and going in Yellow or Red Slip-shooes, picked at the toe, and plated on the sole: over all they weare a halfe-sleeved Coate girt unto them with a Towell: their necke all bare, and this within doores is their Sommer accoutrement. Over all when they goe abroad they weare Gownes, some with wide halfe sleeves, (which more particularly belong to the Grecians,) others with long hanging sleeves, and the Gownes buttened before, and a third sort worne by the meaner sort, reaching but a little below the knee, with hanging sleeves not much longer then the arme, and open

[II. viii. 1295.]

Their Turbants.

Shashes.

Callico smockes.

Gownes.

before; but all of them ungathered in the shoulders. In the Winter they adde to the former, Calsouns of Cloth, which about the small of the legge are sewed to short smooth Buskins of Leather without soles, fit for the foote as a Glove for the hand, lining their Gownes with Furre, as they doe their Coats; having then the sleeves (or quilted Waist-coats under them) reaching close to their wrists. They weare no Gloves. At their Girdles they weare long Handkerchers, some of them admirable for value and workmanship. They never alter their fashions, not greatly differing in the great and vulgar, more then in the richnesse. Cloth of Tissue, of Gold and Silver, Velvet, Scarlet, Sattin, Damaske, Chamolets, lined with Sables, and other costly Furres, and with Martins, Squerrils, Foxes and Cony-skins; worne according to their severall qualities. But the common weare is Violet Cloth. They retayne the old Worlds custome in giving change of Garments, which they may aptly doe, when one Vest fitteth all men, and is of every mans fashion.

Clergie attire. The Clergie goe much in Greene, it being Mahomets colour; and his Kinsmen in greene Shashes, who are called *Emers deformed.* Emers, which is Lords: the women also weare something of Greene on their heads, to be knowne. There lives not a Race of ill-favoureder people; branded perhaps by God for the sinne of their seducing Ancestor, and their owne wicked assuming of hereditary holinesse. But if a Christian out of ignorance weare Greene, hee shall have his clothes torne off from his backe, and perhaps be well beaten. They carrie no Weapons about them in the Citie; *Their Knives.* onely they thrust under their Girdles great crooked Knives of a Dagger-like size, in sheathes of Metall; the Hafts and Sheathes of many beeing set with stones, and some of them worth five hundred Sultanies. They beare their *Gate.* bodies upright, of a stately gate, and elated countenance. In their familiar salutations they lay their hands on their bosomes, and a little decline their bodies: but when they salute a person of great ranke, they bow almost to the ground, and kisse the hemme of his Garment. The

ornaments of their heads they never put off upon any occasion. Some of them perfume their Beards with Amber, and the in-sides of their Turbants: and all of them affect cleanlinesse so religiously, that besides their customarie Lotions, and daily frequenting of the Bannias, they never so much as make water, but they wash both their hands and privities: at which businesse they sequester themselves, and couch to the Earth; reviling the Christian whom they see pissing against a wall, and sometimes striking him. This they doe to prevent that any part of either excrement should touch their Garments, esteeming it a pollution, and hindering the acceptation of Prayer, who then are to bee most pure in heart and habite. *Cleannesse.* *Offices of nature.*

So slouthfull they be, that they never walke up and downe for recreation, nor use any other exercise but shooting, wherein they take as little paines as may bee, sitting on Carpets in the shadow, and sending their Slaves for their Arrowes. They also shoote against Earthen wals; ever kept moyst in shops and private houses for that purpose, standing not above sixe paces from the marke, and that with such violence, that the Arrow passes not seldome through: nay, I have seene their Arrowes shot by our Embassadour through Targets of Steele, pieces of Brasse two inches thicke; and through wood, with an Arrow headed with wood, of eight inches. Their Bowes are for forme and length, not unlike the Lath of a large Crosse-bow, made of the hornes of Buffoloes, intermixed with sinewes, of admirable workmanship, and some of them exquisitely gilded. Although there bee Wrastlers amongst them, yet they bee such as doe it to delight the people, and do make it their profession; as do those that walke upon Ropes, wherein the Turkes are most expert; going about when they have done, to every particular Spectator for his voluntary benevolence. Of Cards and Dice they are happily ignorant; but at Chesse they will play all the day long: a sport that agreeth well with their sedentarie vacancie; wherein notwithstanding they avoyde the dishonest hazard of money. *Sloth.* *Shooting.* *Bowes.* *Wrastlers.* *Games.* [II. viii. 1296.]

Horses. The better sort take great delight in their Horses, which are beautifull to the eye, and well ridden for service, but quickly jaded if held to a good round trot (for amble they doe not) in an indifferent Journey. But the Turkes doe not lightly ride so fast as to put them unto eyther. Their Saddles be hard and deepe, though not great, plated behind and before; and some of them with Silver, as are their massie Stirrops, and the Reines of their Bridles, suted unto their costly Caparisons. When they stand in the Stable they feed them for the most part, if not altogether, with Barley; being heere of small value, and onely serving for that purpose. They litter them in their owne dung, first dryed in the Sunne and pulverated, which keepes their skinnes cleane, smoth, and shining.

Reverence to Superiors. The Turkes doe greatly reverence their Parents, (so commanded to doe by their Law) as the Inferiour his Superiour, and the young aged, readily giving the prioritie to whom it belongeth, (the left hand as they goe in the streets preferd before the right, in that made Masters thereby of the Sword of the other, and the chiefest place the farthest from the wall) living together as if all of a Brother-hood. Yet give they no entertaynment unto one another, nor come there any into their houses but upon speciall occasion, and those but into the publike parts thereof; their women being never seene but by the Nurses and Eunuches which attend on them. Yea, so jealous they are, that their Sonnes when they come to growth are separated from them. As their houses are meane, so are their furnitures: having nothing on the in-side but bare white walls, unlesse it be some especiall roome, in the house of some of high qualitie. But the Roofes of many of them are curiously seeled with in-laid wood, adorned with Gold and Azure of an excessive costlinesse; the greater part of the floore, and that a little advanced, beeing covered with Turkie Carpets, whereon when they tread they doe put off their slip-shooes. Many of their roomes have great out windowes, where they sit on Cushions in the heate of the day. They lye upon Mattresses, some of

Left hand before right.

Hospitalitie.

Household.

Silke, some of stayned Linnen, with Bolsters of the same, and Quilts that are sutable, but much in their clothes, the cause perhaps that they are so lousie. Nor shame they thereat, many shall you see sit publikely a lousing themselves in the Sunne; and those no meane persons.

They have neither Tables nor stooles in their houses, but sit crosse-leg'd on the floore at their victuals, all in a Ring. In stead of a cloth, they have a Skinne spread before them; but the better sort sit about a round boord, standing on a foot not past halfe a foot high, and brimd like a Charger. Their Dishes have feet like standing Bolls, and are so set one upon another, that you may eat of each without the remooving of any. Their most ordinarie food is Pillaw, that is, Rice which hath beene sod with the fat of Mutton. Pottage they use of sundry kinds, Egges fryed in Honey, Tansies, (or something like them) Pasties of sundry Ingredients: the little flesh which they eate is cut into gobbets, and either sod, or tosted in a Furnace. But I thinke there is more in London spent in one day then is in this Citie in twentie. Fish they have in indifferent quantitie. But the Commons doe commonly feed on Herbes, Fruits, Rootes, Onions, Garlicke, a beastly kind of unpressed Cheese that lyeth in a lumpe; hodge-podges made of Flower, Milke, and Honey, &c. so that they live for little or nothing, considering their fare, and the plentie of all things. They are wayted upon by their slaves given them, or purchased with their Swords, or Money: of these to have many it is accounted for great Riches. When one hath fed sufficiently he riseth, and another taketh his roome, and so continue to doe untill all be satisfied. They eate three times a day, but when they feast they sit all the day long, unlesse they rise to exonerate Nature, and forth-with returne againe. They abstaine from Hogs-flesh, from bloud, and from what hath dyed of it selfe, unlesse in cases of necessitie. Their usuall drinke is pure water, yet have they sundry Sherbets, (so call they the Confections which they infuse into it) some made of Sugar and Limons, some of Violets, and the like, (whereof

Sit crosse-legged.

Dyet.

Meales and Feasts.

Drinke.

some are mixed with Amber) which the Richer sort dissolve thereinto. The Honey of Sio is excellent for that purpose, and they make another of the juyce of Raisins, of little cost, and most usually drunke of. Wine is prohibited them by their Alcoran, they plant none, they buy none: but now to that libertie they are growne (the naturall Turke excepted) that they will quaffe freely when they come to the house of a Christian: insomuch, as I have seene but few goe away unled from the Embassadors Table. Yet the feared disorders that might ensue thereof, have beene an occasion that divers times all the Wine in the Citie hath beene staved (except in Embassadors houses) and death hath beene made the penaltie unto such as presumed to bring any in. They preferre our Beere above all other drinkes. And considering that Wine is forbidden, that water is with the rawest (especially in this Clime) the dearenesse of Sherbets, and plentie of Barley (being here sold not for above nine pence a bushell) no doubt but it would prove infinitely profitable to such as should bring in the use thereof amongst them.

Coffa-houses. Although they be destitute of Tavernes, yet have they their Coffa-houses, which something resemble them. There sit they chatting most of the day, and sippe of a drinke called Coffa (of the Berrie that it is made of) in little China dishes, as hot as they can suffer it: blacke as soote, and tasting not much unlike it (why not that blacke broth which was in use amongst the Lacedemonians?) which helpeth, as they say, digestion, and procureth alacritie: many of the Coffamen keeping beautifull boyes, who serve as stales to procure them customers. The Turkes are also incredible takers of Opium, whereof the lesser Asia affoordeth them plentie: carrying it about them both in peace and in warre; which they say expelleth all feare, and makes them couragious: but I rather thinke giddy headed, and turbulent dreamers; by them, as should seeme by what hath beene said, religiously affected. And perhaps for the selfe-same cause they also delight in Tobacco; they take it through reeds that have joyned unto

[II. viii. 1297.]

Opium.

Tobacco taking punished.

them great heads of wood to contayne it, I doubt not but lately taught them, as brought them by the English: and were it not sometimes lookt into (for Morat Bassa not long since commanded a Pipe to bee thrust through the nose of a Turke, and so to be led in derision through the Citie,) no question but it would prove a principall commoditie. Neverthelesse, they will take it in corners, and are so ignorant therein, that that which in England is not saleable, doth passe here amongst them for most excellent.

Marriage.

They are by their law in generall exhorted to marrie, for the propagation of their Religion: and hee ill reputed of, that forbeareth so to doe untill the age of five and twentie. Every man is allowed foure wives, who are to be of his owne Religion, and as many Concubine slaves as hee is able to keepe, of what Religion soever. For God (sayth the Alcoran) that is good and gracious, exacteth not of us what is harsh and burdensome; but permits us the nightly companie of women, well knowing that abstinency in that kind is both grievous, and impossible. Yet are they to meddle with none but their owne peculiars: the offending woman they drowne, and the man they gansh. They buy their wives of their parents, and record the contract before the Cadi, which they after solemnize in this manner. Many women are invited by the mother of the Bride, to accompanie her the night before the marriage day, whereof they spend a great part in feasting; then leade they her into a Bath, where they anoint and bathe her: so breaking companie they depart unto their severall rests, and in the morning returne to her chamber, where they tricke her in her richest ornaments, tying on her silken Buskins with knots easily not unknit. The Bridegroom having feasted a number in like manner, in the morning they also repaire to his house, in their best apparell, and gallantly mounted, from whence they set forward by two and by two, to fetch home the Bride, accompanied with Musike, and conducted by Sagdich, who is the neerest of his kindred; unto whom the Bride is delivered, with her face close covered. Who set astride on

Punishment of Adulterie.

horse-backe, hath a Canopie carried over her, in such sort as no part of her is to bee discerned. So the troope returning in order as they came, after them are carried in Serpets (a kind of baskets) their presents and apparell; then followeth she, and lastly her slaves, if any have beene given her. The Bride-groome standeth at his doore to receive her, who is honoured by his guests (yet goe they not in) with sundrie presents before their departure. If shee be of qualitie, shee is led to the Bride chamber by an Eunuch, where women stand prepared to undresse her. But the Bride-groome himselfe must untye her Buskins (as amongst the Romanes they did their Girdles) to which hee is fayne to applie his teeth. Now, he is to entertaine his wives with an equall respect, alike is their diet, alike is their apparell, alike his benevolence (for such sweet stuffe is contayned in the precepts of their Doctors) unlesse they consent to give or change turnes; or else they may complaine to the Cadi, and procure a divorcement. But the husband may put away his wife at his pleasure: who may marrie unto another within foure moneths after, provided shee prove not with child, and then not untill so long after her delivery. But if he will have her againe, hee must buy her: and if after the third divorce, another is first to lie with her, as a punishment inflicted for his levitie: They give him the reverence of a master; they are at no time to denie him their embracements, whom he toucheth not againe untill they have beene at the Bannias. They receive chastisement from him, and that they hold to be an argument of his affection. They feed apart, and intermeddle not with houshold affaires. All that is required at their hands, is, to content their husbands, to nurse their owne children, and to live peaceably together: which they doe (and which is strange) with no great jealousie, or envie. No male accompanies them above twelve yeeres old, except they be Eunuchs: and so strictly are they guarded, as seldome seene to looke out at their doores. They be women of elegant beauties, for the most part ruddie, cleere, and smooth as the polished Ivorie;

After the first, sayth Laonio. Chaloocon. l. 3. pag. 237.

Jealousie.

being never ruffled by the weather, and daily frequenting the Bannias, but withall by the selfe-same meanes they sodainly wither. Great eyes they have in principall repute: affected both by the Turks and the Grecians, as it should seeme, from the beginning. For Mahomet doth promise women with such, (nay as big as Egges) in his imaginarie Paradise. And of those the blacker they be, the more amiable: insomuch that they put betweene the eye-lids and the eye a certaine blacke powder with a fine long pensill, made of a minerall brought from the Kingdome of Fez, and called Alcohole; which by the not disgracefully stayning of the lids doth better set forth the whitenesse of the eye; and though it trouble for a time, yet it comforteth the sight, and repelleth ill humours. Into the same hue (but likely they naturally are so) doe they die their eye-breies, and eye-browes (the later by Arte made high, halfe circular, and to meet, if naturally they doe not) so doe they the haire of their heads, as a foyle that maketh the white seeme whiter, and more becomming their other perfections. They part it before the midst, and plaite it behind, yet sometimes wearing it disheveled. They paint their nayles with a yellowish red. They weare on the top of their heads a Cap not unlike a Sugar-loafe, yet a little flat, of paist-boord, and covered with Cloth of silver or Tissue. Their under-garments (which within doores are their uppermost) doe little differ from those that bee worne by the men, which wee will present to the eye to avoide repetition. [II. viii. 1298.]

The better sort about the upper part of their armes, and smalls of their legs weare bracelets, and are elsewhere adorned with Jewels. When they goe abroad they weare over all long Gowns of violet cloth, or scarlet, tyed close before, the large sleeves hanging over their hands; having Buskins on their legs, and their heads and faces so mabbled in fine linnen, that no more is to be seene of them then their eyes: nor that of some, who looke as through the sight of a Bever. For they are forbidden by the Alcoran to disclose their beauties unto any, but unto their fathers *Women kept close.*

and husbands. They never stirre forth, but (and then alwayes in troupes) to pray at the graves, and to the publike Bannias: which for excellency of buildings are next to their Mosques. But having in part alreadie described some of their formes, I will a little treate of their use; which have beene in times past, and are at this present, in such request with these Nations (as once with the Romanes, as may appeare by their regardable ruines) that few but frequent them twice in the weeke, as well for their health, as for delight and cleanlinesse. For the stomackes crudities, proceeding from their usuall eating of fruits, and drinking of water, is thereby concocted: which also after exercise and travell restoreth to the wearied bodie a wonderfull alacritie. The men take them up in the morning, and in the afternoone the women. But both amongst the Romanes did ordinarily frequent them together; a custome, as they say, continued in Switserland at this day, and that amongst the most modest. The men are attended upon by men, and the women by women; in the outermost roome they put off their clothes, and having Aprons of stayned linnen tyed about their wastes, then entring the Baths to what degree of heate that they please, (for severall roomes, and severall parts of them are of severall temperatures, as is the water let in by cocks to wash the sweat and filth of the bodie) the servitors wash them, rub them, stretch out their joynts, and cleanse their skins with a piece of rough Grogeram; which done, they shave the heads and bodies of men, or take away the haire with a composition of Rusma (a minerall of Cyprus) and unsleakt Lime; who returning to the place where they left their clothes, are dryed with fresh linnen; and for all this they pay not above three or foure Aspers: so little, in that endued with revenues by their Founders. But the women, doe anoint their bodies with an oyntment made of the earth of Chios, which maketh the skin soft, white, and shining; extending that on the face, and freeing it from wrinkles. Much unnaturall and filthie lust is said to bee committed daily in the remote closets of the darke-

Baths and manner of bathing.

[II. viii. 1299.]

Unnatural lust.

some Bannias: yea, women with women; a thing uncredible, if former times had not given thereunto both detection and punishment. They have generally the sweetest children that ever I saw; partly proceeding from their frequent bathings, and affected cleanlinesse. As wee beare ours in our armes, so they doe theirs astride on their shoulders. *Children.*

Now, next to their wives wee may speake of their slaves: for little difference is there made betweene them: who are Christians taken in the Warres, or purchased with their Money. Of these there are weekly Markets in the Citie, where they are to be sold as Horses in Faires: the men being rated according to their faculties, or personall abilities, as the Women for their youths and beauties, who are set out in best becomming attires, and with their aspects of pitie and affection, endevour to allure the Christians to buy them, as expecting from them a more easie servitude, and continuance of Religion: when being thrall to the Turke, they are often inforced to renounce it for their better entertainment. Of them there bee many of excellent outward perfection; and when the buyer hath agreed of the price (but yet conditionally) they are carried aside into a roome, even to the search of her mouth, and assurance (if so she be said to be) of her virginitie. Their Masters may lye with them, chastise them, exchange, and sell them at their pleasure. But a Christian will not lightly sell her whom he hath layne with, but give her her libertie. If any of their Slaves will become Mahometans, they are discharged of their bondage: but if a Slave to a Turke, he onely is the better intreated. The Turkes do use their Bond-women with little lesse respect then their Wives, and make no difference betweene the Children begotten both of the one and the other: who live together without jelousie, it being allowed by their irreligious Religion. Notwithstanding, their Wives doe onely receive, as proper unto them, their Sabbaths benevolence. The old and most deformed, are put to most drudgerie. *Slaves.* *Sale of them in Markets.* *Their condition.*

The Men-slaves may compell their Masters before the Cadie, to limit the time of their bondage, or set a price of their redemption, or else to sell them unto another: but whether of the two, they lightly referre to the Slaves election. If they bee onely fit for labour, they will accept of the time; but if skilfull in any craft, of the price: which expired or payed, they may returne into their Countries. But Gally-slaves are seldome released, in regard of their small number, and much employment which they have for them; nor those that are Slaves unto great ones, to whom the Cadies authoritie extends not.

Gelded Eunuch. Many of the Children that the Turkes doe buy (for these Markets doe affoord of all Ages) they castrate, making all smooth as the backe of the hand, (whereof divers doe dye in the cutting) who supply the uses of Nature with a Silver Quill, which they weare in their Turbants. In times past, they did but onely geld them, but being admitted to the free converse of their women, it was observed by some, that they more then befittingly delighted in their societies.

But others say, that Selymus the second, having seene a Gelding cover a Mare, brought in amongst them that inhumane custome. The first that ever made Eunuch, was Semiramis. They are heere in great repute with their Masters, trusted with their States, the Government of their Women and Houses in their absence; having for the most part beene approoved faithfull, wise, and couragious; insomuch as not a few of them have come to sit at the sterne of State, (the second Vizer of the Port being now an Eunuch,) and others to the Government of Armies.

Funerals. But now speake we of their Funerals. After their death, the Men by the Men, and the Women by the Women, are laid out in the midst of the roome. When divers of their Priests do assemble, and having performed certaine idle ceremonies, as in wrapping their beades about it, and in the often turning it, invoking God to have mercy on the departed: which done, they wash it, shave it, and

A TURKISH WOMAN

shroud it in Linnen, which they leave untied both at the head and feet. Then lay they the Corse on a Beere, placing a Turbant at the upper end, and carrying it to the Grave with the head forward: some of the Dervises going before with Tapers, the Priests after singing, and lastly, his friends and acquaintance. But persons of principall qualitie have their Horses led before them, with Ensignes trailed on the Earth, and other rites of that nature; divers of the Santons going before, naming of God, and shaking of their heads, and turning about untill they fall downe giddy. The sides and bottome of the grave are boorded, and a boord laid over the Corse, to keepe the earth from it, leaving a sufficient compasse to kneele in. For they are of opinion, that two terrible Angels, called Mongir and Guavequir doe presently repaire unto the grave, and put the soule againe into the body, as if (saith the Alcoran) [II. viii. 1300.] a man should put on a shirt, and raising him on his knees, with his head uncovered, (the winding-sheete being left unknit for that purpose) demand of him in particular, how he hath behaved himselfe in this life: which if not well, the one strikes him on the head with a hammer nine fathoms into the earth, the other tearing him with an Iron hooke; and so continue to torment him untill the day of Judgement. A Purgatory so feared, that in their Mattins they petition God to deliver them from the examinations of the blacke Angels, the tortures of the Grave, and their evill journey. But if he have satisfied them in his reply, they vanish away, and two white Angels come in their places; the one laying his arme under his head; the other sitting at his feet, and so protect him untill doomes day. The Emperors, and some of the great Bassas (whereof we have spoken sufficiently before) have their particular Mausoleums. Those of a second condition are buried in their Gardens, in Sepulchers without covers, filled within with earth, and set with varietie of Flowers: But the common sort are buried by the high-way sides, and fields of most frequency, adjoyning to the Citie, having a stone of white Marble more then a foote broad,

and foure foote high, ingraven with Turkish Characters, erected at the head, and another at the feete, the grave betweene lying low like a trough. To these the women flocke every Thursday in multitudes, weeping over their Children, Husbands, Kinsfolkes, and dead Progenitors, often kissing the stones, and praying for their delivery from the aforesaid blacke Torturers: many times leaving bread and meate on their graves, (a custome also of the Pagans) for Dogges and Birds to devoure, as well as to relieve the poore, being held an available almes for the deceassed. The better sort doe mourne in white (as for blacke, I never saw it worne by a Turke) and but for a little season. And the Women are not to marry by their law, untill foure moneths and ten daies after the death of their Husbands.

White and Blacke.

To speake a word or two of their Sciences and Trades: some of them have some little knowledge in Philosophie. Necessitie hath taught them Physicke, rather had from experience then the grounds of Art. In Astronomy they have some in-sight; and many there are that undertake to tell fortunes. These frequently sit in the streetes of the Citie, resorted unto by such as are to take a journey, or goe about any businesse of importance. They have a good gift in Poetry, wherein they chant their Armours in the Persian tongue to vile Musicke; yet are they forbidden so to doe by their Law: Citternes, Harpes and Recorders, being their principall Instruments. But their lowd Instruments doe rather affright, then delight the hearing. On a time the Grand Signior was perswaded to heare some choise Italian Musicke: but the foolish Musicians (whose wit lay onely in the ends of their fingers) spent so much time in unseasonable tuning, that he commanded them to avoid, belike esteeming the the rest to be answerable. They studie not Rhetorick, as sufficiently therein instructed by Nature; nor Logick, since it serves as well to delude as informe, and that wisedome (according to the opinion of the Epicures) may be comprehended in plaine and direct expressions. Some there be amongst them that write

Physicke.

Poetry.

Musicke.

Liberall Arts.

Histories, but few reade them, thinking that none can write of times past truly, since none dare write the truth of the present. Printing they reject, perhaps for feare lest the universalitie of learning, should subvert their false grounded religion and policie, which is better perserved by an ignorant obedience: Moreover, a number that live by writing would bee undone, who are for the most part of the Priest-hood. The Turkish tongue is loftie in sound, but poore of it selfe in substance. For being originally the Tartarian, who were needie ignorant Pastors, they were constrayned to borrow their Termes of State and Office from the Persians, (upon whose ruines they erected their Greatnesse) of Religion (being formerly Pagans) from the Arabians; as they did of Maritime Names (together with the skill) from the Greekes and Italians. In Natolia it is most generally spoken. They use (as the Persians) the Arabique Character. In writing they leave out the vowels, unlesse it be in the end of a word, so that much is contrived in a little roome. They curiously sleeke their Paper, which is thicke, much of it being coloured and dapled like Chamolets, done by a tricke they have in dipping it in the water. They have Painters amongst them, exquisite in their kind, (for they are not to draw by their Law, nor to have the figure of any thing living) yet now many privatly begin to infringe that precept, and the Grand Signior himselfe hath a fanne, whereon the battels of Hungarie are painted. Colours also they have, nor lesse faire then durable.

Printing rejected.

Language.

Paper.

Painters.

Every one hath some Trade or other, not so much as the Grand Signior excepted. Their Trades are lightly such as serve for their owne uses, neither much supplying forraine Marts, nor frequenting them. A lazy people, that worke but by fits, and more esteeme of their ease then their profit, yet are they excessive covetous. And although they have not the wit to deceive (for they be grosse-headed) yet have they the will, breaking all compacts with the Christians that they find discommodious, so that they seldome will deale with them. But with one another they

Every man hath a Trade.

buy and sell onely for ready Money, wherein the most of their substance consisteth: the occasion that few suites doe happen amongst them. I have spoken sufficiently, at least what I can of this Nation in generall, now convert we to the Person and Court of this Sultan.

[II. viii. 1301.] *Sultan described.*

He is, in this yeare 1610. about the age of three and twentie, strongly limmed, and of a just stature, yet greatly inclining to be fat: insomuch as sometimes he is ready to choake as he feeds, and some doe purposely attend to free him from that danger. His face is full and duly proportioned, onely his eyes are extraordinary great, by them esteemed (as is said before) an excellency in beauty. Fleame hath the predominancy in his complexion. He hath a little haire on his upper lip, but lesse on his chin, of a darksome colour. His aspect is as haughty as his Empire is large, he beginneth already to abstaine from exercise; yet are there pillars with inscriptions in his Serraglio, betweene which he threw a great Iron Mace, that memorize both his strength and activitie. Being on a time rebuked by his Father Mahomet, that he neglected so much his exercises and studies, he made his reply: That now he was too old to beginne to learne, intimating thereby, that his life was to determine with his Fathers, whereat the Sultan wept biterly. For he then had two elder Brothers, of whom the eldest was strangled in the presence of his Father upon a false suspition of treason, and the other by a naturall death did open his way to the Empire. Perhaps the consideration thereof hath made him keepe his younger Brother alive, contrary to their cruell custome; yet strongly guarded, and kept within his Serraglio. For hee is of no bloudy disposition, nor otherwise notoriously vicious, considering the austeritie of that government, and immunities of their Religion. Yet is he an unrelenting punisher of offences, even in his owne Houshold: having caused eight of his Pages, at my being there, to be throwne into the Sea for Sodomy (an ordinary crime, if esteemed a crime in that Nation) in the night time, being let to know by the report of a Canon, that his

Cruell policy.

His Acts.

will was fulfilled. Amongst whom, it was given out that the Vice-royes naturall Sonne of Sicilia was one, (a youth lately taken Prisoner, and presented unto him) yet but so said to be, to dishearten such as should practise his escape. His valour rests yet untried, having made no war but by disputation, nor is it thought that he greatly affects it, despairing of long life in regard of his corpulency. Whereupon he is now building a magnificent Mosque, for the health of his soule, all of white Marble; at the East end, and South-side of the Hippodrom, where he first broke the Earth, and wrought three houres in person. The like did the Bassas, bringing with them presents of Money, and Slaves to further the building. His occupation (for they are all tyed to have one) is the making of Ivory Rings, which they weare on their Thumbs when they shoote, whereupon he workes daily. His Turbant is like in shape to a Pumpion, but thrice as great. His under and upper garments, are lightly of white Sattin, or cloath of Silver Tissued with an eye of Greene, and wrought in great branches. Hee hath not so few as foure thousand persons that feede and live within his Serraglio, besides Capagies, of whom there are five hundred attired like Janizaries, but onely that they want the socket in the front of their Bonnets, who waite by fifties at every gate. The chiefe Officers of his Court are the Master (as we may terme him) of the Requests, the Treasurer, and Steward of his Houshold, his Cup-bearer, the Aga of the Women, the Controller of the Jemoglans: who also steereth his Barge, and is the principall Gardiner. Divers of these Jemoglans marching before the Grand Signior at solemne shewes, in a vaine ostentation of what they would undergoe for their Lord, gathering up the skinne of their Temples to thrust Quils through, and sticke therein Feathers for a greater bravery, so wearing them to their no small trouble, untill the place putrifie; some when the old breakes out, cutting new holes close to the broken. Yea the Standard-bearers of this Crue, thrust the staves sometimes of their Standards through the skinne and fat

His occupation.

His attire.

His Court.

of their bellies, resting the lower end on a stirrop of Leather, and so beare them through the Citie. Fiftly, Mutes he hath borne deafe and dumbe, whereof some few be his daily companions; the rest are his Pages. It is a wonderfull thing to see how readily they can apprehend, and relate by signes, even matters of great difficultie. Not to speake of the multitude of Eunuchs, the Foot-men of his Guard, Cookes, Sherbet-men, (who make the foresaid bevrage) Gardiners and Horse-keepers. Relate we now of his Women, wherein we will include those as well without as within his Serraglio.

His Women and Virgins.

And first begin we with his Virgins, of whom there seldome are so few as five hundred, kept in a Serraglio by themselves, and attended on onely by Women, and Eunuches. They all of them are his Slaves, either taken in the warres, or from their Christian Parents, and are indeed the choisest beauties of the Empire. They are not to be presented to the Emperour, untill certaine moneths be expired after their entrance, in which time they are purged and dieted, according to the custome of the ancient Persians. When it is his pleasure to have one, they stand ranckt in a Gallery, and she prepareth for his bed to whom he giveth his Handkerchiefe, who is delivered to the aforesaid Aga of the Women, (a Negro Eunuch) and conducted by him into the Sultans Serraglio. She that beareth him the first Sonne, is honoured with the Title of Sultana. But for all his multitude of Women, he hath yet begotten but two Sonnes and three Daughters, though he be that way unsatiably given, (perhaps the cause that he hath so few) and useth all sorts of foods that may inable performance. He cannot make a free Woman his Concubine, nor have to doe with her whom he hath freed, unlesse hee doe marry her, it being well knowne to the wickedly witty Roxolana: who pretending devotion, and desirous for the health, forsooth, of her soule to erect a Temple, with an Hospitall, imparting her mind to the Mufti, was told by him that it would not be acceptable to God, if built by a Bond-woman. Whereupon she put on

Sultans.

Roxolanas story.

[II. viii. 1302.]

a habite of a counterfeit sorrow, which possessest the doting Solyman with such a compassion, that he forth-with gave her her freedome, that she might pursue her intention. But having after a while sent for her by an Eunuch, shee cunningly excused her not comming, as touched in Conscience with the unlawfulnesse of the fact; now being free, and therefore not to consent unto his pleasure. So he whose soule did abide in her, and not able to live without her, was constrained to marrie her. The onely marke that shee aymed at, and whereon she grounded her succeeding Tragedies. This also hath married his Concubine, the mother of his younger Sonne, (she being dead by whom hee had the eldest) who with all the practices of a politicke Stepdame, endevours to settle the succession on her owne, adding, as it is thought, the power of Witch-craft to that of her beautie, she being passionately beloved of the Sultan. Yet is she called Casek Cadoun, which is the Lady without haire: by Nature her selfe, both graced and shamed. Now when one Sultan dieth, all his women are carried into another Serraglio, where those remaine that were his predecessors, being there both strictly lookt unto, and liberally provided for. The Grand Signior not seldome bestowing some of them (as of his Virgins, and the women of his owne Serraglio) upon his great Bassas and others, which is accounted a principall honour. But for his Daughters, Sisters, and Aunts, they have the Bassas given them for their Husbands: the Sultan saying thus, Here, Sister, I give thee this man to thy Slave, together with this dagger, that if he please thee not, thou maist kill him. Their husbands come not unto them untill they be called: if but for speech onely, their shooes which they put off at the doore, are there suffered to remaine: but if to lye with them, they are laid over the bed by an Eunuch, a signe for them to approach, who creep in unto them at the beds feete. Mustapha and Hadir, (two of the Vizers of the Port) have married this Sultans Sister, and Neece; and Mahomet Bassa of Cairo, his daughter, a child of sixe yeares old, and he about fiftie,

Husbands of his Sisters and Daughters.

having had presents sent according to the Turkish solemnities, who giveth two hundred thousand Sultanies in dowry. Not much in habite doe the Women of the Serraglio differ from other, but that the Favourite weares the ornament of her head more high, and of a particular fashion, of beaten Gold, and inchaced with Gems; from the top whereof there hangeth a veile that reacheth to her anckles, the rest have their Bonets more depressed, yet rich; with their haire disheveled.

Entertainment of Embassadors.

When the Sultan entertayneth Embassadours, hee sitteth in a roome of white Marble, glistring with Gold and Stones, upon a low Throne, spred with curious Carpets, and accommodated with Cushions of admirable workmanship; the Bassas of the Bench being by, who stand like so many Statues without speech or motion. It is now a custome that none doe come into his presence without presents, first fastned upon his Bassas, as they say, by a Persian Embassadour; who thereupon sent word to the Sophy his master that hee had conquered Turkie. The stranger that approacheth him is led betweene two: a custome observed ever since the first Amurath was slaine by the Servian Cobelitz, a common Souldier, who in the overthrow of Cossova, rising from among the dead bodies, and reeling with his wounds, made towards the Sultan then taking a view of the slaine, as if hee had something to say; by whom admitted to speech, hee forthwith stabd him with a Dagger, hid under his Cassocke for that purpose. They goe backward from him, and never put off their Hats; the shewing of the head being held by the Turke to bee an opprobrious indecency. Now, when hee goeth abroad, which is lightly every other Friday (besides at other times upon other occasions) unto the Mosque: and when in state, there is not in the world to be seene a greater spectacle of humane glorie, and (if so I may speake) of sublimated manhood. For although (as hath beene said) the Temple of Sancta Sophia, which he most usually frequenteth, is not above a stones cast from the out-most gate of the Seraglio, yet hath he not so few as a thousand

Going to the Mosque.

Horse (besides the Archers of his Guard, and other Foot-men) in that short procession; the way on each side inclosed, as well within as without, Capagies and Janizaries, in their scarlet Gownes, and particular head-ornaments. The Chauses ride formost with their gilded Maces; then the Captaines of the Janizaries with their Aga, next the Chieftaines of the Spachies, after them their Sanziaks; those of the soulderie wearing in the fronts of their Bonnets the Feathers of the Birds of Paradise, brought out of Arabia, and by some esteemed the Phœnix. Then follow the Bassas and Beglerbegs: after them the Pretorian foot-men, called the Solacchi, whereof there be in number three hundred; these are attired in Calsouns and Smockes of Callico, wearing no more over them then halfe-sleeved Coates of Crimson Damaske, the skirts tuckt under their girdles: having Plumes of Feathers in the top of their copped Bonnets; bearing Quivers at their backes, with Bowes ready bent in their left hands, and Arrowes in their right, gliding along with a marvellous celeritie. After them seven or nine goodly Horses are led, having Caparisons and Trappings of inestimable value, followed by the idolized Sultan gallantly mounted. About whom there runne fortie Peichi (so called in that they are naturally Persians) in high-crowned brimlesse Caps of beaten Gold, with Coats of Cloath of Gold girt to them, with a girdle called Chochiach: the Pages following in the reare, and other Officers of the Houshold. But what most deserveth admiration amongst so great a concourse of people, is their generall silence: insomuch, as had you but onely eares, you might suppose (except when they salute him with a soft and short murmur) that men were then folded in sleepe, and the World in midnight. He that brings him good newes (as unto others of inferiour condition) receiveth his reward, which they call Mustolooke. But this Sultan to avoid abuses in that kind, doth forth-with commit them to Prison, untill their reports bee found true or false; and then rewards or punisheth accordingly. Although he spends most of his

Generall silence. [II. viii. 1303.]

Hawking and Hawkes.

time with his women, yet sometimes he recreates himselfe in hawking, who for that purpose hath (I dare not name) how many thousand Faulkners in pension, dispersed throughout his Dominions: and many of them ever attendant. Their long-winged Hawkes they whistle not off as wee doe, but putting a bridle about their neckes, they make them couch to their fists, and so galloping to the Brooke, fling them off at the fowle, being reared sodainly by the noyse of a Drumme that hangs at their Pummels, by use made cunning in that kind of preying. They carrie them on the right hand. A hardie Hawke is highly esteemed; and they have a kind of them called Shahans, much lesse then a Falcon: yet so strangely couragious, that nothing flyeth in the Ayre that they will not bind with. They also hawke at the field, for I have seene them carrie Spaniels with them: yet those in beautie not like unto ours, but of a bastard Generation. They feed their Hawkes with hard Egges when flesh is wanting, and seldome bestow of them the mewing. Although he affects not hunting, yet entertaynes he a number of Huntsmen. Their Dogs they let goe out of slips in pursuit of the Wolfe, the Stagge, the Bore, the Leopard, &c. Those that serve for that purpose are stickle haired, and not unlike to the Irish Grey-hounds.

Huntsmen.

Now the yearely Revenue which he hath to defray his excessive disbursements, such a World of people depending upon him, amounts not above fifteene Millions of Sultanies, (besides the entertaynment for his Timariots) which is no great matter, considering the amplitude of his Dominions: being possessed of two Empires, above twentie Kingdomes, beside divers rich and populous Cities; together with the Red, most of the Mid-land, the Ægean Euxine, and Proponticke Seas. But it may be imputed to the barbarous wastes of the Turkish Conquests, who depopulate whole Countries, and never re-edifie what they ruine. So that a great part of his Empire is but thinly inhabited, (I except the Cities) and that for the most part by Christians, whose povertie is

their onely safetie and protectresse. But his casuall incomes doe give a mayne accession to his Treasurie: as Taxes, Customes, Spoiles, and Extortions. For as in the Sea the greater fishes doe feed on the lesse, so doe the Great ones here on their Inferiours, and hee on them all: being, as afore-said, the Commander of their lives, and generall Heire of their substances. He hath divers Mines of Gold and Silver within his Dominion, that of Siderocapsa in Macedon, having beene as beneficiall unto him as the largest Citie of his Empire, called anciently Chrysites: and not unknowne to Philip the Father of Alexander, who had the Gold from thence wherewith he coyned his Philips, as also from those of Cranider, from whence he yearely extracted a thousand Talents. He hath onely two sorts of Coine, the Sultanie and the Asper. The Sultanie is equall in value to the Venice Zecceene, and sixe score Aspers amount to a Sultanie, called rather Aspro, of the whitenesse thereof, in that consisting of silver.

Constantinople is said to contayne seven hundred thousand persons: halfe of them Turkes, and the other halfe Jewes and Christians, and those for the generall Grecians. *Greekes.* But Pera hath three Christians for one Mahometan: for no Jew dwels in Pera, though they have their shops there. We omit to speake of the Jewes untill we come into Jewrie; and now will bend our discourse to the Grecians: a Nation no lesse scattered then they, but infinitely more populous. For not onely three parts of the Inhabitants of all Greece and Romania are Grecians, but almost all that dwell in the Ilands of the Mid-land Sea, Propontis and Ægeum. Infinite numbers there are of them both in the Lesse, and the Greater Asia, and in Africa not a few. For (besides divers Colonies by them formerly planted) when Antipater, Perdiccas, Seleucus, Lysimacus, Antigonus, Ptolomie, and the rest of the Successors of Alexander had shared his Empire among them, they endeavoured as much as they could to plant their new-got Kingdomes with their Countrey men: whose Posteritie in part remayneth to this day, though vassalled to the

often changes of forraine Governours: supplyed by the extension of the latter Greeke Empire, who yet retayne wheresoever they live, their Name, their Religion, and particular Language.. A Nation once so excellent, that their Precepts and Examples doe still remayne as approved Canons to direct the mind that endeavoureth vertue. Admirable in Arts, and glorious in Armes, famous for government, affectors of freedome, every way noble: and to whom the rest of the World were reputed Barbarians. But now their knowledge is converted, as I may say, into affected ignorance, (for they have no Schooles of Learning amongst them) their libertie into contented slavery, having lost their minds with their Empire. Now they delight in ease, in shades, in dancing and drinking: and no further for the most part endeavour their profit, then their bellies compell them. They are generally taxed by the stranger Christians of perfidiousnesse, insomuch, as it is growne into a Proverbe, Chi side in Grego, sara intrigo, in them more anciently noted. There be divers rich men of them in Pera, but those I thinke were descended of the Genoes; who were as hath beene said, the owners of that Citie. Many of them exercise Merchandize in Vessels called Carmasals, and have of late gotten the use of the Compasse, yet dare they not adventure into the Ocean.

[II. viii. 1304.] They are of divers Trades in Cities, and in the Countrey doe till the Earth (for the European Turkes doe little meddle with Husbandry) and dresse their Vines, by them onely planted. They have a Ceremonie of baptizing of their Wines, which is the reason that the Jewes will not drinke thereof: performed in the memorie, and on that day wherein Christ converted water into wine: the Priest in the midst of his Oraisons powring thereinto a small quantitie of water.

Drinkings. And although the Greekes doe now for the most part imitate the Turkes, (I meane heere in Turkie) in sitting at their meate, yet retaine they still that vice of immoderate drinking. They pledge one another in order; and he that cals for wine out of his turne, is reputed uncivill.

Their Glasses are little, but at every draught emptied; and when they have once drunke hard, they observe no Rule, but provoke one another to excesse. Never silent; and ever and anon kissing those that sit next them on the cheeke and fore-head: and so likewise they doe in their salutations after a long absence, and to those to whom they would give an assurance of their good will. Used of long, as appeareth by the Scriptures, amongst these Easterne Nations. But to kisse their women is an unsufferable wrong; unlesse it be betweene the Resurrection and Ascention; using also this greeting, that, Our Saviour is risen. The women for the most part are browne of complexion, but exceedingly wel-favoured, and excessively amorous. Their Garments differ little from theirs amongst whom they live. They cover not their faces (the Virgins excepted) unlesse it bee with Painting; using all the suppliment of a sophisticate beautie. And not without cause, for when they grow old, they most grow contemptible, beeing put to doe the drudgeries of the house, and many times to waite on their children. They are costly in their attyre, and will complaine to the Patriarke, if their Husbands maintayne them not according to their substances. The Greekes, as the Turkes doe use little houshold stuffe; and lye upon Mattresses.

Women.

Now the Grecians themselves, (except some few) are ignorant in the ancient Greeke, it being called the Latine Greeke, and is a Language peculiar to the Learned. Yet the vulgar Greeke doth not differ so farre from the same, as the Italian from the Latine, corrupted not so much by the mixture of other Tongues, as through a supine wretchlesnesse. In some places they speake it more purely than in others. For the Boyes of Pera will laugh, when they heare the more barbarous Dialect of other maritime Grecians. And there be yet of the Laconians that speake so good Greeke, (though not Grammatically) that they understand the Learned; and understand not the vulgar. Their Liturgie is read in the ancient Greeke, with not much more profit perhaps to the rude people, then the

Their language.

Latine Service of the Romish Church to the illiterate Papists.

The foure Patriarkes. They have foure Patriarchs: One of Constantinople, another of Alexandria, the third of Jerusalem, and the fourth of Antioch. He of Constantinople hath under his Jurisdiction all Peloponnesus, Grecia, Thracia, Dacia, Mœsia, Macedonia, Epirus, Albania, Dalmatia, Illyria, a great part of Polonia, Russia, the Ilands of the Adriaticke Sea, and of the Archipelagus, with Candie, Rhodes, Coos, almost all the lesser Asia, Colchis, not a few that inhabit about the Fennes of Mœtis, and Northerne shoare of Euxinus: as Sicilia, and Calabria were, untill they returned unto the Sea of Rome. Under the Patriarch of Alexandria, are those of Egypt and Arabia. The Greekes of Palestine, and of the Countries thereabout, doe obey the Patriarch of Jerusalem. And he of Antioch, who hath his seate in Damascus, (for Antiochia is now desolate) hath subject unto him the Grecians of the lesser Armenia, Celicia, Beritus, Tripoly, Aleppo, and other places of the greater Asia. In all these parts they have the free exercise of their Religion: with publike Temples, and numbers of strong Monasteries. If a Patriarch dye, another is elected by a Synod of Bishops. But the Patriarch of Constantinople hath the Supremacie of the rest assigned him by the Councell of Chalcedon, as Metropolitan of the Imperiall Citie: whose Diocesse exceedeth the other so much, in that most of those Northerne Nations were wonne to Christianitie by the Industry of his Predecessors, and reduced to their Government. So if we doe consider it, the Grecian Religion both in extent and number exceedeth the Romane. And as the Papists attribute an extraordinarie holinesse to Rome, so doe the Greekes unto Athos, a Mountaine of Macedona; so named of Athon the Sonne of Neptune, deckt with still-flourishing Trees, and abounding with Fountaines: called also the Holy Mountayne by the Christians. A place from the beginning dedicated to Religion; lying directly West from Lemnos: and so high, that though it be seven

hundred furlongs distant; yet it is said a little before the setting of the Sunne, to cast a shadow on that Iland.

This stretcheth out into the Sea, and joynes unto the Continent by an Isthmos, about a mile and halfe broad: which was cut through by Xerxes, (as hath beene intimated before) and made circumnavigable. But time hath left now no impressions of his barbarous labour. It is well nigh three dayes journey in length, considering the difficultie of the way; and halfe a dayes over. The top thereof resembleth the forme of a man, stretched on his backe from West unto East; and formed (according to Strabo) to the similitude of Alexander. This Mountayne is onely inhabited by Grecian Monkes, whom they call Caloieros, un-intermixed with the Laitie: of whom there *Caloieros.* are there residing not so few as sixe thousand, that live in Monasteries strongly munited against the Incursions of Robbers and Pirats. Of these there be in number twentie foure. The Caloieros weare Gownes of blacke, of [II. viii. a homely stuffe, with Hoods of the same; and their haire 1305.] at full length. They never marrie, abstaine from flesh, and often (especially during their Lents) from fish that hath bloud in it. They live hardly, feeding on Biscot, Onions, Olives, Herbs, and such fish as they take in the adjoyning Seas. For they all of them labour for their sustenance, leaving their Monasteries betimes in the mornings; and imploying the day, some in tillage, some in the Vineyards, some in making of Boats, some in fishing, others at home spinne, weave, sew, and doe all the Offices that belong unto women: so that none but are busied about one thing or another, to the behoofe of their particular Covents: and men they bee that are onely meete for such Drudgeries. For amongst so many, not past three or foure can write or reade, throughout a whole Monasterie: insomuch, that at their Lyturgies, that is read to them first, which they are to sing after. In these Monasteries many excellent Manu-scripts have beene preserved, but those that now are, be onely of Divinitie, all other Learning (as amongst the Turkes) at

this day detested by the Religious. The Coloieros of this place have a repute above all others: and for their strictnesse of life, and observance of Ceremonies, are in their severall Monasteries relieved from severall Nations. The Patriarch of Constantinople is said to pay yearely for the Priests and Coloieros, that are under his Jurisdiction within the Turkish Dominions, twelve thousand Sultanies.

The Patriarchs of Constantinople were heretofore men of singular gravitie and learning; but now nothing lesse: rather chosen for temporall respects, then either for their knowledge or devotion; admitted not seldome to the place at the age of fortie, though prohibited, if under threescore, by an ancient Canon. Although elected by their owne Bishops; yet often appointed, and ever to be allowed by the Grand Signior: frequently displanted, and banished unto the Rhodes, by the briberie of their Successors. Some few of their Priests are learned. For them it is lawful to marrie, but Bigamie is forbidden them, and Trigamie detested in the Laitie. There are no other Orders amongst them besides the foresaid Coloieros, and certaine Nunnes whom they call Coloieras. Yet of the last but a few, who are for the most part poore old Widdowes, that exercise themselves in sweeping of the Churches, attending on the sicke, and actions of like nature. Their Churches are many of them well set forth and painted with the represents of Saints, but they have no carved nor imbossed Images. Lampes they have continually burning. Their ordinarie Lyturgie is Saint Chrysostomes; but on Festivall Dayes they doe reade Saint Basils, and then attired in their Pontificals. Their behaviour therein expresseth there, to my understanding, no great either decencie or devotion. They administer the Eucharist in both kinds: if the bread bee not leavened, they thinke it not availeable; and they drinke of the cup very liberally. One Article they hold against the Catholicke Creed; which is, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father.

Foure Lents they have in the yeare, and then a damn-

able sinne it is to eate flesh, or fish that hath bloud in it (except in the Lent before Easter, when all sorts of fish may bee eaten by the Laitie:) but shel-fish they eate, and the Cuttle: whose bloud, if I may so tearme it, is like Inke; a delicate food, and in great request. They fast on Wednesdayes, Fridayes, and on holy Eeves: but on Saturdayes they feast, in regard that it was the old Sabbath. They compute the yeare as we doe. They yeeld no Supremacie to the Romane Papacie, but hold that Church for Schismaticall. And although many times out of the necessitie of their Affaires, and to purchase reliefe, they have treated of a Conciliation; and sometimes it hath beene by their Agents concluded: yet what they have done hath beene generally rejected upon their returne, both by the Greekes and those other Nations that professe their Religion. Of their Marriages I have elsewhere spoken, and now conclude wee will with their Funerals: wherein they retayne not a few of their ancient and Heathen Ceremonies. Their lamentations are the same that they were, and beyond all civilitie.

The women betimes in the morning doe meete at appointed places, and then cry out mainely; beating of their breasts, tearing their haire, their faces and garments. And that the clamour may be the greater, they hire certaine Jewish women, that have lowdest voyces, joyning therewith the prayses of the dead, from the houre of his Nativitie unto the houre of his dissolution: and keeping time with the melancholicke Musicke. Nor want they store of Spectators, partly drawne thither to delight their eyes, and partly by jealousie. For then the choice, and prime women of the Citie (if the deceased were of note) doe assist their Obsequies; with bosomes displaid, and their haire dis-sheveled: glad that they have the occasion to manifest their beauties, which at other times is secluded from Admirers.

The reason why the Grecians did burne their dead, was, because that part which was divine in them, should as it were in a fierie Chariot againe re-ascend to the Celestiall

Habitations, as unto Earth the Earthly returned. They used to quench the fire with Red Wine, and gathering the bones together to include them in Urnes as the Urnes in Sepulchres, (which had no title, unlesse they were slaine in fighting for their Countrey) exhibiting games, and prizes for the Victors in honour of the deceased. Notwithstanding all were not burnt, but some buried in their apparell, as now being Christians they are: who use [II. viii. 1306.] Extreme-unction, as inducted by S. James; yet not onely denie the Romane opinion of Purgatorie, but furthermore erroniously maintayne, that neither the soules of the blessed nor damned doe suffer either joy or torment, or shall till the generall Judgement. But enough of the Grecians.

English Embassador. The Germane Emperour, the Kings of England and of France, have heere their Liedger Embassadours: as the Venetians their Baily, and divers tributarie Princes their Agents. Some meerly employed about State Affaires; others together therewith, about the trafficke of their Nations. But the English onely negotiates for the Merchants, having two in the hundred upon everie ship, besides a large Pension: with the name of a great proportion of provision from the Grand Signior. The English Consulship of Chios is in his disposing, and accountable to him; and out of that of Alexandria hee hath no small share, though served by a French man. There hath bin some contention between him and the French, about the protection of the Dutch Merchants: but now they doe divide the profits. The English Consul of Aleppo is absolute of himselfe, yet hath from hence his redresses of injuries: whose chiefe employment is to protect the persons and goods of our Nation, to labour a revenge of wrongs, and a restitution of losses. And to give * this no more then his due, for this place none can be more sufficient; expert in their Language, and by a long experience in their natures and practises: being moreover of such a spirit, as not to be danted. And surely, his chiefest fault hath beene his misfortune; in the too violent

**Sir Thomas Glover.*

chargeable, and successelesse solliciting of the restitution of the Prince of Moldavia, (whom adversitie hath rather made crafty then honest:) whose house doth harbour both him and his dependents; beeing open also to all of our Nation: a Sanctuary for poore Christian slaves that secretly flye hither, whom hee causeth to bee conveyed into their Countries, and redeemeth not a few with his money.

§. IIII.

The Holy Land described, the Countrie, Cities, Inhabitants, holy Places, and memorable Rarities of Jerusalem.

NOw are we in the Holy * Land, confined on the North with the Mountaynes of Lybanus, and a part of Phœnicia: on the East it hath Cœlosyria and Arabia Petrea: on the South the same together with Idumea, the West is bounded, a part with Phœnicia, and the rest with the Mid-land Sea. Distant from the Line one and thirtie degrees, extending unto thirtie three, and something upward. So that in length from Dan (the same with Cæsarea Philippi,) unto Bersheba, (now Gebelin) it contayneth not more then an hundred and fortie miles; where broadest not fifty. A Land that flowed with Milke and Honey: in the middest as it were of the habitable World, and under a temperate Clime. Adorned with beautifull Mountaynes, and luxurious Valleys; the Rockes producing excellent Waters: and no part emptie of delight or profit.

**His Journey out of Egypt thither, you have before l. 6 c. 8. For leaving Constantinople in January, in the Trinitie of London, he sailed by Samos, Patmos, Coos, Rhodes &c. to Egypt.*

The Inhabitants.

It is for the most part now inhabited by Moores and Arabians: those possessing the Valleyes, and these the Mountaynes. Turkes there be few, but many Greekes, with other Christians, of all Sects and Nations, such as impute to the place an adherent holinesse. Here be also some Jewes, yet inherit they no part of the Land, but in their owne Countrey doe live as Aliens; a people scattered throughout the whole World, and hated by those amongst

Jewes.

whom they live; yet suffered as a necessary mischiefe: subject to all wrongs and contumelies, which they support with an invincible patience. Many of them have I seene abused; some of them beaten: yet never saw I Jew with an angry countenance. They can subject themselves unto times, and to whatsoever may advance their profit. In generall they are worldly wise, and thrive wheresoever they set footing. The Turke employes them in Receit of Customes, which they by their policies have inhaunced, and in buying and selling with the Christian: beeing himselfe in that kind a Foole and easily coozened. They are men of indifferent statures, and the best complexions. Throughout the Turkes Dominions, they are allowed their Synagogues: so are they at Rome, and elsewhere in Italie; whose Receit they justifie as a retayned testimonie of the verity of Scriptures; and as being a meanes of their more speedie conversions: whereas the offence that they receive from Images, and the losse of goods upon their conversions, oppugne all perswasions whatsoever. Their Synagogues (for as many as I have seene) are neither faire without, nor adorned within more then with a Curtayne at the upper end, and certaine Lampes (so farre as I could perceive) not lightned by daylight. In the midst stands a Scaffold, like those belonging to Queresters, in some of our Cathedrall Churches: wherein he stands that reades their Law and sings their Lyturgie: an Office not belonging unto any in particular, but unto him (so hee bee free from deformities) that shall at that time purchase it with most money; which redounds to their publike Treasurie. They reade in savage Tones, and sing in Tunes that have no affinitie with Musicke: joyning voyces at the severall closes. But their fantasticall gestures exceed all Barbarisme, continually weaving with their bodies, and often jumping up-right (as is the manner in Dances) by them esteemed an action of zeale, and figure of spirituall elevation. They pray silently, with ridiculous and continuall noddings of their heads, not to bee seene and not laught at. During

Their patience.

Thriftinesse.

Of the Jewish people and their Sects and Rites you may reade this Author, & more fully my Pilgrimage, l. 2.

[II. viii. 1307.]

the time of Service their heads are veyled in linnen, fringed with knots; in number answerable to the number of their Lawes: which they carrie about with them in procession; and rather boast of then observe. They have it stucke in the jambs of their doores, and covered with glasse: written by their Cacams, and signed with the names of God, which they kisse next their hearts in their goings forth, and in their returnes. They may not print it, but it is to bee written on Parchment, prepared of purpose (the Inke of a prescribed composition) not with a Quill, but a Cane. They doe great reverence to all the names of God, but especially to Jehova; insomuch that they never use it in their speech. And whereas they handle with great respect the other Bookes of the old Testament, the Booke of Hester (that part that is Canonicall, for the other they allow not of) writ in a long Scroll they let fall on the ground as they reade it, because the name of God is not once mentioned therein; which they attribute to the wisdome of the Writer, in that to be perused by the Heathen. Their other books are in the Spanish Tongue and Hebrew Character. Although they agree with the Turke in Circumcision, detestation of Images, abstinency from Swines-flesh, and divers other Ceremonies: neverthelesse, the Turkes will not suffer a Jew to turne Mahometan, unlesse hee first turne a kind of Christian. As in Religion they differ from others, so doe they in Habite, in Christendome enforcedly, here in Turkie voluntarily. Their under-garments differing little from the Turkes in fashion, are of purple cloth; over that they weare Gownes of the same colour, with large wide sleeves, and clasped beneath the chin, without band or collar: on their heads high brimlesse Caps of purple, which they move at no time in their salutations. They shave their heads all over; not in imitation of the Turke: it being their ancient fashion. Their familiar Speech is Spanish: yet few of them are ignorant in the Hebrew, Turkish, Morisco, vulgar Greeke, and Italian Languages. Their onely studies are Divinitie and Physicke: their

Doctors of Law.

Their attire.

occupations Brocage and Usurie; yet take they no interest of one another, nor lend but upon pawnes; which once forfeited, are unredeemable.

They marrie their daughters at the age of twelve, not affecting the single life, as repugnant to societie, and the law of creation. The Sabbath (their devotions ended) they chiefly employ in nuptiall benevolencies, as an act of charitie, befitting well the sanctitie of that day. Although no Citie is without them throughout the Grand Signiors Dominions, yet live they with the greatest libertie in *Salonica.* Salonica, which is almost altogether inhabited by them. Every male above a certaine age, doth pay for his head an annuall tribute. Although they be governed by the *The Jewes justice.* Turkish Justice; neverthelesse, if a Jew deserve to die by their law, they will either privately make away, or falsly accuse him of a crime that is answerable to the other in qualitie, and deserving like punishment. It is no ill turne for the Franks that they will not feed at their Tables. For *Diet.* they eate no flesh, but of their owne killing; in regard of the intrals, which being dislocated or corrupted, is an abomination unto them. When so it falls out, though exceeding good (for they kill of the best) they will sell it for a trifle. And as for their Wines, being for the most part planted and gathered by Grecians, they dare not drinke of them, for feare they be baptized: a ceremonie whereof we have spoken alreadie. They sit at their meate, as the Turks *Burials.* doe. They burie in the fields by themselves, having onely a stone set upright on their Graves, which once a yeere they frequent, burning of incense, and tearing of their garments. For certaine dayes they fast and mourne for the dead, yea even for such as have beene executed for offences. As did the whole Nation at our being at Constantinople for two of good account that were impaled upon stakes; being taken with a Turkish woman, and that on their Sabbath. It was credibly reported, that a Jew, not long before, did poyson his sonne, whom he knew to be unrestrainably lascivious, to prevent the ignominie of a publike punishment, or losse by a chargeable redemption.

The flesh consumed, they dig up the bones of those that are of their families; whereof whole bark-fuls not seldome doe arrive at Joppa, to be conveyed, and againe interred at Jerusalem: imagining that it doth adde delight unto the soules that did owe them, and that they shall have a quicker dispatch in the generall judgement. To speake a word or two of their women. The elder mabble *Women.* their heads in linnen, with the knots hanging downe behind. Others doe weare high Caps of plate, whereof some I have seene of beaten Gold. They weare long quilted Waistcoats, with Breeches underneath; in Winter of cloth, in Summer of linnen; and over all when they stirre abroad, loose Gownes of purple flowing from the shoulders. They are generally fat, and ranke of the savours which attend upon sluttish corpulency. For the most part, they are goggle-eyed. They neither shun conversation, nor are too watchfully guarded by their husbands. They are good work-women, and can and will doe any thing for profit, that is to be done by the Art of a woman, and which sutes with the fashion of these Countries. Upon injuries received, or violence done to any of their Nation, they will crie out mainly at their windowes, beating their cheekes, and tearing of their garments. Of late they have beene blest with another Hester, who by her favour with the Sultan, prevented their intended massacre, and turned his furie upon their accusers. They [II. viii. 1308.] are so well skilled in lamentations, that the Greekes doe hire them to crie at their funerals.

But now returne we unto Gaza. It stands upon a hill *Gaza.* surrounded with valleyes; and those againe wel-nigh environed with hills, most of them planted with all sorts of delicate fruits. The building meane, both for forme and matter: the best but low, of rough stone, arched within, and flat on the top including a quadrangle: the walls surmounting their roofes, wrought through with pot-sheards to catch and strike downe the refreshing winds, having spouts of the same, in colour, shape and sight, resembling great Ordnance. Others covered with

mats and hurdles; some built of mud; amongst all, not any comely or convenient. Yet there are some reliques left, and some impressions, that testifie a better condition: for divers simple roofes are supported with goodly Pillars of Parian marble, some plaine, some curiously carved. A number broken in pieces doe serve for thresholds, jambs of doores, and sides of windowes, almost unto every beggarly Cottage. On the North-east corner, and summitie of the hill, are the ruines of huge arches sunke low in the earth, and other foundations of a stately building. From whence the last Sanziack conveyed marble Pillars of an incredible bignesse; enforced to saw them asunder ere they could be removed: which hee employed in adorning a certaine Mosque below in the valley. The Castle now being, not worthie that name, is of no importance: wherein lieth the Sanziack (by some termed, a Bassa) a sickly young man, and of no experience, who governes his Province by the advice of a Moore. His Territories begin at Arissa. On the West side of the Citie, out of sight, and yet within hearing, is the Sea, seven furlongs off; where they have a decayed and unsafe Port, of small availe at this day to the inhabitants. In the valley on the East side of the Citie, are many stragling buildings; beyond which, a hill more eminent then the rest, on the North side of the way that leadeth to Babylon; said to be that (and no question the same described in Scriptures) to which Samson carried the gates of the Citie; upon whose top there standeth a Mosque, environed with the Graves and Sepulchres of Mahometans. In the Plaine betweene that and the Towne, there stand two high Pillars of marble, their tops much worne by the weather: the cause of their erecting unknowne, but of great antiquitie. South of this, and by the way of Ægypt, there is a mightie Cisterne, filled onely by the fall of raine, and descended into by large staires of stone: where they wash their clothes, and water their Cattell.

The same day that wee came, wee left the Caravan, and lodged in the Citie, under an Arch in a little Court,

together with our Asses. The doore exceeding low, as are all that belong unto Christians, to withstand the sodaine entrance of the insolent Turkes. For they heere doe live in a subjection to be pitied; not so much as daring to have handsome houses, or to employ their grounds to the most benefit: so dangerous is it to be esteemed wealthy. During our abode here, there came a Captaine with two hundred Spaheis, sent by Morat Bassa to raise thirtie thousand Dollars of the poore and few Inhabitants of this Citie. The Grecians have certaine small Vineyards: but that they have Wine, they dare not be acknowne, which they secretly presse in their houses. They burie their Corne under ground, and keepe what they are to spend in long vessels of clay; in that it is subject to bee eaten with wormes (as throughout Ægypt) and will not last if not so preserved. In the principall part of the Citie they have an ancient Church, frequented also by the Copties. The Greekish women (a thing elsewhere unseene) here cover their faces, dying their hands blacke; and are apparelled like the Moores of Cairo. Every Saturday in this Church-yard upon the Graves of the dead, they keepe a miserable howling; crying of custome, without teares or sorrow. The Subassee would have extorted from us wel-nigh as much money as wee were masters of: which wee had hardly avoyded, had not the sicke Sanziack (in that administered unto by our Physician) quitted us of all payments. So that there is no travelling this way for a Franke, without speciall favour.

Reason of low doores.

Slavery of the Inhabitants.

Saturday sorrow.

Thrust out of our lodging (as we were about to leave it) by the uncivill Spaheis, who seized on divers of our necessaries: on the eighteenth of March wee returned to the Caravan. Wee payed halfe a Dollar apiece to the place for our Camels: and for their hire from Cairo, for those of burthen, sixe Sultanies; for such as carried passengers, eight. Wee gave them more, two Sultanies apiece to proceed unto Jerusalem. Here the Caravan divided: not a small part thereof taking the way that leadeth unto

Babylon. The next day wee also dislodged: leaving the Jewes behind us, who were there to celebrate their festivall. The Captaine of the Caravan departed the night before, taking his way through the mountainous Countrey *Hebron.* by Hebron: out of his devotion to visite the graves of the Patriarchs; a place of high esteeme amongst them, and much frequented in their pilgrimages. The ancient Citie (the seat of David before he tooke Sion from the Jebusites) is utterly ruinated. Hard by there is a little Village, seated in the field of Mechpelah, where standeth a goodly Temple, erected over the Cave of their buriall, by Helena the mother of Constantine; converted now into a Mosque. Wee past this day through the most pregnant and pleasant valley that ever eye beheld. On the right hand a ridge of high Mountaines, (whereon stands Hebron:) on the left hand the Mediterranean Sea, bordered with continued hills, beset with varietie of fruits: as they are for the most part of this dayes journey. The [II. viii. Champaine betweene about twentie miles over full of 1309.] flowry hils ascending leasurely, and not much surmounting *Pleasant champaine.* their ranker valleys, with groves of Olives, and other fruits dispersedly adorned. Yet is this wealthy bottome (as are all the rest) for the most part uninhabited, but only for a few small and contemptible Villages, possessed by barbarous Moores; who till no more then will serve to feed them: the Grasse waste-high, unmowed, uneaten, and uselessly withering. Perhaps so desolate in that infested by the often recourse of Armies, or masterfull Spaheis: who before they goe into the field (which is seldome untill the latter end of harvest, lest they should starve themselves by destroying of the Corne) are billited in these rich pastures, for the benefit of their Horses, lying in Tents besides them; committing many outrages on the adjoyning Townes and distressed passengers.

Ten miles from Gaza, and neere unto the Sea, stands *Ascalon.* Ascalon, now a place of no note; more then that the Turke doth keepe there a Garrison. Ten miles North of Ascalon along the shoare stands Azotus: and eight

miles beyond that Acharon, now places of no reckoning. About two of the Clocke wee pitched by Cane Sedoe; a ruinous thing, hard by a small Village, and not a quarter of a mile from the Sea: the Caravan lying in deepe pastures without controlment of the Villagers. The next day we departed two houres before Sun-rise: descending into an ample valley, and from that into another; having divers Orchards towards the Sea. The Countrey such (but that without trees) as wee past through before. No part so barren, but would prove most profitable, if planted with Vines, and fruits; made more then probable, by those that grow about Gaza. Passing through a spacious field of Olives, about noone wee pitched on a little hill, lying East, and within a furlong of Rama, called Ramula by the Moores; which signifieth sandy. It is seated in a plaine, on a little rising of the earth, stretching North and South, built of free-stone, the streets narrow, the houses contemptible. Yet are there many goodly ruines, which testifie farre better building, especially those of the Christian Churches. Here is a Monasterie, much of it standing; founded by Philip the good Duke of Burgundie, in that place where sometimes stood the house of Nicodemus; built for the reliefe and safety of Pilgrims in their passage to Jerusalem: and although quitted by the Friers, yet at this day serving to that purpose, called Sion-house, and belonging to the Monasterie of Mount Sion.

Cane Sedoe.

Ramula.

Sion house.

Joppe was called the Port of Jury; the only one that it had. Then more convenient then now: much of it choked with sand, and much of it worne with the continual assaults of the waters. Of the City there is no part standing, more then two litle Towers, wherein are certain harquebuses acrosse, for the safe-guard of the harbour. Under the cliffe, and opening to the Haven are certaine spacious Caves, hewen into the rock: some used for Ware-houses, and others for shelter. The merchandizes here embarqued for Christendome are only Cottens, gathered by certaine Frenchmen, who reside at Rama in the house of Sion. The Westerne Pilgrims doe for the most part

Joppe.

Charges of Pilgrims.

arrive at this place, and are from hence conducted to Jerusalem by Attala, a Greeke of Rama; and Drugaman to the Pater-guardian, paying seven Sultanies a piece for his Mules, his labour, and discharge of Caphar. The like rate he hath for bringing them backe againe: a great expence to poore Pilgrims for so small a journey; which must be payed although they accept not of his conduct. Yet by this meanes they doe passe securely: hee being in fee with the Arabians that possesse the Mountaines. Now the Caravan did againe divide, the Moores keeping on the way that leadeth to Damascus. Here wee should have payed two Dollars a piece for our heads to a Sheck of the Arabs. But the Sanziack of Gaza had sent unto him that it should be remitted. He came unto our Tent, and greedily fed on such viands as we had set before him. A man of a tall stature, clothed he was in a Gambalocke of scarlet, buttoned under the chin with a bosse of gold. He had not the patience to expect a present, but demanded one; wee gave him a piece of Sugar, and a paire of Shooes, which he earnestly enquired for, and cheerfully accepted. On the twentieth of March with the rising Sunne wee departed! A small remainder of that great Caravan; the Nostraines (so name they the Christians of the East *) that rode upon Mules and Asses, being gone before. Amongst whom were two Armenian Bishops: who footed it most of the way, but when (alighting themselves) they were mounted by some of their Nation. Before wee had gone farre we were stayed by the Arabs, untill they had taken Caphar of the rest. The Subassee of Rama besides had two Medines upon every Camell. The day thus wasted did make us misdoubt that we should not get that night unto Jerusalem: but the missing of our way (for the Arabs had left us contrarie to their custome) turned our feare to despaire. Some sixe miles beyond Rama the hills grew bigger and bigger, mixed with fruitfull valleyes. About two miles further wee ascended the higher Mountaines; paying by the way two Medines a head; but at severall places. The passage

So call they their Leaders for the most part Santons.

A kind of riding Gowne.

**Perhaps because most of them are Nestorians.*

exceeding difficult; streightned with wood, and as it were paved with broken rockes: which by reason of the raine then falling, became no lesse dangerous to our Camels. At length wee came to a small Village, where we first discovered our erring. Some counselled to stay, others to proceed; both dangerous alike, the way unknowne, unsafe, the inhabitants theeves, as are all the Arabians. Whilest we thus debated, the night stole upon us, and bereft us of the election. The much raine enforced us to flee for shelter unto a ruinous Chappell, where distrust set the watch, which we carefully kept till the morning. Betimes wee forsooke the Village, descending [II. viii. 1310.] the way wee had ascended, guided by the chiefe of the Towne, who for a summe of money had undertaken our conduct to the top of the Mountaines, having hired Asses for our more expedition: yet others crossing us as wee returned along the Valley, with shewes of violence, would have extorted more money. Our passage for five houres together lay through a narrow streight of the Mountaines; much of our way no other then such as seemed to have beene worne by the winters torrent. We past by a ruinous Fort, seated neere a Fountaine, sufficient when it stood, to have made good that passage. In the way wee sprang a number of Partridges; others on each side running on the Rockes; like in colour unto those of Chios. *Partridges.* Ascending by little and little, at length wee attained to the top, which overtopt and surveyed all the Mountaynes that wee had left behinde us. From hence to Jerusalem *Jerusalem.* the way is indifferent even. On each side round Hils, with ruines on their tops, and Valleyes, such as are figured in the most beautifull Land-skips. The soyle, though stonie, not altogether barren, producing both Corne and Olives about inhabited places. Approaching the North Gate of the Citie, called in times past the Gate of Ephraim, and now of Damascus; we onely of all the rest were not permitted to enter. When compassing the wall unto that of the West, commanded by the Castle, we were met by two Franciscan Friers, who saluted and conveyed us to

their Covent. Wee entred, as afore-said, at the west Gate, called the Gate of Joppa. On the right hand, and adjoyning to the Wall, there standeth a small ill-fortified Castle: yet the onely Fort that belongeth to the Citie; weakely guarded, and not over-well stored with Munition; built by the Pisans at such time as the Christians inhabited this Citie. Turning on the left hand, and ascending a part of Mount Gihon, we came to the Monasterie of the Franciscans (being now in number betweene thirtie and fortie) who in the yeere 1561, thrust out of that which they had on Mount Sion, had this place assigned them. But of the Founders name I am ignorant: nor is hee much wronged by being forgotten: since so meane a building can give no fame to the builder.

Monasterie of Franciscans.

The Pater-guardian with due complement entertained us: a reverent old man, of a voluble tongue, and winning behaviour. His name Gaudentius: his Nation, Italy. Every third yeere they are removed; and a Successor elected by the Pope, from whom they have a part of their exhibition: the rest from the Spaniard and Florentine. Nor is it a little that they get by the resort of the Pilgrims of Christendome. For all that come must repaire to their Covent; otherwise they shall be accused for Spies, and suffer much trouble: the Romane Catholikes rewarding them out of devotion, and the rest out of curtesie; which if short of their expectations, they will repine it as losers. Wee foure, for eight dayes entertainment bestowed little lesse amongst them then an hundred Dollers; and yet they told us wee had hardly payed for what wee had eaten. A costly rate for a monasticall diet. But the Turke is much more fierce upon them: awayting all advantages that may give a colour to extortion. A little before our comming, a Turke being denyed by a Friar of some trifle that hee requested, gave himselfe such a blow upon the Nose that the bloud gushed forth: and presently exclayming as if beaten by the other, complayned to the Sanziacke; for which Avania they were compelled to part with eight hundred Dollers. Brought much behind hand, as they

Turks knavery

alledge, with such losses, they use oft to rehearse them as motives unto charitie.

The Covent hath also another in-come by the Knights of the Sepulchre; who pay thirtie Sultanies apiece to the Pater-guardian: who by vertue of his Patent doth give them that dignitie. The Kings of France were Soveraignes of that Order, by whom it was instituted in the yeere 1099. who granted them divers Immunities. They bare five Crosses Gules, in forme of that which is at this day called the Jerusalem Crosse; representing thereby the five wounds that violated the Bodie of our Saviour. None were to bee admitted if of a defamed life, or not of the Catholike Religion. They are to bee Gentlemen of Bloud, and of sufficient meanes to maintayne a port agreeable to that calling, without the exercise of Mechanicall Sciences. But now they will except against none that bring money, insomuch that at our being there they admitted of a Romane, by Trade an Apothecarie, late dwelling in Aleppo. They take the Sacrament to heare every day a Masse, if they may conveniently. If warres bee commenced against the Infidels, to serve here in person, or to send other in their steads no lesse serviceable: To oppugne the Persecutors of the Church, to shunne unjust Warres, dishonest Gaine, and private Duells; Lastly, to bee Reconcilers of dissentions, to advance the common good, to defend the Widdow and Orphane, to refrayne from Swearing, Perjurie, Blasphemie, Rapine, Usurie, Sacriledge, Murder, and Drunkennesse: to avoide suspected Places, the company of infamous Persons; to live chastly, irreproveably, and in Word and Deed to shew themselves worthy of such a Dignitie. This Oath taken, the Pater-guardian layeth his hand upon his head, as hee kneeleth before the entrance of the Tombe: bidding him to bee Loyall, Valiant, Vertuous, and an undaunted Souldier of Christ and that holy Sepulchre. Then gives hee him the Spurs, which hee puts on his heeles; and after that a Sword (the same, as they say, which was Godfreyes of Bullein) and bids him use it in

Knights of the Sepulchre. Joannes Cotovicus Doctor of both Lawes, was made one of those Knigh. then whom I know not any more exact and copious in description of these parts, both in discourse and pictures: his Booke printed at Antwerp, A.1619. Our Authors pictures also would much have illustrated these Relations: but I remit the more curious to his owne Booke, too long for our purpose, who intend longer journeyes.

[II. viii. 1311.] defence of the Church, and himselfe; and to the confusion of Infidels: sheathing it againe, he girts himselfe therewith. Who then arising, and forth-with kneeling close to the Sepulcher, enclining his head upon the same; he is created by receiving three strokes on the shoulder, and by saying thrice, I ordaine thee a Knight of the holy Sepulcher of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost; then kisses he him, and puts about his necke a chaine of Gold, whereat hangeth a Jerusalem Crosse: who arising, kisses the Sepulcher, and restoring the aforesaid Ornaments, departeth.

From the top of this Monasterie, survey you may the most part of this Citie: whereof much lies waste; the old buildings (except some few) all ruined, the new contemptible. None exceed two stories: the under no better then Vaults; the upper arched above, and standing upon Arches, being well confirmed against fire, as having through out no combustible matter: the Roofes flat, and covered with Plaister. Inhabited it is by Christians out of their devotion; and by Turks, for the benefite received by Christians, otherwise perhaps it would be generally abandoned.

After a little refreshment, the same day we came (which was upon Maundie-Thursday) we went unto the Temple of the Sepulcher, every one carrying with him his Pillow and Carpet. The way from the Monasterie continues in a long descent (the East side of Gihon) and then a little ascendeth to Mount Calvary. Mount Calvarie a rocky hill, neither high nor ample, was once a place of publicke execution: then without, but now wel-nigh within the heart of the Citie, whereupon the Emperour Adrian erected a Fane unto Venus; but the vertuous Helena (of whom our Countrey may justly glorie) overthrew that receptacle of Paganisme, and built in the roome thereof this magnificent Temple, which not onely possesseth the Mount, but the Garden below, together with a part of the Valley of Carcasses, (so called, in that they threw thereinto the bodies of the executed) which lay betweene Mount

Mount Calvary.

Calvary and the Wall of the old Citie. The Frontispice opposing the South, of an excellent structure; having two joyning doores; the one now walled up, supported with Columnes of Marble, over which a transome ingraven with Historicall figures; the Walls and Arches crested, and garnished with Floritry. On the left hand there standeth a Tower, now something ruined, (once, as some say, a Steeple, and deprived by Saladine, of Bels unsufferable to the Mahometans:) on the right hand, by certaine steps a little Chappell is ascended, coupled above, and sustained at the corners with pillars of Marble: below through a Wall, which bounds the East side of the Court, a paire of staires doe mount to the top of the Rocke, (yet no Rocke evident) where is a little Chappell built (as they say) in the place where Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac; of much devotion, and kept by the Priest of the Abissines. This joyneth to the top of the Temple, levell, and (if I forgot not) floored with plaister. Out of the Temple there arise two ample coupulos: that next the East (covering the East end and Iles of the Chancell) to bee ascended by steps on the out-side: the other, over the Church of the Sepulcher, being open in the middle. O * who can without sorrow, without indignation behold the enemies of Christ to be the Lords of his Sepulcher!

* Let his friends enjoy him, and Heaven where is his glory: as for his Sepulcher, He is risen, he is not there. And what then have his enemies, but what himselfe would not hold, and which could not hold him? Which it hath pleased him to permit to them, that his followers might follow him to heaven in their affections and conversation, Col. 3. Phil. 3. their hearts being both the place of his Sepulcher, where by vertue of his death, our Old man mortified & of his Resurrection, whereby we live not, but he lives in us. Yet is this complaint just, because In-justice and superstitions of Christians have made Infidels, Lords of that holy place. Pilgrimages are good, when we are thereby made Pilgrimes from the world and our selves. Thy selfe is the holyest place thou canst visit, if with faith and repentance made the Lords Temple, which the Jewish signified; and to which the Fathers did, and wise men still doe visite these places, by folly perverted to superstition (as in the former Discourse is observed) when Place hath more place then Grace, or religious immitation of those whose holinesse had made the places esteemed holy.

Who at feastivall times sit mounted under a Canopie, to gather money of such as doe enter: the profits arising thereof, being farmed at eight thousand Sultanies. Each Franke payes foureteene, (except he be of some religious Order, who then of what Sect soever, is exempted from payments) wherein is included the Impost due at the gate of the Citie; but the Christians that be subject to the Turke, doe pay but a trifle in respect thereof. At other times the doore is sealed with the Seale of the Sanziacke, and not opened without his direction: whereat there hangs seven Cords, which by the Bels that they ring, give notice to the seven severall Sects of Christians (who live within the Temple continually) of such as would speake with them, which they doe through a little Wicket, and thereat receive the provision that is brought them. Now to make the foundation even in a place so uneven, much of the Rocke hath beene hewne away, and parts too low, supplyed with mightie Arches: so that those naturall formes are utterly deformed, which would have better satisfied the beholder, and too much regard hath made them lesse regardable.

The roofe of the Temple is of a high pitch, curiously arched, and supported with great pillars of Marble: the out Iles galleried above; the universall Fabricke stately and sumptuous. After we had disposed of our luggage in a part of the North-gallery, belonging to the Latines, the Confessor offered to shew us the holy and observable places of the Temple: which wee gladly accepted of; he demaunding first if devotion or curiositie had possest us with that desire. So that for omitting Pater Nosters, and Ave Maries, wee lost many yeeres Indulgences, which every place doth plentifully affoord to such as affect them, and contented our selves with an Historicall Relation. Which I will not declare in order as shewne, but take them as they lye from the first entrance of the Temple. Right against the doore, in the midst of the South Ile, and levell with the pavement, there lyeth a white Marble in forme of a Graves-stone, environed with

[II. viii. 1312.]

a raile of Brasse, about a foote high: the place (as they say) where Joseph of Aramathia, and Nicodemus, anointed the body of our Saviour with sweete ointments. This they kisse, and kneele to, rubbing thereupon their Crucifixes, Beades, and Handkerchiefes; yea, whole webs of Linnen, which they carrie into farre Countries, and preserve the same for their shrouding sheetes. Over this there hang seven Lamps, which burne continually. Against the East end of the stone, there is a little Chappell. Neere the entrance on the right hand, stands the Sepulcher of Godfrey of Bullein: with a Latine Epitaph, thus Englished. *Place of anointing Christs body.*

Hic jacet inclitus Godefridus de Buglion qui totum istam terram acquisivit cultui Christiano, cujus anima requiescat in pace, Amen.

Here lieth the renowned Godfrey of Bullein, who won all this Land to the worship of Christ. Rest may his soule in peace, Amen.

On the left hand stands his Brother Baldwins, with this inscription.

Rex Baldwinus, Judas altar Machabeus,
Spes Patriæ, vigor Ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque:
Quem formidabant, cui dona tributa ferebant,
Cedar, Ægypti Dan, ac homicida Damascus:
Proh dolor! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.

Baldwine the King, another Macabie,
The Churches, Countries, strength, hope, both their glory;
Whom Cedar, Ægypts Dan, Damascus fraught
With Homicides, both fear'd, and tribute brought;
O griefe! Within this little Tombe doth lie.

The first and second Kings of Jerusalem. The farre end of this Chappell, called the Chappell of Saint John, (and of the Anointing, by reason of the stone which it neighboureth) is confined with the foote of Calvarie, where on the left side of the Altar there is a cleft in the

Legend of Adam. Rocke: in which, they say, that the head of Adam was found, as they will have it, there buried, (others say in Hebron) that his bones might bee sprinkled with the reall and precious bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ; which he knew should bee shed in that holy place, by a prophetical fore-knowledge. *Chappels of Mount Calvary.* Over this are the Chappels of Mount Calvarie: Ascended on the North side thereof by twentie steppes; the highest hewne out of the Rocke, as is a part of the passage, obscure, and extraordinarily narrow. The floore of the first Chappell, is checkered with divers coloured Marbles, not to bee trod upon by feete that are shod. *Place of the Passion.* At the East end under a large arched concave of the Wall, is the place whereon our Saviour did suffer, and may assuredly be thought the same: and if one place bee more holy then another reputed of, in the world the most venerable. Hee is void of sence that sees, beleeves, and is not then confounded with his Passions. *Rocke rent.* The Rocke there ariseth halfe a yard higher then the pavement, levell above in forme of an Altar, ten foote long, and sixe foote broad, flagged with white Marble, as is the Arch and Wall that adjoyneth. In the midst is the place wherein the Crosse did stand, lined with Silver, Gilt, and Imbossed. This they creepe to, prostrate themselves thereon, kisse, salute, and such as use them, sanctifie therein their Beades and Crucifixes. On either side there standeth a Crosse; that on the right side, in the place where the good Theefe was crucified; and that on the left, where the bad, divided from Christ by the rent of the Rocke, (a figure of his spirituall separation) which clove asunder in the houre of the Passion. The in-sides doe testifie that Art had no hand therein: each side to other being answerably rugged, and there where unaccessable to the Worke-man. That before spoken of, in the Chappell below is a part of this, which reacheth (as they say) to the Centre. *Georgians.* This place belongeth to the Georgians, whose Priests are poore, and accept of Almes. No other Nation say Masse on that Altar: over which there hang fortie sixe Lamps, which burne continually. On the selfe-

same floore, of the selfe-same forme is that other Chappell, belonging to the Latines, divided onely by a Curtaine, and entred through the former. In the midst of the pavement is a square, inchaced with stones of different colours, where Christ, as they say, was nailed upon the Crosse. *Place of nayling.* This place is too holy to be trod upon. They weare the hard stones with their soft knees, and heate them with their fervent kisses: prostrating themselves, and tumbling up and downe with such an over-active zeale, that a faire Greeke Virgine, ere aware, one morning shewed more then intended, whom the Frier that helpt the Priest to say Masse so tooke at the bound, that it ecchoed againe, and disturbed the mournefull sacrifice with a mirthfull clamor; the poore Maid departed with great indignation. Over the Altar which is finely set forth, three and thirtie Lampes are maintained. These two Chappels looking into the Temple, are all that possesse the summit of the Rocke, excepting that of the Immolation of Isaac without, and spoken of before, and where they keepe the Altar of Melchisedech. Opposite to the doore of the Temple, adjoyning to the side of the Channell, are certaine Marble Sepulchers, without Titles or Epitaphs. Some twentie paces directly West from Mount Calvarie, and on that side that adjoyneth to the Tower, a round white Marble, levell with the pavement, retaineth the memorie (as they say) of that place, where the blessed Virgine stood, and the Disciple whom Christ loved, when from the Crosse hee commended each to other, over which there burneth a Lampe. A little on the right hand of this, and towards the West, you passe betweene certaine pillars into that part of the Church, which is called, the Temple of the Resurrection, and of the holy Sepulcher. [II. viii. 1313.] *Temple of the Sepulcher.* A stately round, cloystered below, and above: and supported with great square pillars, flagged heretofore with white Marble; but now in many places deprived thereof by the sacrilegious Infidels. Much of the neather Cloyster is divided into sundry Chappels belonging unto severall Nations and *Chappels of severall Sects.* Sects, where they exercise the rites of their severall

Religions. The first, on the left hand to the Abissines; the next to the Jacobites; the third, to the Copties, (close to which, on the left side of another, there is a Cave hewne out of the Rocke, with a narrow entrance, the Sepulcher of Joseph of Aramathia;) the fourth, to the Georgians; and the fifth, to the Maronites. The Chappell of the Armenians possesseth a great part of the Gallery above, and the rest lying towards the North, belongeth to the Latines, though not employed to religious uses. Now betweene the top of the upper Gallerie, and extreme of the upright Wall, in severall concaves, are Pictures of divers of the Saints in Mosaique work, full faced, and unheightned with shaddowes according to the Grecian painting, but much defaced by malice, or continuance. In the midst on the South side, is the Emperour Constantines, opposite to his Mothers, the memorable Foundresse. This Round is covered with a Cupolo, sustained with Rafters of Cedar, all of one piece, open in the midst like the Pantheon at Rome, whereat it receiveth the light that it hath, and that as much as sufficeth. Just in the midst, and in the view of heaven, stands the glorified Sepulcher, a hundred and eight feet distant from Mount Calvarie; the naturall Rocke surmounting the sole of the Temple, abated by Art, and hewne into the forme of a Chappell, more long then broad, and ending in a Semi-circle, all flagged over with white Marble. The hinder part being something more eminent then the other, is surrounded with ten small pillars adjoyning to the Wall, and sustaining the Cornish. On the top (which is flat) and in the midst thereof a little Cupolo covered with Lead, is erected upon sixe double, but small Corinthian Columnes of polished Porphyre. The other part being lower then this by the height of the Cornish, smooth above, and not so garnished on the sides, serving as a Lobby or Portico to the former, is entred at the East end, (having before the doore a long pavement, erected something above the floore of the Church included betweene two white Marble walls, not past two foot high) consisting of the selfe-same Rocke,

doth containe within a Concave about three yards square, the roofe hewne compasse, all flagged throughout with white Marble. In the midst of the floore there is a stone about a foot high, and a foot and a halfe square; whereon, they say, that the Angell sate, who told the two Maries that our Savior was risen. But Saint Matthew saith, he sate upon the great stone, which he had rolled from the mouth of the Sepulcher; and which, it is said, the Empresse caused to bee conveyed to the Church of Saint Saviour, standing where once stood the Palace of Caiphas. Out of this a passage through the midst of the Rocke, exceeding not three feet in height, and two in breadth, having a doore of gray stone, with hinges of the same, undivided from the naturall, affoordeth a way to creepe through into a second Concave, about eight foote square, and as much in height, with a compast roofe of the solid Rocke, but lined for the most part with white Marble. On the North-side a Tombe of the same, which possesseth one halfe of the roome, a yard in height, and made in the forme of an Altar: insomuch, as not above three can abide there at once; the place no larger then affoordeth a libertie for kneeling. It is said, that long after the Resurrection, the Tombe remained in that forme, wherein it was when our Saviour lay there; when at length, by reason of the devouter Pilgrimes, who continually bore away little peeces thereof, (Relikes whereunto they attributed miraculous effects) it was inclosed within a Grate of Iron. But a second inconveniency which proceeded from the tapers, haire, & other offerings throwne in by Votaries, which defiled the Monument, procured the pious Helena to inclose the same within this Marble Altar, *The Altar.* which now belongeth to the Latines: whereon they onely say Masse, yet free for other Christians to exercise their private devotions; being well set forth, and having on the farre side an Anticke and excellent Picture, demonstrating the Resurrection. Over it, perpetually burneth a number of Lamps, which have fulled the roofe like the in-side of a Chimney, and yeelds unto the roome an

immoderate fervour. Thousands of Christians performe their vowes, and offer their teares here yearly, with all the expressions of sorrow, humilitie, affection, and penitence. It is a frozen zeale that will not bee warmed with the sight thereof. And, ô that I could retaine the effects that it wrought with an unfainting perseverance! who then did dictate this Hymne to my Redeemer:

Saviour of Mankind, Man, Emmanuel:
Who sin-lesse dyed for sinne, who vanquisht Hell.
The first fruits of the grave. Whose life did give
Light to our darknesse: in whose death we live.
O strengthen thou my Faith; correct my will,
That mine may thine obey: protect me still.

So that the latter Death may not devoure
My Soule seal'd with thy Seale. So in the houre
When thou whose Bodie sanctifide this Tombe,
Unjustly judg'd, a glorious Judge shalt come
To judge the World with Justice; by that signe
I may bè knowne, and entertaind for thine.

Without, and to the West end of this Chappell, another very small one adjoyneth, used in common by the Ægyptians and Æthiopians. Now on the left hand as you passe unto the Chappell of the Apparition, there are two round stones of white Marble in the floore: that next the Sepulcher covering the place where our Saviour, and the other where Mary Magdalen stood (as they say) when he appeared unto her. On the North-side, and without the limits of the Temple, stands the Chappell of the Apparition: so called (as they say) for that Christ in that place did shew himselfe to his sorrowfull Mother, and comforted her, pierced with anguish for his cruell death, and ignominious sufferings. This belongeth to the Latines, which serveth them also for a Vesterie; from whence they proceed unto their pompous Processions. On the East-side there stands three Altars, that in the midst in a Closet by it selfe, dedicated to God and our Lady. That on the right hand is called the Altar of the

Chappell of the Apparition.

[II. viii. 1314.]

holy Crosse, whereof a great part was there (as they say) reserved.

But when Sultan Solyman imprisoned the Friers of Mount Sion, (whom hee kept in durance for the space of foure yeares) the Armenians stole it from thence, and carryed it to Sabastia, their principall Citie. That on the left hand in the corner, and neere unto the entrance, is called the Altar of the Scourging; behind which there is a piece of a Pillar, of that (as they say) whereunto our Saviour was bound when they scourged him. This stood on Mount Sion, and there supported the Portico to a Church in the dayes of Saint Jerome; when broken by the Saracens, the pieces were recollected, and this part here placed by the Christians. The rest was distributed by Paul the Fourth, unto the Emperour Ferdinand, Philip King of Spaine, and the Signorie of Venice; in honour whereof they celebrate the sixt of Aprill. It is (as I remember) about three foot high, of a duskie black-veind Marble, spotted here and there with Red; which they affirme to be the markes of his bloud wherewith it was besprinkled. Before it there is a grate of Iron, insomuch as not to be toucht but by the mediation of a sticke prepared for the purpose; being buttened at the end with Leather, in manner of a Foyle, by which they convey their kisses, and blesse their lips with the touch of that which hath touched the Relike. Through the aforesaid Vestery, a passage leades into certaine Roomes, heretofore a part of the Colledge of the Knight-Templers: by a generall Councell held in Vienna, in the year 1312. this Order was extinguisht, and their Lands for the most part conferred upon the Knight-Hospitallers of Saint Johns of Jerusalem, of whom wee shall speake when wee come unto Malta. The Temples in London belonged unto them, wherein the Church (built round in imitation of this) divers of their Statues are to be seene, and the positure used in their Burials. Here the Franciscans entertayned us during our abode in the Temple. Returning againe through the Chappel of the Apparition, a little on the left hand there

Pillar whereto Christ was bound.

Templers.

Chappell of the Angels.

is a concave in the wall, no bigger then to contayne two persons besides the Altar; which is called the Chappell of the Angels: belonging also to the Latines, but lent by them to the despised Nestorians, during the celebration of Easter. Winding with the wall along the outward North-alley of the Chancell, at the farre end thereof there is a Grot hewne out of the Rocke, where they say, that the Jewes imprisoned our Saviour, during the time that they were a providing things necessary for his crucifying. This is kept by the Georgians; without other ornament then an ungarnished Altar: over which hangeth one onely Lampe, which rendreth a dimme light to the Prison. Untreading a good part of the fore-said Alley, we entred the Ile (there but distinguished by Pillars) which bordes on the North of the Chancell: and turning on the left hand, where it beginnes to compasse with the East end thereof, wee passed by a Chappell contayning an Altar, but of no regard: wherein they say, the Title was preserved, which was hung over the head of our Saviour: now shewne at Rome in the Church of the holy Crosse of Jerusalem. Next to this in the same wall, and midst of the Semi-circle, there is another, the place where they say, the Souldiers cast lots for his garments, of which the Armenians have the custodie. A little beyond you are to descend a paire of large staires of thirtie steps, part of the passage hewne out of the Rocke of Calvary, which leadeth into a Lobby, the roofe supported with foure massie pillars of white Marble, which are ever moist through the darknesse of the place (being under ground) and sometimes dropping, are said to weepe for the sorrowfull passion and death of Christ. At the farre end, containing more then halfe of the roome, is the Chappell of Saint Helena: having two great Altars erected by Christian Princes in her honour. On the South thereof standeth a seate of stone, overlooking a paire of staires which descend into the place of the Invention of the Crosse: where, they say, that she sate whilst the Souldiers removed the rubbidge that had covered it. These staires (eleven in number) conduct into

Chappell of S. Helena.

an obscure vault, a part of the Valley of Carcasses. There threw they our Saviours Crosse, and covered it with the filth of the Citie, when after three hundred yeares, the Empresse Helena travelling unto Jerusalem, in the extremitie of her age, to behold those places which Christ had sanctified with his corporall presence, threatned torture and death to certaine of the principall Jewes, if they would not reveale where their Ancestours had hid it. At last, forsooth, they wrested the truth from an old old Jew, one Judas, first almost famished, who brought them to this place. Where after he had petitioned Heaven for the discovery; the earth trembled, and breathed from her Cranies Aromaticke odours. By which miracle confirmed, the Empresse caused the rubbidge to be removed, where they found three crosses, and hard by, the superscription. But when not able to distinguish the right from the other, they say that Macarius, then Bishop of Jerusalem, repairing together with the Empresse unto the house of a noble woman of this Citie, uncurably diseased, did with the touch of the true Crosse restore her to health. At sight whereof the Jew became a Christian, and was called thereupon Quiriacus. Being after Bishop of Jerusalem, in the Reigne of Julian the Apostata, hee was crowned with Martyrdome. At which times it was decreed, that no Malefactor should thenceforth suffer on the Crosse; and that the third of May, should be for ever celebrated in memoriall of that Invention. In this Vault are two Altars, the one where the Crosse of Christ was found, and the other where the other. Ascending againe by the aforesaid staire into the Temple, on the left hand betweene the entrance, and Mount Calvarie, there is a little Roome which is called the Chappell of the Derision. Where under the Altar is reserved a part (as they say) of that Pillar to which Christ was bound, when Pilates Servants crowned him with Thornes, clothed in an old Purple Robe, placing a Reed in his hand, in stead of a Scepter, and crying, Haile King of the Jewes: with other opprobrious Taunts, and Revilings. This is kept by Abissens. Now

[II. viii. 1315.]

Invention of the Crosse.

nothing remayneth to speak of but the Quire, not differing from those in our Cathedrall Churches. The West end openeth upon the Sepulcher: the East ending in a semicircle, together with the Iles, is covered with a high Cupolo: on each side stand opposite doores which open into the North & South Alleyes; all joyntly called the Temple of Golgotha. A partition at the upper end excludeth the halfe round (behind which their high Altar) which riseth in the manner of a loftie Screene, all richly gilded (as most of the sides of the Chancel) and adorned with the Pictures of the Saints in Antike habits: flat and full faced, according to the manner of the Grecians, to whom this place is assigned. Towards the West end from each side equally distant there is a little Pit in the Pavement, which (they say) is the Navell of the World, and endeavour to confirme it with that saying of the Scripture, God wrought his Salvation in the midst of the Earth: which they fill with holy Water. The universall Fabricke, maintayned by the Greeke Emperors during their Soveraigntie, and then by the Christian Kings of Jerusalem, hath since beene repayred in the severall parts by their particular Owners. The whole of so strong a constitution, as rather decayed in beautie then substance.

Navell of the World: if you list to beleeve.

Having visited these places (which bestow their severall Indulgences, and are honoured with particular Oraisons) after Eeven-song, and Procession, the Pater-guardian putting off his Pontificall Habit, clothed in a long Vest of Linnen girt close unto him, first washed the feet of his fellow Friers, and then of the Pilgrimes: which dryed by others hee kissed, with all outward shew of humilitie. The next day, being Good-friday, amongst other Solemnities, they carried the Image of Christ on a sheete supported by the foure corners, in Procession, with Banners of the Passion: first, to the place where he was imprisoned, then in order to the other, performing at each, their appointed Devotions. Laying it where they say he was fixed on the Crosse, the Frier Preacher made over it a short and passionate Oration: who acted his part so well, that hee

Washing of feet.

Good-friday Ceremonies with an Image.

begot teares in others with his owne; and taught them how to be sorrowfull. At length they brought it to the place where they say, he was imbalmed: where the Pater-guardian anointed the Image with sweet Oyles, and strewed it with Aromaticke Powders, and from thence conveyed it to the Sepulcher. At night the Lights put out, and company removed, they whipped themselves in their Chappell of Mount Calvarie. On Saturday their other Solemnities performed, they carryed the Crosse in Procession, with the Banners of the Buriall, to the afore-said Chappell: creeping to it, kissing, and lying groveling over it. On Easter day they said solemne service before the doore of the Sepulcher. The whole Chappel covered on the out side with cloth of Tissue, the gift (as appeareth by the Armes embroydered thereon) of the Florentine. In this they shewed the varietie of their Wardrobe, and concluded with a Triumphant Procession, bearing about the Banners of the Resurrection. Those Ceremonies that are not locall, I willingly omit. At noone wee departed to the Monasterie, having laine on the hard stones for three nights together, and fared as hardly.

The other Christians (excepting such as inhabit within, of each sort a few, and that of the Clergie) entred not untill Good-friday. Viz. Grecians, Armenians, Copties, Abissines, Jacobites, Georgians, Maronites, and Nestorians. *Of these reade before Vitriacus, sup. c. 6. §. 5.*

The Abissens on the Passion Weeke forbeare to say Masse, putting on mournfull Garments, and countenances sutable. They use no Extreme unction, but carrie the dead to the Grave, with the Crosse, the Censer, and holy Water, and say Service over them. To conclude, they joyne with the Copties for the most part in substance of Religion, and in Ceremony; one Priest here serving both: an Æthiopian, poore, and accompanyed with few of his Nation; who fantastically clad, doth dance in their Processions with a skipping motion, and distortion of his bodie, not unlike to our Antickes. To which their Musicke is answerable; the Instruments no other then Snappers, Gingles, and round-bottomd Drummes,

borne upon the backe of one, and beaten upon by the followers.

The Jacobites had two Patriarkes; one resident in the Mountaine Tur, the other in the Monasterie of Gifran, neere unto the Citie of Mordin, seated (they say) on so high a Mountayne that no Bird flyeth over it. But now they have but one Patriarke, and that hee of Gifran; alwayes a Monke of the Order of Saint Anthonie, and named Ignatius; stiling himselfe the Patriarke of Antioch; who for the more conveniencie is remooved to Carmit. They have a Bishop still residing in Jerusalem, of which the Patriarke is also a Jacobite.

[II.viii. 1316.] The Georgians differ not much from the Grecians in their opinions: not called (as some write) of Saint George their selected Patrone, but of their Countrey, so named long before the time wherein hee is supposed to have lived; lying betweene Colchos, Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, and Armedia; heretofore Iberia, and Albania. A warlike people, infested on both sides with the Turkish and Persian Insolencies. They have a Metropolitan of their owne; some say, the same that is resident in Mount Sina. They say, that they marrie within prohibited degrees, they are divided into eighteene Bishoprickes; and are not here to be distinguished from the Sorians, nor they from them, being almost of one Religion: and called Melchites, heretofore of their Adversaries, which signifieth a King in the Syrian Tongue; for that they would not embrace the Heresies of Eutyches and Dioscorus, but obeyed the Edict of the Emperour, and Councell of Chalcedon. Their Patriarke is the true Patriarke of Antioch, who abides in Damasco, for that Antioch lyes now wel-nigh desolate. Their Bishop is here poore, so are his ornaments; in their Processions, for State, or in regard of his age, supported on both sides. Their Musicklesse Instruments are Fannes of Brasse, hung about with Rings, which they gingle in stops according to their marchings.

The Maronites are Christians inhabiting Mount Lybanus, so called of Marona, a Village adjoyning, or

of Maro their Abbot. They use the Chaldean Tongue, and Syrian Character in holy matters. A limme they weare of the Jacobites, and once subject to the Patriarke of Antioch: but wonne to the Papacie* by Joh. Baptista a Jesuite, in the dayes of Gregorie the Thirteenth, who sent them a Catechisme printed at Rome in the Arabian Language: so that now they doe joyne with the Latines. An ignorant people, easily drawne to any Religion, that could not give a reason for their owne: poore in substance, and few in number.

**See of them, sup. c. 6. §. 5. long since wonne by Aimerike.*

But the Greekes doe here surpasse all the rest in multitude; and the Armenians in braverie, who in stead of Musicall Instruments, have Sawcers of Brasse (which they strike against one another) set about with gingles. All differ in habit, and most in Rites; yet all conjoyne (the Latines excepted) in celebration of that Impostury of fetching fire from the Sepulcher upon Easter Eeve. The Turkes deride, yet throng to behold it: the Galleries of the round Temple beeing pestered with Spectators. All the Lampes within the Church are at that time extinguished; when they often compassing the Sepulcher in a joynt Procession, are fore-runne and followed by the people with Savage clamours (the women whistling) and franticke behaviours, befitting better the solemnities of Bacchus; extending their bare armes with unlighted Tapers. At length the chiefe Bishops approach the doore of the Sepulcher; but the Æthiopian Priest first enters (without whom, they say, the Miracle will not fadge) who after a long stay (meane-while the people hurrying about like mad-men) returnes with the sacred flame, supposed at his Prayers to burst out of the Sepulcher; whereat confusedly they fire their Lights: and snatching them one from another, strive who should first convey it to their particular Chappels; thrusting the flame amongst their clothes, and into their bosomes, (but swiftly with-drawing it) perswading strangers that it will not burne them: kindling therewith all their Lampes, unlighted with other fire untill that day twelve-moneth.

Fire from Heaven. See before in Fulcherius, sup. c. 2.

Nestorians. But I had almost forgot the Nestorians, so called of Nestorius, by birth a Germane, who lived in the dayes of Theodosius, and by him made Bishop of Constantinople. These hated of the rest, in an obscure corner, without Ceremonies or Pontificall habit, full of seeming Zeale and Humility, doe reade the Scriptures, and in both kinds administer the Sacrament, denying the Reall Presence: the Priest (not distinguished from the rest in habit) breaking the bread, and laying it in the palme of the Communicants hand; they sipping of the Cup, which is held betweene his. They kisse the Crosse, but pray not before it, nor reverence they Images. They will not have Marie to be called the Mother of God. Their chiefest Heresie is, that they divide the Divinitie of Christ from his Humanitie. Their Doctrine dispersed throughout all the East, by meanes of Cosro the Persian King, who enforced all the Christians within his Dominion (out of a mortall hatred that he bare to the Emperour Heraclius) eyther to forsake his Empire, or to become Nestorians; as through a great part of Cataia. It is now embraced, but by few; most of that Sect inhabiting about Babylon. Their Patriarkall seate is Muzal in Mesopotamia, seated on the bankes of Tygris: their Patriarke not elected, but the dignitie descending from the Father to the Sonne. For Marriage is generally allowed in their Clergie; and when Widdowers, to marry againe at their pleasure. They have the Scriptures, and execute the Ministrie in the Chaldean Tongue. They allow not of the Councell of Ephesus, nor any that succeeded it. All this while there were no lesse then a thousand Christians, men, women and children, who fed and lodged upon the pavement of the Temple. On

Easter Solemnitie. Easter day about one of the clocke in the morning, the Nations and Sects above mentioned, with joyfull clamours, according to their severall customes, circled the Church, and visited the holy places in a solemne Procession; and so for that time concluding their Ceremonies, departed.

§. V.

[II. viii. 1317.]

Visiting of Emaus and Bethlehem, and other places: Also other observations of the Jerosolymitan Holies.

UPon Easter Munday wee hired certaine Asses to ride to Emaus, accompanied with a Guard, and certaine of the Friers. About the mid-way, at the foot of a hill, there are the ruines of a Monasterie, built by Saint Helena: they say, in that place where Jesus appeared to the two Disciples. Here the Latines performed certaine devotions, and tooke of the stones (as generally they did from all such like places) preserved as precious. Emaus stands seven miles off, and West of *Emaus.* Jerusalem. The way thither mountainous, and in many places as if paved with a continuall rocke; yet where there is earth, sufficiently fruitfull. It was seated (for now it is not) upon the South side of a hill, over-looking a little valley, fruitfull in Fountaines. Honoured with the presence of our Saviour, who there was knowne by the breaking of bread in the house of Cleophas his Coosin-german, and afterward the second Bishop of Jerusalem. In the selfe-same place a Temple was erected by Paula (a Roman Ladie, of whom we shall speake hereafter) whose ruines are yet extant, neere the top of the Mountaine; unto which the Arabians would not suffer us to ascend, who inhabite below in a few poore Cottages, untill we had payed Caphar they demanded. This Citie was burnt in the Jewish warres, by the commandement of Varus; and upon the destruction of Jerusalem, re-edified by the Romanes; who in regard of their victorie, called it Nicopolis. In the yeere 131. throwne downe by an *Nicopolis.* earth-quake, it was fourescore and twelve yeeres after restored by the Emperour Marcus Aurelius; and afterward dignified during the government of the Christians with an Episcopall Sea, being under the Metropolitan of Cæsarea. Nicephorus, and the Tripartite historie report

of a miraculous Fountaine by the high-way side, where Christ would have departed from the two Disciples: who when he was conversant upon earth, and wearied with a longer journey, there washed his feet; from thenceforth retayning a curable vertue against all diseases. But relations of that kind, have credite onely in places farre distant. In our returne, wee inclined a little to the left hand, and after a while ascended the top of a Mountaine, (whose Westerne valley was the field, they say, of that battell, when the Sunne and Moone stood still at the commandement of Josua.) Out of the ruines of an ancient building, a small Mosque is advanced; where they hold that the Prophet Samuel was buried, who had his Sepulchre in Rama on Mount Ephraim; though divers other Townes so seated, are so called, which signifieth High in their Language. But our guides were well practised in that precept:

Of Streames, Kings, Fashions, Kingdomes askt, there showne;
Answer to all: th'unknowne relate as knowne.

Atque aliqua ex illis dum regum nomina quærunt
Quæ loca, qui mores, quæve feruntur aquæ:
Omnia responde; nec tantum si qua rogabit,
Et quæ nesciris, ut bene nota refer.—Ovid.

who endeavour to bring all remarkable places within the compasse of their processions. The Mahometans either deceived with this tradition, or maintayning the report of their profite, would not suffer us to enter but at an excessive rate; which wee refused to part with. The next Mountaine unto this, doth weare on his Crowne, the ruines of a Castle that belonged to the Machabees. Another more humble, and neerer the Citie, presenteth a pile of stones, square, flat, and solid: the Sepulchre, they say, of the seven brethren who were tortured to death by Antiochus, whom I rather judge to have beene buried at Moden, the ancient seat of that Familie; which stands on the uttermost confines of the Mountaines of Judea, where

were to be seene seven Sepulchres of white marble, each bearing a Pyramis on his square; said by Josephus to have served in his time for Sea-markes. From hence we approached the North-west side of the Citie, where in the Vineyards are sundry places of burial hewen out of the maine rocke; amongst the rest, one called the Sepulchre of the Prophets. The first entrance large, and like the mantle-tree of a chimney, cut curiously on the out-side: through which we crept into a little square roome, (every one carrying a light in his hand) the sides cut full of holes (in manner of a Dove-house:) two yards deepe, and three quarters square. Out of that roome wee descended by two streight passages into two other roomes, likewise under ground: yet more spacious, and of better workmanship, but so rounded with the Sepulchres as the former; neighboured with a Vault, which serves for a Cisterne, and filled with a living Fountaine. A little beyond, upon the West side of a large square Court, hewen into the rocke some three fathoms deepe, and entred under an arch of the same, there is another mansion for the dead, having a porch like to that of the Prophets: and garnisht without (amongst other figures) with two great clusters of Grapes, in memoriall of those, as they say, which were brought by the spies into the host of the Hebrewes. On the left hand you creepe through a difficult descent, which leadeth into faire roomes under the ground, and one within another, benched about with coffins of stone bereaft of their covers, there being some bones yet remayning in some of them. This is famed to bee the houshold Monument of certaine of the Kings of Juda. In which there is nothing more admirable, then is the artificiall contriving of the doores, the hinges and all, of the selfe-same stone, unseperated from the rocke without other suppliment. Hitherto (if not further) by all likelihood the old Citie extended. From hence we returned to the Covent. *Sepulchres.* [II. viii. 1318.]

The day following wee rode towards Bethlehem, which stands about sixe miles South from Jerusalem. Going out from the gate of Joppa, and turning on the left hand

by the foot of Mount Sion. Aloft on whose uttermost angle stood the Tower of David, (whose ruines are yet extant) of a wonderfull strength, and admirable beautie, adorned with shields, and the armes of the mightie. Below on the right hand of the way in our passage, they shewed us a Fountaine at the Southside of a square Serraglio; *Bershebas Bath.* delivered to be that wherein Bersheba bathed. North of which, the valley is crossed with a ruinous Aquaduct, which conveyed water unto the Temple of Salomon. Ascending the opposite Mountaine, we passed through a Countrey, hilly and stony: yet not utterly forsaken of the Vine, though onely planted by Christians, in many places producing Corne, here shadowed with the fig-tree, and there with the Olive. Sundry small Turrets dispersed about, which serve for solace as well as for safe-guard. Some two miles from the Citie, on the left hand, and by *Turpentine tree.* the high-way side, there groweth a Turpentine-tree yet flourishing, which is said to have affoorded a shelter to the Virgin Marie, as shee passed betweene Bethlehem and Jerusalem. This tradition how ever absurd, is generally beleeved by those Christians: a place of high repute in their devotions. Towards the West about two miles off, on a little hill stands an ancient Tower: which is said, to *Simeons house.* have beene the habitation of Simeon. A mile beyond the foresaid Tree, in the midst of the way there is a Cisterne, vast within, and square at the mouth; which is called the Cisterne of the Starre. For that (as they say) the wise-men of the East, there first againe did see that conducting *Starre of the wise-men.* Starre, which went before them to the place of our Saviours nativitie. A little on the right hand there are the small remaynes of an ancient Monasterie, built, they *Abacuck.* affirme, in that place where the Angell tooke up Abacuck by the haire of the head, and conveyed him to Babylon. Halfe a mile further, on the left side of the way, there is another Religious house, but in good repaire, in forme of a Fortresse, and environed with high walls, to withstand the insolencies of the Infidels; possessed by the Greeke *Elias.* Coloieros, and dedicated to Elias. Hard by there is a flat

rocke, whereon they told us that the Prophet accustomed to sleepe; and that it beares as yet the impression of his bodie. Indeed there are certaine hollowes in the same, but not by my eyes apprehended to retayne any manly proportion. As farre beyond are the decayes of a Church, which stood (as they say) in the place where the Patriarch Jacob inhabited. About a mile further West of the way, and a little off, stands the Sepulchre of Rachel, (by the Scripture affirmed to have beene buried here about) if the entirenesse thereof doe not cunfute the imputed antiquitie: yet kept perhaps in repaire by her offspring, as a Monument of venerable memorie. The Tombe it selfe resembleth a great Trunke, covered with a Cupolo mounted on a square, which hath on each side an ample arch sustayned onely by the corners. This is environed with a foure-square wall; within which stand two other, little, but of the same proportion; kept, and used for a place of prayer by the Mahometans. Below it on the side of a Mountaine stands the ruines of that Rama, whereof the Prophet: A voyce was heard in Rama, Rachel weeping for her children, &c. From this ridge of the hills, the Dead Sea doth appeare as if neere at hand: but not so found by the traveller, for that those high declining Mountaines are not to be directly descended. Within halfe a mile of Bethlehem, separated from the same by a valley, and a little on the left hand of the way, are the Cisternes of David, whereof he so much desired to drinke, and when they brought him of the water, refused it: a large deepe Vault, now out of use, having onely two small tunnels at the top, by which they draw up the water.

Jacob.

Rachels Sepulchre.

Dead Sea.

Davids Cisternes.

And now wee are come to Bethlehem, where in a Grot at the East side of the Citie, employed for a Stable (the Inne being pestred with strangers) the Virgin fell in travell, and produced unto the world a Saviour. In this Cave from the time of Adrian, unto the raigne of Constantine, they celebrated the impious lamentation of Adonis (much honoured by the Syrians) who above had his Statue shadowed with a grove of Myrtles: which the vertuous

Bethlehem.

Adonis.

Helena subverted, and erected thereupon this goodly Temple yet entire, and possesst by the Franciscans of Jerusalem, of whom some few are here continually resident; called Saint Maries of Bethlehem: in forme representing a Crosse, the stalke whereof compriseth the bodie; entred at the lower end through a Portico sustayned with sixteene Pillars. The roofe, in the midst, is lofty, flat, and (if I forget not) of Cedar: the Sides, of the same fabricke, but much more humble, are upheld with foure rankes of Pillars (ten in a row) each of one entire marble, white, and in many places beautifully speckled; the largest, and fairest that ever I saw, whose upper ends doe declare that they have in part beene exquisitely gilded. The walls are flagged with large tables of white marble, welnigh to the top; the rest adorned with Mosaique painting, although now greatly defaced. It is both here reported, and recorded by historie, that a Sultan of Egypt allured with their beautie, set certaine Masons aworke, to take downe those Tables, with intent to have transported them unto his Castle of Cairo; when a dreadfull serpent issued out of the wall, and brake in pieces such as were removed: so that terrified therewith, he desisted from his enterprise. The three upper ends of the Crosse, doe end in three Semi-circles, having in each an Altar. In the midst the Chancell, roofed with a stately Cupolo, covered without with Lead, and garnished within with Mosaique figures.

Saint Maries.

[II. viii. 1319.]

This Church is left for the most part desolate, the Altars naked, no Lamps maintained, no Service celebrated, except at times extraordinary: yet are there a few poore Greekes and Armenians, who inhabite within on the right hand of the entrance, and in the opposite corners. Adjoyning on the left hand, stands the Monastery of the Franciscans, entred through the Church, sufficiently spacious, but of no commendable building; accommodated with divers Gardens, and environed with defencible walls; at whose North-west corner a tottered Tower doth challenge regard for the waste received in that places protection. They brought us into their Chappell, not

Monasterie of Franciscans.

slightly set forth, and dedicated to Saint Katherine, having Indulgences conferred thereupon from Mount Sina. From which wee descended with Lights in our hands, and then were led by a narrow long entry into a little square Cave, supported in the midst with a Pillar of the Rocke. On the left hand, an Altar, and under that a passage into a Vault; wherein, they say, that the Infants slaine, by the bloudy Edict of Herod, were buried. Out of this Cave or Chappell, there are two other entries: in that on the right hand, stands the Sepulcher of Eusebius the Confessor, and Disciple unto Saint Jerome: this directeth into another Grot, wherein are two Tombes, in forme not unlike unto Altars: the farther contained the body of Paula a Romane Ladie, descended of the ancient families of the Gracchi and Cornelii. She built foure Monasteries neare adjoyning to this Temple, (whose ruines do yet give testimony of her pietie,) one she planted with men; the three other with Virgins, who never past the bounds of their Covents but on Sundayes onely, (and then attending on their severall Governesses) to performe the Orasons in the Church, and Cave of the Nativitie: her selfe the Abbesse of one of them, and so for the space of twentie yeares did continue. She likewise built an adjoyning Hospitall for Pilgrims, whose ruines declare it to have beene no meane Fabricke. The other Tombe did cover the body of Saint Jerome, who lived in her time, and in the Monasterie which shee had founded: his bones, together with the bones of Eusebius, were translated to Rome, and shrined in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore; over which, Pope Sixtus Quintus hath erected a sumptuous Chappell. Out of this we past into another Grot, which they call his Cell; wherein hee lay (as they say) full fiftie yeares and sixe moneths, and there twice translated the Bible. Returning into the aforeseid Chappell of the Innocents, by the other entry we passed into a Vault or Chappell, twelve foote wide, fortie long, and fifteene in height: the sides and floore all lined with faire white Marble: the compassed roofe adorned with

Innocents Sepulcher.

Paulas Sepulcher. Much difference was betwixt the ancient and later Monastaries and Monkes. Those liker our Universities, free from vow, and fitted with arts and sanctitie, as Seminaries of the Church: The Nuns and Pilgrimes also much differed from the later more degenerate. S. Jerome himselfe, this Noble Paula and her daughter Eustochium are witnesses hereof.

Mosse-worke, and Mosaique Gilding, though now much perished. At the upper end, in an arched Concave, stands an Altar garnished with a Table of the Nativitie. Under this a Semi-circle; the sole set forth with stones of severall colours, in the forme of a Starre: and in the midst a Serpentine, there set to uphold the memory of that place where our Saviour was borne: the credite whereof I will neither impeach, nor inforce. In this Citie it was, and in a stable; nor is the report by the site refuted, though under ground, hewne out of the living Rocke, as is the rest before spoken of. For he that travels through these Countries, will not wonder to see such Caves imployed to like uses. Neither is it likely, that they that succeeded those times so neerely, should erre in the place so celebrated in their devotions, and beautified with such cost. On either side of this Altar in the Corners, there are two equall ascents, which Land on the opposite out-sides of the Chancell, closed with doores of Brasse cut through, through which they passe in their solemne Procession. Now on the South side, and neere unto the foote of the staires, you descend by three steps into a lesser Grot: separated onely from the former, by three fine Columnes of discoloured Marble, which seeme to support the over-hanging Rocke. On the West side there is a Manger hewne out in a Concave, about two foote high from the floore, and a little way hallowed within: wherein, they say, that our New-borne Saviour was laid by the Virgine; now flagged about with white Marble, as the Rocke that roofes it; at the left end sustained with a short Serpentine. In the bottome of this Manger, and just in the middle, a round Serpentine is set, to denote the place where he lay, which retaineth, as they would make us beleeve, the effigies of Saint Jerome, miraculous framed by the naturall veines of the stone, in reward of his often and affectionate kisses. But surely, they bee the eyes of Faith that must apprehend it: yet present they it in Picture. On the opposite side of this Grot, there is a Bench in the Rocke, not unlike to an Altar: where the Magi of the East, that

Place of the Nativitie.

Saint Jeromes naturall Image.

Magi.

were conducted hither by the Starre, disposed, (as they say) of their Presents.

These places be in the keeping of the Franciscans, and not lesse reverenced then Calvarie, or the Sepulcher, visited also by the Mahometan Pilgrimes. Where Lamps still burning do expell the naturall darknesse; and give a greater State thereunto, then the light of the day could affoord it. Baldwine the second did honor this place with an Episcopal Sea (being before but a Priorie) adjoyning thereunto, together with the Church of Ascalon, many Townes and Villages. In the place where this Citie stood, there are now but a few poore Cottages standing. Most of the few Inhabitants Greekes and Armenians, who get a beggerly living by selling unto strangers the Models of the Sepulcher, and of the Grot of the Nativitie; cut in wood, or cast in stone, with Crosses, and such like Merchandizes, and in being serviceable unto Pilgrims. [II. viii. 1320.]

After dinner we descended a foote into the Valley which lyeth East of the Citie, fruitfull in pasturage, where Jacob fed his flocke (at this day called his field) neere the Tower of Adar; but more famous for the Apparition of the Angels, who there brought to the Shepheards the glad-tidings of our Salvation. In the midst of the field, on the selfe-same place, as is supposed, and two miles distant from Bethlehem, Saint Helena erected a Church, and dedicated it to the Angels; now nothing but ruines. Returning from thence, and turning a little on the left hand, we came to the Village where those Shepheards dwelt, as yet so called: in the midst whereof there standeth a Well; the same, as the rumor goeth, that the blessed Virgine desired to drinke of, when the churlish Villagers refusing to draw her up water, it forth-with miraculously flowed to the brim; greedy to passe through her blessed lips, and satisfie her longing. Of this the Arabs would not suffer us to drinke before we had given them Money. Neerer to Bethlehem, and at the foote of the hill are the ruines of a Chappell, where Joseph (as they say) had his dwelling, at such time as the Angell commanded him to

Jacobs fielde.

Angels apparition to the Shepheards.

Our Ladies Well.

flie into Ægypt. Neere the top, and not farre from the backe of the Monasterie, there is a Cave containing two roomes, one within, another descended into by a narrow entrance, and in some places supported by Pillars. In this it is said, that Joseph hid our Saviour and his Mother, whilst he prepared things necessarie for his journey. The stone thereof pulverated, and often washed, of much a little will remaine, and not unlike to refined Chalke; which taken in drinke, is said to have a Soveraigne vertue, in restoring Milke both to Women and Cattell, much used by the Moores themselves for that purpose. Over which stood one of the Nunneries built by Paula, now onely shewing the foundation, and wherein she dyed. These places seene, we re-entred the Monasterie, and there reposed our selves the night following.

Each of us bestowing a piece of Gold on the Vicar, betimes in the morning we departed, bending our course to the Mountaines of Judæa, lying West from Bethlehem: neere to which, on the side of the opposite hill, we past by *Bezec.* a little Village, called (as I take it) Bezec; inhabited onely by Christians: mortall (as they say) to the Mahometans, that attempted to dwell therein. About two miles further *Bethsur.* we passed by Bethsur, seated in a bottome betweene two rocky Mountaines, once a strong Fort: first built by Rhoboam, and after repaired by the Machabies: famous for sundry sieges; being in the upper way betweene Jerusalem and Gaza, where wee saw the ruines of an ample Church; below that, a Fountaine not unbeholding by Art, whose pleasant Waters are forth-with drunke up by the earth that produced them. Heere, they say, that Philip *Eunuchs Baptisme.* baptized the Eunuch; whereupon it retaineth the name of the Æthiopian Fountaine. And no question, but the adjoyning Temple was erected out of devotion to the honour of the place, and memorie of the fact. Yet seemeth it strange unto me, that a Chariot should be able to passe those rocky and declining Mountaines, where almost a Horse can hardly keepe footing. Having travelled about a mile and a halfe further, we came to the

Cave where John the Baptist is said to have lived from the age of seven, untill such time as hee went unto the Wilderness by Jordan, sequestred from the abode of men, and feeding on such wilde nourishment as these uninhabited places affoorded. This Cave is seated on the Northerne side of a desart Mountaine (onely beholding to the Locust tree) hewne out of the precipitating Rocke, so as difficultie to be ascended or descended to: entred at the East corner, and receiving light from a window in the side. At the upper end there is a Bench of the selfe-same Rocke, whereon (as they say) he accustomed to sleepe; of which, who so breakes a piece off, stands forth-with excommunicate. Over this, on a little flat, stands the ruines of a Monasterie, on the South side naturally walled with the steepe of the Mountaine: from whence there gusheth a living Spring, which entreth the Rocke, and againe bursteth forth beneath the mouth of the Cave; A place that would make solitarinesse delightfull, and stand in comparison with the turbulent pompe of Cities. This over-looketh a profound Valley, on the far side hem'd with aspiring Mountaines; whereof some are cut (or naturally so) in degrees like Allies, which would bee else unaccessably fruitlesse, whose levels yet beare the stumps of decayed Vines, shadowed not rarely with Olives and Locusts. And surely I thinke, that all, or most of those Mountaines have beene so husbanded, else could this little Countrey have never sustained such a multitude of people. After wee had fed of such provision as was brought us from the Citie, by other of the Fraternitie that there met us, wee returned towards Jerusalem, leaving the way of Bethlehem on the right hand, and that of Emaus on the left. The first place of note that we met with, was there where once stood the dwelling of Zacharie, seated on the side of a fruitfull hill, well stored with Olives and Vineyards. Hither came the blessed Virgine to visite her Cousin Elizabeth. Here died Elizabeth, and here in a Grot on the side of a Vault or Chappell, lies buried: over which a goodly Church was erected, together with a Monasterie;

John Baptists Wildernesse.

Zacharies house.

Elizabeth and Marie.

whereof now little standeth but a part of the Wals, which offer to the view some fragments of painting, which shew that the rest have beene exquisite. Beyond, and lower is our Ladies Fountaine, (so called of the Inhabitants) which [II. viii. 1321.] maintaineth a little current through the neighbouring valley. Neere this, in the bottome, and uttermost extent thereof, there standeth a Temple, once sumptuous, now desolate; built by Helena, and dedicated to Saint John Baptist, in the place where Zacharie had another house where the Prophet was borne, in a roome hewen out of the rocke; of principall devotion with those Christians: possest, as the rest, by the beastly Arabians, who defile it with their Cattell, and employ it to the basest of uses. Transcending the lesse steepe hills, and passing through *Rose valleys.* valleys of their Roses voluntarily plentifull; after a while wee came to a Monasterie seated in a streight betweene two rockie Mountaines, environed with high walls, and entred by a doore of Iron; where a Bishop of the Georgians hath his residence, who curteously entertayned us. Within they have a handsome Chappell, at the upper end an Altar, and under that a pit, in which they say that the Palme did grow (but rather, if any, the Olive, whereof that place hath store) of which a part of the Crosse was made: for it was framed (as they report) of foure severall woods; the foot of Cedar, the bole of Cypresse, the transome of Palme, and the title of Olive. This is called *Monasterie of the holy Crosse.* thereupon the Monasterie of the holy Crosse. Where in stead of Bells they strike on a hollow beame (as the Grecians doe in the Temple of Golgotha) to summon their assemblies. Betweene this and Jerusalem, we saw nothing worth noting, that hath not beene spoken of already.

The day following, we went to review the remarkable places about the Citie. Passing by the Castle of the Pisans, on the left hand entring at a little square passage, *Chappell unlucky to Mahometans.* wee were shewed a small Chappell, the doore and windowes rammed up; for that (as they say) the Mahometans became mortally sicke, that, though but by chance did come into

it, standing where stood the Temple of Saint Thomas. From hence wee were brought to the Palace of Annas, destroyed by the Seditious in the time of the siege, where now standeth a Church dedicated to the blessed Angels, and belonging to the Armenians, who have their dwellings about it. Within the Court there is an old Olive tree, environed with a low wall; unto which, it is said, that they bound our Saviour. Turning on the right hand, wee went out at a Port of Sion. South and not farre from thence, on the midst of the mount is the place, as they say, where Christ did eate his last Supper; where also after his resurrection, the doores being shut, hee appeared to his Apostles; where they received the holy Ghost; where Peter converted three thousand; and where, as they say also, they held the first Councel, in which the Apostles Creed was decreed. Here Helena built a most sumptuous Temple including therein a Cœnaculum, where that marble Pillar was preserved that stood before in the Palace of Pilate; to which they tyed our Saviour when they whipped him. This Church subverted by the Saracens, in the selfe-same place the Franciscans had a Monasterie erected, who in the yeere 1561. were removed by the Turkes: they building here a Mosque of their owne, into which no Christian is permitted to enter. Yet not in the respects aforesaid, so reverenced by the Infidels, but in that it is delivered by tradition (and not unlikely) that David had there his Sepulchre. Betweene this, and the walls of the Citie, the Franckes have their buriall, where lie sixe English-men, sent (as may bee suspected) unto their long-homes not many yeeres since, though coloured by the Franciscans, in whose Monasterie they lay, with pretence of Divine vengeance for the supposed murder of their Drogaman. Seven they were in all, all alive and well in one day, sixe dead in the other; the out-liver becomming a convert to their Religion. Turning a little on the left hand, we came to a small Church, inclosed within a square wall, arched within, with a walke on the top in manner of a Cave; the habitation of the Armenians, who have of this

Last Supper.

David's Sepulchre.

Englishmen murthered by Friers.

Palace of Caiphas. Church the custodie. Heere flourished the proud Palace of Caiphas, in which our Saviour was buffetted, spit upon, and so spitefully reviled. Here Helena built a faire Church to Saint Peter; but that destroyed, in the roome thereof this lesse was erected, and dedicated to Saint Saviour. On the right hand in the Court, they undertake *Peters Deniall.* to shew where the fire was made, by which Peter stood when he denied his Master: and at the side of the Church doore, the chapter of a Pillar, whereon the Cocke crowing did move him to contrition. At the upper end of the *Grave-stone.* Church, upon a large Altar lieth a Stone, that (as they say) which was rolled against the mouth of the Sepulchre.

Gehinnon. From hence we descended into the valley of Gehinnon, which divideth Mount Sion from the Mountaine of Offence, so called for that Salomon by the perswasion of his wives there sacrificed to Chamoch and Molech; but now by these Christians called the Mountaine of Ill counsell, where they say, the Pharises tooke counsell against Jesus; whose heighth yet shewes the reliques of no meane buildings. This valley is but streight, now serving for little use, heretofore most delightfull, planted with Groves and watered with Fountaines; wherein the Hebrews sacrificed their children to Molech. On the South side of this valley, neere where it meeteth with the valley of Jehosaphat, mounted a good heighth, on the side *Aceldama.* of the Mountaine is Aceldama, or the field of bloud; purchased with the restored reward of Treason, for a buriall place for strangers. In the midst whereof a large square roome was made by the mother of Constantine: the South side walled with the naturall rocke; flat at the top, and equall with the upper levell. Out of which ariseth certaine small Cupolos open in the midst to let downe the dead bodies. Through which we might see the bottome all covered with bones; and certaine Corses but newly let downe: it being now the Sepulchre of the Armenians. A [II. viii. 1322.] greedy Grave; and great enough to devoure the dead of a *Flesh devouring Earth.* whole Nation. For they say, (and I beleeve it) that the Earth thereof within the space of eight and fortie houres,

will consume the flesh that is laid thereon. The like is said of Saint Innocents Church-yard in Paris: and he that sees the multitude of bones, that are there piled about it, the daily burials (it being a generall Receptacle for strangers) and smalnesse of the circuit, may be easily induced to credit. And why might not the Earth be transported from hence, as well as that at Rome in Campo Sancto, brought thither in two hundred and seventie ships by the commandement of the aforesaid Empresse? which though changing soyles retayneth her vertue: it being also a place of buriall for Forreiners. In the Rocke about there are divers Sepulchers, and some in use at this day: having great stones rolled against their mouthes according to the ancient custome. Beyond on the point of the Hill, a Cave hewne out of the Rocke, consisting of severall Roomes, is said to have hidden sixe of the Apostles in the time of Christs Passion: first made without doubt for a Sepulcher; and after serving for an Hermitage: the Roofe of the larger Roome retayning some shew of gilding. Below, where the Valley of Gehinnon and Jehosaphat, like two conjoyning streames doe trent to the South, there is a dry Pit; where the Priests are said to have hid the sacred fire when the Jewes were carried captive into Babylon: and seeking it after their returne did find it converted into water. But Nehemiah caused it to be sprinkled on the Altar: when forth-with with the beames of the Sunne it miraculously flamed. This Valley of Jehosaphat (so called of that good King) from hence extendeth full North, and then enclineth a little to the West, first presenting (though naturall) no other then a large dry Ditch to the East of the Citie contracted betweene it, and the over-pearing Hils of the opposite Olivet. It is said to be about two miles long, and if it be so, but short ones: where broadest fruitfull; watered by the Torrent Cedron, which runneth no longer then fedde with showres: losing his intermitted streames in the Lake of Asphaltis. It was also called the Valley of Cedron, and of the King: where the generall Judgement shall be, if the Jewes or Latines may be

Cave.

Valley of Jehosaphat.

Cedron.

beleeved; who ground their opinions upon the Prophesie of Joel: which I will not gain-say, since some of our Divines have of late so laboured to approve it. Of the same opinion are the Mahometans. In the wall above it, there is a window not farre from the Golden Gate: where they say, that Mahomet shal sit whilst Christ doth execute Justice. Passing to the Citie side of the Valley, at the foot of the Hill, and East of the South-east corner, is the *Esay sawne.* place where the Prophet Esay was sawne in sunder by the Commandement of Manasses his Grand-father by the Mother: and there buried, where there is a little Pavement used for a place of Prayer by the Mahometans. Close below this stood the Oke Roguel, where now a white Mulbery is cherished. North of it, in a gut of the Hill (above which in the wall stood the Tower) was the fish- *Siloe.* poole of Siloe: contayning not above halfe an Acre of ground, now dry in the bottome: and beyond the Fountayne that fed it: now no other then a little Trench walled in on the sides, full of filthy water: whose upper part is obscured by a Building (as I take it a Mosque) where once flourished a Christian Church built by Saint Helena. Deprived of those her salubrious streames; yet held in honour for their former vertues. Passing along wee came to our Ladies Fountayne (upon what occasion they so call it, is not worth the relating) in a deepe Cave of the Rocke, descended into by a large paire of staires, and replenisht with pleasant waters. Here the Valley streightning, and a little beyond no broader then serves for a Channell to the *Zacharies Sepulcher.* Torrent, on the other side stands the Sepulcher of Zacharie, who was slaine betweene the Temple and the Altar: all of the naturall Rocke, eighteene foot high, foure square, and beautified with Doricke Columnes of the same unseparated stone, sustayning the Cornish, and topt like a pointed Diamond. Close to this there is another in the upright Rocke; the Front like the side of an open Gallerie, supported with Marble Pillars, now betweene rammed up with stones. Within a Grot, whither James retyred (as they say) after the Passion of our Saviour, with

purpose never to have received sustenance untill he had seene him: who in that place appeared unto him after his Resurrection. In memoriall whereof the Christians erected a Church hard by: whose Ruines are now ruined. A little farther there is a stone Bridge of one Arch, which passes the Torrent. In a Rocke at the foot thereof, there are certayne Impressions: made (as they say) by our Saviours feet when they led him through the water. At the East end of this Bridge, and a little on the North, stands the Pillar of Absolon; which he here erected in his life time, to retayne the memorie of his name, in that his Issue Male fayled, (but he was not buried therein) being yet entyre and of a goodly Fabricke: rising in a loftie square; below adorned with halfe Columnes, wrought out of the sides and corners of the Doricke forme: and then changing into a round, a good height higher doth grow to a point in fashion of a Bell: all framed of the growing stone. Against this there lyeth a great heape of stones which increaseth daily. For both Jewes and Mahometans passing by, doe throw stones against it: yet execrating Absolon for his Rebellion against David. Adjoyning there is a large square, but lower by far, which hath an entrance like the Frontispice of a Porch cut curiously without; the earth almost reaching to the top of the entrance: having a Grot within hewne out of the Rocke: some say, a Kingly Sepulcher; perhaps appertayning to the former. A little more North and up the Torrent, at the foot of Olivet, once stood the Village Gethsemani; the place yet fruitfull in Olives: and hard by the delightfull Garden wherein our Saviour was betrayed.

Absolons Pillar.

Stone throwing.

Gethsemani.

They point out the place where he left two of his Disciples, and a little higher the third when he went to pray, and with all the place where he was taken. In this Garden there is also a stone, whereon they say that our Lady sate, and beheld the Martyrdome of Saint Steven, who suffered on the side of the opposite Hill. Without the said Garden, in the joyning of two wayes, they shewed us the place, as they will have it, where Saint Thomas

[II. viii. 1323.]

stood, when incredulous forsooth of our Ladies Assumption, she let fall her Girdle to informe his beliefe.

Sepulchers of the blessed Virgin and her Parents.

And now we are come to the Sepulcher of the blessed Virgin, made thus, as it is, by the Mother of Constantine. Before it a Court; the building above ground, a square pile onely, flat at the top, and neatly wrought, like the largest Portico to a Temple. You enter at the South-side, and forth-with descend by a goodly paire of staires of fiftie steps: about the midst of the descent, are two small opposite Chappels; in that on the right hand are the Sepulchers of Joachim and Anna; in that on the left of Joseph: the Parents and Spouse of the Mother of Jesus. These staires doe leade you into a spacious Church, stretching East and West, walled on each side, and arched above with the naturall Rocke. Upon the right hand in the midst there is a little square Chappell, framed of the eminent Rocke, but flagged both within and without with white Marble, entred at two doores. At the far side her Tombe, which taketh up more then the third part of the Room, now in forme of an Altar: under which, they say, that she was decently buryed by the Apostles; and the third day after assumed into Heaven by the Angels. In this there burneth eighteen Lamps continually; partly maintained by the Christians, & partly by the Mahometans, who have this place in an especiall veneration. Neere the East Semicircle of the Church, there standeth a great Altar (over which the little light that this darke place hath, doth descend by a Cupolo,) neere the West another, but both unfurnished; and by the former a Well of excellent Water. In a Canton of the Wall, right against the North end of the Sepulcher, there is a Clift in the Rock, where the Turkes do affirme, that our Lady did hide her selfe, when persecuted by the Jewes; into which I have seene their women to creepe, and give the cold Rocke affectionate kisses. The opposite Canton is also used for an Oratory by the Mahometans, who have the keeping of the whole, and will not suffer us to enter of free cost. Remounting the same staires, not farre off on the left

Turkish womens devotion to the blessed Virgin.

hand, towards the East, and not above a stone cast from the Garden of Gethsamani, a straite passage descendeth into a vast round Cave, all of the naturall Rocke, the Roofe confirmed with Arches of the same, receiving a dimme light from a little hole in the top, in times past all over curiously painted. The place, they say, where Christ did pray, when in that bloudie agonie he was comforted by the Angels. From hence wee bent our course to the Citie. High on the Hill, where three wayes meete, and upon the flat of a Rocke, is the place where Saint Steven (who bore the first Palme of Martyrdome) was stoned to death. The stones thereabout have a red rust on them; which, they say, give testimonie of his bloud-shed. A little above, we entred the Citie at the gate of Saint Steven, (where on each side a Lion Retrograde doth stand) called in times past the Port of the Valley, and of the flocke; for that the Cattell came in at this gate, which were to be sacrificed in the Temple, and were sold in the Market place adjoyning. On the left hand there is a stone bridge, which passeth at the East end of the North wall into the Court of the Temple of Salomon: the head to the Poole Bethesda, underneath which it hath a conveyance, called also Probaticum, for that the Sacrifices were therein washed ere delivered to the Priests. It had five Ports built thereto by Salomon; in which continually lay number of diseased persons. For an Angell at certaine seasons troubled the water; and he that could next descend thereinto was perfectly cured. Now a great square profunditie, Greene, and uneven at the bottome, into which a barren Spring doth drill from betweene the stones of the Northward Wall, and stealeth away almost undiscerned. The place is for a good depth hewne out of the Rocke, confined above on the North-side with a steepe Wall, on the West with high Buildings (perhaps a part of the Castle of Antonia) where are two doores to descend by, now all that are, halfe choked with Rubbidge; and on the South with the Wall of the Court of the Temple: whereof it is fit that something bee spoken; although not suffered to

Bethesda.

enter without the forfeiture of our lives, or renouncing of our Religion.

I will not speake of the former forme, and magnificencie thereof, by sacred Pens so exactly described. First built by Salomon, destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, re-edified by Zerubabel, (yet so far short of the first in glory, that those wept to behold it, who had beheld the former) new built or rather sumptuously repayred by Herod the Great; and lastly, utterly subverted by Titus. The Jewes assayed to re-edifie it in the Reigne of Adrian, of whom he slue an infinite number, levelled it with the floore, and threw the Rubbidge into the Valley of Jehosaphat, to make it lesse steepe, and the place lesse defenceable, planting in the Roome thereof a Grove, which hee consecrated unto Jupiter. Afterward Julian the Apostata, to disproove the Prophesie of our Saviour, did licence the Jewes to re-build it, furnishing them with mony out of his Treasurie: when loe, a terrible Earth-quake shooke downe what they had begun; and a flame bursting forth, devoured the Workmen, reported by Amianus Marcellinus a Pagan, and living in those times. But who built this that now standeth, is doubtfull. Some doe attribute it to the Christians; others to a Prince of the Arabians, (which is confirmed by the Christians of these Countries) and hee the Saracen Omer, next Successor unto Mahomet. Seated it is upon Mount Moria, in the South-east corner of the Citie; without doubt in the very place where Salomons stood: the more eminent building consisting of an eight square round of a blewish stone, adorned with adjoyning Pillars, and Tarrast above. In the midst of the shelving Roofe, another upright aspireth, though lesse by far, yet the same in forme and substance with the former, being covered over with a Cupolo of Lead. To the West of this a long building adjoyneth, like the bodie of a Church, compast above, and no higher then the under Tarras of the other, but like it in colour. Now the Court (the same with that of the old Temple) is just foure square every way, about a flights shoot over. In the East Wall, which

Salomons Temple.

[II. viii. 1324.] *Mount Moria.*

is also a Wall to the Citie, stands the Golden Gate, (so called in that it was gilded) which belonged onely to the Temple, through which Christ passed twice; first in triumph, and after a Captive. It is said that the Emperour Heraclius returning from his Persian Victory, attempted to have entred thereat in all his glory; but was miraculously prohibited, untill he had put off all his Princely Ornaments; in a simple habite bearing that part of the Crosse of Christ on his shoulders, which he had recovered from the Persians. This Gate is now rammed up by the Turkes, to prevent as some say, a Prophesie: which is, that the Citie should there be entred by the Christians. A part of the South-side, is also inclosed with the wall of the Citie. The rest not inferiour in strength, surrounded with a deepe Trench hewne into the Rocke: though now much choaked, heretofore inhabited in the bottome like a street. In the midst of this out-court, there is another; wherein the aforesaid Mosque doth stand, raised some two yards above it, and garnished on the sides with little Turrets, through which ascended; all paved with white Marble (the spoile of Christian Churches) where the Mahometans, as well as within, doe performe their particular Oraysons. Sundry low buildings there are adjoyning to the wall: as I suppose, the Habitation of their Santons. In the midst of that, on the South-side, there is a handsome Temple covered with Lead; by the Christians called the Church of the Purification of the Virgine: now also a Mosque. Godfrey of Bullein, with the rest of the Citie tooke this place by assault, and slue within the circuit thereof tenne thousand Saracens. By him then made a Cathedrall Church: erecting Lodgings about it for the Patriarch and his Canons. Into which there are now but two entrances: that on the West; and this Gate over the head of the Poole Bethesda (called of old the Horse-gate, for that here they left their Horses, it beeing not lawfull to ride any further) resembling the Gate of a Citie. One thing by the way may bee noted: that whereas our Churches turne to the East, the

Golden Gate.

Turkish Prophesie.

Temple of Salomon regarded the West, perhaps in respect of Mount Calvarie.

Repassing the aforesaid Bridge, (seeing we might proceed no farther) on the North-side of the street that stretcheth to the West, now in a remote corner, stood *Jaachims house.* the House of Jaachim, where a goodly Church was built to the honour of Saint Anna, with a Monasterie adjoyning of which some part yet remayneth, but polluted with the Mahometan Superstition. Turning backe, we tooke up the said street to the West: not far onward, at the left *Pilates Palace.* hand stood the Palace of Pilate, without all question the Castle of Antonia, neere adjoyning to the wall of the Temple, where now the Sanziacke hath his Residence; deprived of those lofty Towers, and scarce appearing above the wals that confine it. On the right hand, at the far end of a street that pointeth to the North, stood the stately Mansion of Herod: of which some signes there are left, that witnesse a perished excellency. Now at the West corner of that of Pilates, where the wall for a space doth turne to the East, there are a paire of high staires which *Judgment place.* leade to the place of Justice, and Throne of the Romane President, where the Saviour of the World, was by the World condemned. The staires that they say then, were called Scala Sancta, I have seene at Rome neere Saint Johns in the Lateran; translated thither by Constantine. Three paire there are in one Front, divided but by wals: the middlemost those: being of white Marble, and eighteene in number; ascended and worne by the knees of the Suppliants, who descend by the other. At the top *Sanctum Sanctorum.* there is a little Chappell called Sanctum Sanctorum, where they never say Masse: and upon this occasion. A holy Father in the Roome adjoyning, having consumed most part of the night in his Devotions, is said, an houre before the dawning, to have seene a procession of Angels passe by him, some singing, and others perhaps that had worse voyces, bearing Torches: amongst whom Saint Peter with the Eucharist; who executed there his Pontificall Function: and that done returned. This rumored the day

following about the Citie, numbers of people flockt thither; who found the Roome all to be dropt with Torches in confirmation of this Relation. Whereupon decreed it was, that not any (as not worthy) should say Masse on that Altar. Now the way betweene the place of those staires and Mount Calvarie, is called the Dolorous way: alongst which our Saviour was led to his Passion: in which they say, (and shew where) that hee thrice fell under the weight of his Crosse. And a little beyond there is an ancient Arch that crosseth the street, and supporteth a ruined Gallerie: in the East-side a two arched window, where Pilate presented Christ to the people. An hundred paces farther, and on the left hand there are the Relikes of a Church, where they say that the blessed Virgin stood when her Sonne passed by, and fell into a trance at the sight of that killing Spectacle. Sixtie sixe paces beyond (where this street doth meete with that other which leadeth to Port Ephraim, now called the Gate of Damascus) they say, that they met with Simon of Cyrene, and compelled him to assist our Saviour in the bearing of his burthen. Turning a little on the left hand, they shewed us where the women wept, and he replyed, Weepe not for me you Daughters of Jerusalem, &c. Then turning againe on the right, we passed under a little arch, neere which a house ascended by certain steps; the place where Veronica dwelt, who gave our Saviour, as they say, a Napkin as he passed by the doore, to cleanse his face from the bloud which trickled from his Thorne-pierst browes; and spittle wherewith they had despitefully defiled him: who returned it againe enriched with his lively counterfeit, now to be seene at Rome upon Festivall dayes, in Saint Peters Church in the Vatican. Fronting the far end of this street, an ancient Gate which stood in the West wall of the old Citie, yet resists the subversions of time, called by Nehemia, the old Gate; by the Jebusites the Port of Jebus, and the Gate of Judgement; for that the Elders there sate in Justice: through which the condemned were led to execution unto Mount Calvarie: then two hundred

Dolorous way.

[II. viii. 1325.]

Simon of Cyrene.

Veronica.

twentie paces without, and a little on the left hand; though now almost in the heart of the Citie. From hence we ascended the East-side of Mount Calvarie (eight hundred paces from the Palace of Pilate) and so descended into the Court of the Temple of the Sepulcher. Right against it are the ruines of loftie buildings, heretofore the Alberges of the Knight Hospitallers of Saint Johns. Turning to the South we were shewed, where once stood the dwelling of Zebedus, in which James and John were borne, heretofore a Collegiat Church, but now a Mosque. A little higher wee came to the Iron Gate, a passage in times past betweene the upper Citie, and the neather (which gave way unto Peter conducted by the Angell) built by Alexander the Great: who having taken Tyrus, and the Sea-bordering Cities of Phœnicia and Palestine, begirt Jerusalem with his Armie: when on a sudden the Gates were set open, Jaddus the High Priest issuing forth, clothed in his Pontificall Habit, and followed with a long trayne in white Rayments: whom Alexander espying, advanced before the rest of the company; and when he drew neere fell prostrate before him. For it came unto his remembrance, how once in Dio a Citie of Macedon, consulting with himselfe about his Asian Enterprize, he had seene in a Vision one so apparelled, who bid him boldly proceed, and told him that the God whom he served would protect his Armie, and make him Lord of the Persian Monarchie. Then hand in hand they entred the Citie, the High Priest conducting him unto the Temple, where hee sacrificed unto God according to the manner of the Hebrewes: Jaddus expounding unto him the Prophesies of Daniel, which foretold of his victories. From thence we proceeded unto the House of Saint Marke, of which an obscure Church in the custodie of the Sorians doth retayne the memory. And beyond, we came to the Church of Saint James, standing in the place where he was beheaded; erected by the Spaniards, together with an Hospitall, and now possest by the Armenians. This seene, we returned to the Covent.

Zebedees houses.

Saint James.

The day following, wee went out (as before) at the Port of Sion. Turning on the left hand along the wall, wee were shewed the place where Peter wept, when hee had denyed our Saviour; dignified once with a Church, and whereof there now remayneth some part of the foundation. Right against it there is a Posterne in the wall, formerly called Port Esqueline; at which they bore forth the filth of the Citie. The foundation of this part of the wall is much more ancient, and much more strong then the rest, consisting of blacke stones of a mightie size. Not farre beyond, we crossed the Valley of Jehosaphat, and mounted the South end of Mount Olivet, by the way of Bethania. Having ascended a good height, on the right hand they shewed us where Judas hanged himselfe (the stumpe of the Sycamore, as they say, not long since extant) being buried in a Grot that adjoyneth. Neerer the top where Christ cursed the fig-tree, many there growing at this present. Descending the East-side of the Mountaine, a little on the left hand, we came to a desolate Chappell, about which divers ruines; the Houses heretofore of Simon the Leper. From thence we descended unto the Castle of Lazarus, (whereof yet there is something extant) the Brother to Marie and Martha: close under which lyes Bethania, (two miles from Jerusalem) now a tottered Village, inhabited by Arabians. In it the Vault where Christ raysed Lazarus from death; square and deepe, descended into by certaine steps. Above are two little Chappels, which have in either of them an Altar: where stood a stately Church erected by Saint Helena: and after that an Abbey, Queene Milisend the Foundresse. A little North of Bethania, we came to the ruines of a Monasterie, now levell with the floore, seated in the place unto which the penitent Marie retyred from the corrupting vanities of the Citie. South-ward of this, and not far off, stood the House of Martha, honoured likewise with a Temple, and ruinated alike. Equally distant from both, there is a stone, whereon, they say, that our Saviour sate, when the two Sisters intreated him to restore life to their Brother now

Sion Port.

Peters penance.

Judas.

Bethania.

Lazarus.

Marthas house.

foure dayes buryed: the Pilgrime that breakes off a piece thereof, stands excommunicated. A little above, there is a Fountayne of excellent water, deepe sunke into the Rocke, (by which we refreshed our selves with provision brought with us) called the Fountayne of the Apostles. Now we ascended Mount Olivet againe, by another way more inclining to the North. Upon the right hand, and not *Bethfage.* far from the top, stood Bethfage, whose very foundations are now confounded; from whence Christ past unto Jerusalem in triumph upon an Asses Colt: every Palme-sunday by the Pater-guardian superstitiously imitated.

[II. viii. 1326.] Here looke we backe, and for a while survey the high *Quarantena.* mountaine Quarantania, the low Plains of Jericho, Jordan, *Dead Sea.* and the Dead Sea; which we could not goe to, by reason of our tardy arrivall, the Pilgrims returning on the selfe-same day that wee came unto Jerusalem. Undertaken but once a yeere in regard of the charges, then guarded by a Sheck of the Arabians, to resist the wild Arabs, who almost famished on those barren Mountaines (which they dare not husband for feare of surprisall) rob all that passe, if inferiour in strength: yet payed wee towards that *Jordan.* conduct two Dollars apiece to the Sanziack. Jordan runneth wel-nigh thirtie miles from Jerusalem; the way thither by Bethania; made long and troublesome by the steepe descents and labyrinthian windings; being to the judgement of the eye, not the fourth of that distance. In this the Pilgrims wash themselves, and bring from thence of the water, soveraigne (as they say) for sundry diseases. A great way on this side the River, there stands a ruined Temple, upon the winding of a crooked channell, forsaken by the streame, (or then not filled but by inundations) where Christ (as they say) was baptized by John. *Jerico.* On the right hand stood Jerico, a Citie of fame (and in the time of the Christians an Episcopall Sea) beautifull in her *Balme.* Palmes, but chiefly proud of her Balsamum, a Plant then onely thought particular unto Jurie, which grew most plentifully in this valley, and on the sides of the Westerne Mountaines which confine it, being about two cubits high,

growing upright, and yeerely pruned of her superfluous branches. In the Summer they lanced the rine with a stone, (not to be touched with steele) but not deeper then the inward filme; for otherwise it forthwith perished: from whence those fragrant and precious teares did distill, which now are onely brought us from India; but they farre worse, and generally sophisticated. The bole of this shrub is of least esteeme, the rine of greater, the seed exceeding that, but the liquor of greatest, knowne to be right in the curdling of Milke, and not stayning of garments. Here remayned two Orchards thereof in the dayes of Vespasian; in defence of which, a battell was fought with the Jewes that endeavoured to destroy them. Of such repute with the Romanes, that Pompey first, and afterwards Titus did present it in their triumphs as an especiall glorie: now utterly lost through the barbarous waste and neglect of the Mahometans. Where Jerico stood, there standeth a few poore Cottages inhabited by the Arabians. The valley about ten miles over, now producing but a spiny grass; bordered on the East with the high Arabian Mountaines, on the West with those of Jurie; amongst which, Quarantania the most eminent, in that wildernesse where Christ for fortie dayes was tempted by the Devill, so high, that few dare attempt to ascend to the top; from whence the Tempter shewed him the Kingdomes of the earth; now crowned with a Chappell, which is yet unruined. There is besides in the side an Hermitage, with a Cisterne to receive raine-water; and another Grot, wherein the Hermites were buried. Here Saint Jerome (as they say) fulfilled his foure yeeres penance.

Mount Olivet.

But now returne wee to the summit of Mount Olivet, which over-toppeth the neighbouring Mountaines, whose West side doth give you a full survey of each particular part of the Citie, bedect with Olives, Almonds, and Fig-trees; heretofore with Palmes: pleasantly rich when husbanded, and now upbraiding the barbarous with his neglected pregnancy. So famous in sacred histories, and

so often blest with the presence of Christ, and apparition of Angels. It is not much lesse then a mile in heighth, stretching from North to South, and having three heads. On the middlemost (and that the highest) there standeth a little Chappell, of an eight square round, at every corner a Pillar, mounted on three degrees, being all of white marble, and of an elegant structure: within it is not above twelve foot over, paved with the naturall rocke, which beareth the impression of a foot-step, they say, of our Saviours; the last that he set upon earth, when from thence he ascended into Heaven: A place in honour inferiour unto none, frequented by Christians, possest by Mahometans, yet free to both their devotions. Built it was by the mother of Constantine, and covered like the Sepulchre, with a sumptuous Temple (whose ruines yet looke aloft) together with a Monasterie. On the South-side of which, they shewed us the Cell of Palagia; a famous, rich, and beautifull Curtizan of Antioch, who converted by the Bishop of Dimiata, retired hither unknowne, and here long lived in the habite and penurie of an Hermite, being not till dead, discovered for a woman. Descending, wee were shewed by the way, where our Saviour taught them the Pater noster, where hee fore-told of the destruction of Jerusalem, where the Apostles made the Creede, where hee wept over the Citie, (a paved square, now a Mahometan Oratorie) and such like traditions, not much worthy the mentioning. So crossing the valley by the Sepulchre of the blessed Virgin, we entred the Citie at the gate of Saint Steven; returning the same way (as the day before) to the Monasterie.

Chappell of the Ascension.

Foot-print.

Cell of Pelagia.

Much of the day, and all the night following we spent in the Church of the Sepulchre: they then concluding the ceremonies and solemnities of that Festivall. The next day wee prepared for our departure. Wee agreed with certaine Muccermen (so call they their Muliters) of Aleppo (who had brought a Portugall hither with his Janizarie, and interpreter then newly come from India) to carrie us unto Tripoly, and to defray all charges (our diet

excepted) for sixe and twentie Dollars a man, and for halfe so much as if we went but to Acre, greatly to the displeasure of Atala the Drogaman; that would not undertake our convey under a greater summe: who found a time to [II. viii. effect his malice; yet his little paines wee rewarded with 1327.] foure Dollars. Caphar and Asse hire about the Countrey had cost us sixe Sultanies. We gave money to the Frier-servants, and that not niggardly, considering our light purses and long journey; whereof the Pater-guardian particularly enquired, lest their vow of povertie they should covetously infringe (or rather perhaps defraud his desire) by retayning what was given, to their private uses: A crime with excommunication punished: yet that lesse feared, I suppose, then detection. They use to marke the armes of Pilgrims with the names of Jesus, Maria, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, the Jerusalem Crosse, and sundry other Characters, done in such manner as hath beene declared before. The Pater-guardian would needs thrust upon us severall Certificates, which returned him as many Zecchines: he desired that we would make their povertie knowne, with the dignitie of those sanctified places: as a motive to reliefe, and more frequent Pilgrimages.

§. VI.

His returne. Observations of memorable places by the way. Of Mount Carmel, Acon, Sidon, Tyrus; of Facardin, Emer of Sidon his Greatnesse.

LEaving behind those friendly Italians that accompanied us from Cairo (being now also upon their returne) on the first of Aprill we departed from Jerusalem, in the companie of that Apothecarie (now Knight of the Sepulchre) and the Portugall before mentioned; together with an Alman and a French-man; all bound for Tripoly. Wee returned by the way which we strayed from in our comming; lesse difficult to passe; the Mountaines more pleasant and fruitfull, neere the Citie

there are many Sepulchres and places of ruines, here and
Shilo. there dispersed. On the right hand, and in sight, is Silo, of a long time a station for the Arke of the Covenant, the highest Mountaine of Jury, bearing on the top some fragments of a Citie. North of it on another, the remaynes of that Rama Sophim (with more likelihood of the truth then the other) which was the habitation of Samuel: whose bones are said to have beene translated unto Constantinople, by the Emperour Arcadius. After foure miles
Vale of Terebynth. riding wee descended into the valley of Terebinth, famous, though little, for the slaughter of Golias. A Bridge here crosseth the Torrent, neere which the ruines of an ancient Monasterie, more worthie the observing for the greatnesse of the stones, then finenesse of the workmanship. Having
Moden. rid foure miles further, they shewed us Moden, the ancient seate of the Macchabees, toward the North, and seated on the top of an aspiring hill, which yet supporteth the reliques of a Citie: whereof there something hath beene spoken already. Beyond, by the high-way side there is another Monasterie, not altogether subverted: of late inhabited by some of the Franciscans, who beset one night by the Arabs, and not able to master their terrour, quitted it the day following. About a stones cast off, there standeth a Church, now desolate, yet retayning the name
Jeremie. of the Prophet Jeremie. But whether here stood that Anathoth or no that challengeth his birth, I am ignorant. About three miles further, wee passed by a place, called Sereth, where by certaine ruines there standeth a pile like a broken Tower, engraven with Turkish Characters, upon that side which regardeth the way; erected as they say, by an Ottoman Emperour. Now having for a while descended those Mountaines that neighbour the Champaine, we came to the ruines of an ancient building, overlooking the levell: yet no lesse excelling in commodious
Good thiefes house. situation, then delicacie of prospect. They call it, The house of the Good Thiefe. Perhaps some Abbey erected in that place; or Castle here built to defend this passage. Upon the right hand there standeth a handsome Mosque,

every way open, and supported with Pillars, the roofe flat, and charged on the East end with a Cupolo, heretofore a Christian Chappell. This is ten miles from Rama, whither we came that night; and wet as we were, tooke up our lodgings on the ground in the House of Sion: nothing that day befalling, save the violence done us by certaine Spaheis, who tooke our Wine from us; and payments of head-money in sundry places, unto which we were neither chargeable nor troublesome.

Rama.

Not untill noone next day departed we from Rama: travelling through a most fruitfull Valley. The first place we passed by was Lydda, made famous by Saint Peter, called after Diospolis, that is, the Citie of Jupiter, destroyed by Cestius; here yet standeth a Christian Temple, built, as they say, by a King of England to the honour of Saint George, a Cappadocian by birth, advanced in the Warres to the dignitie of a Tribune, who after became a Souldier of Christ; and here is said to have suffered Martyrdome under Diocletian. Others say, that there never was such a man, and that the storie is no other then an allegorie. The Greekes have the custodie of this Church, who shew a Scull, which they affirme to be Saint Georges. In the time of the Christians it was the seate of a Suffragan, now hardly a Village. Eight miles from Rama stands the Castle of Augia, built like a Caine, and kept by a small Garrison. A little beyond, the Muccermen would have staid (which wee would not suffer, being then the best time of the day for travell) that they might by night have avoided the next Village, with the payments there due: which wee were hardly intreated by the procurement of Attala, who hold correspondencie with the Moores of those quarters. They would not take lesse then foure Dollars a man (when perhaps as many Medeins were but due) and that with much jangling. They sought occasion how to trouble us, beating us off our Mules, because forsooth, wee did not light to doe homage to a sort of halfe-clad Rascals; pulling the white Shash from the head of the Portugal (whereby he wel hoped to have

Lydda.

Saint Georges Temple built by a King of England.

[II. viii. 1328.]

Turkish knaverie, braverie, slaverie.

past for a Turke) his Janizarie looking on. Here detayned they us untill two of the clocke the next morning, without meate, without sleepe, couched on the wet earth, and washed with raine; yet expecting worse, and then suffered us to depart. After a while wee entred a goodly Forrest, full of tall and delightfull Trees, intermixed with fruitfull and flowrie Launes. Perhaps the earth affoordeth not the like; it cannot a more pleasant. Having passed this part of the Wood (the rest inclining to the West, and then againe extending to the North) we might discover a number of stragling Tents, some just in our way, and neere to the skirts of the Forrest. These were Spaheis belonging to the Host of Morat Bassa, then in the Confines of Persia. They will take (especially from a Christian) whatsoever they like; and kindly they use him if he passe without blowes: nor are their Commanders at all times free from their insolencies. To avoid them, we strucke out of the way, and crossed the pregnant champaine to the foote of the Mountaynes, where for that day we reposed our selves: when it grew darke, wee arose, inclining on the left hand, mingling after a while with a small Caravan of Moores; enjoyned to silence, and to ride without our Hats, lest discovered for Christians. The clouds fell downe in streames, and the pitchie night had bereft us of the conduct of our eyes, had not the Lightning affoorded a terrible light. And when the raine intermitted, the Aire appeared as if full of sparkles of fire, borne too and fro with the wind, by reason of the infinite swarms of Flies that doe shine like Glow-wormes, to a stranger a strange spectacle. In the next Wood we out-stript that Caravan, where the theevish Arabs had made sundrie fires; to which our foot-men drew neere to listen, that we might passe more securely. An houre after mid-night the skie began to cleere, when on the other side of the Wood we fell amongst certaine Tents of Spaheis; by whom we past with as little noise as we could, secured by their sounder sleepings. Not farre beyond, through a large Glade betweene two Hils, we

Goodly Forrest.

Silent riding.

Shining Flies.

leisurely descended for the space of two houres (a Torrent rushing downe on the left hand of us) when not able longer to keepe the backes of our Mules, we laid us downe in the bottome under a plump of Trees on the farre side of a Torrent. With the Sunne we arose, and found our selves at the East end, and North side of Mount Carmel.

Mount Carmel.

Mount Carmel stretcheth from East to West, and hath his uttermost Basis washt with the Sea, steepest towards the North, and of an indifferent altitude: rich in Olives and Vines when husbanded; and abounding with severall sorts of Fruits and Herbs, both medicinable and fragrant: now much over-growne with Woods and Shrubs of sweet savour: celebrated for the habitation of Elias, whose house was after his death converted into a Synagogue; where Oracles, it is said, were given by God; called by Suetonius the God Carmelus, whose words are these, intreating of Vespasian: In Judea consulting with the Oracle of the God Carmelus, the Oracle assured him, that whatsoever he under-tooke should be successfull. Where then was nothing more to be seene then an Altar. From hence proceeded the Order of the Friar Carmelites, as successors to the children of the Prophets there left by Elias; who had their beginning in the Desarts of Syria, in the yeere 1180. instituted by Almericus Bishop of Antioch, and said to have received their white habite from our Ladie, whom Albertus the Patriarke of Jerusalem transported first into Europe. There is yet to be seene the remaynes of their Monasterie, with a Temple dedicated to the blessed Virgin; under which a little Chappell or Cave, the ancient dwelling of Elias. This is inherited by an Emer of the Arabians, who after the ancient custome of that Nation doth live in Tents, even during the Winter, although possest of sundrie convenient houses; whose Signiorie stretcheth to the South, and along the Shoare. Within his Precinct stands the Castle of the Perigrines, upon a cape, almost surrounded with the Sea, now called Tortora, built by Raimond Earle of Tolosa for their better securitie, and after fortified by the Templers. Ten miles

Elias his house.

Friars Carmelites.

Tortora.

Cæsarea. South of this, stood that famous Cæsarea (more anciently called the Tower of Strato, of a King of Aradus, the Builder so named, who lived in the dayes of Alexander) in such sort re-edified by Herod, that it little declined in magnificencie from the principall Cities of Asia; now levell with the Floore, the Haven lost, and situation abandoned.

Chison, Tabor, Hermon. We passed the Torrent Chison, which floweth from the Mountaynes of Tabor and Hermon; and gliding by the North skirts of Carmel, dischargeth it selfe into the Sea. Carmel is the South bound to the ample valley of Acre; bounded on the North by those of Saron, on the West it hath the Sea, and it is inclosed on the East with the Mountaines of Galile. In length about fourteene miles, in bredth about halfe as much; the neerer the Sea the more barren. In it there arise two rivolets of living, but pestilent waters, drilling from severall marishes; the first is the River of *Belus.* Belus, called by Plinie Pagida and Palus, and Badas by Simonides; whose sand affoordeth matter for Glasse, becomming fusable with the heate of the Fornace. Strabo [II. viii. 1329.] reports the like of divers places thereabout. And Josephus speaking of this, declareth, that adjoyning thereunto, there *Glasse-sand.* is a pit an hundred cubits in circuite, covered with Sand like Grasse; and when borne away (for there-with they accustomed to Ballace their ships) it forth-with filled againe, borne thither by winds from places adjacent: And moreover, whatsoever Minerall was contained therein, converted into Glasse; and Glasse there laid, againe into Sand. *Memnons Sepulcher.* Neere to this pit stood the Sepulcher of Memnon, the Sonne of Tythonus.

Having rid seven or eight miles along the skirts of the hils, we crossed the Valley, and anon that other Rivolet a little above, where it falleth into the Road of Acre; where to our comfort, we espyed the Ship that brought us to *Ship of London.* Alexandria, with another of London, called the Elizabeth Consort: when entring the Towne, we were kindly entertained by our Country-men. Here stayed we, the rest of our company proceeded unto Tripoly; this being the

mid-way betweene it and Jerusalem. But our Muccerman would not rest satisfied with halfe of his hire, according to our compact, whom we were glad to be rid of for twentie Dollers a man: our Oaths being bootlesse against a True Beleever, for so do they tearme themselves. *Turkish Mussulman.*

This Citie was called Ace at the first, a refuge for the Persians in their Ægyptian warres: Then Ptolomais of Ptolomy King of Ægypt: Colonia Claudii, of Claudius Cæsar, who heere planted a Colony: Afterward Acon, and now Acre. Seated on a levell, in forme of a Triangular Shield: on two sides washt with the Sea; the third regarding the Champaine. The carkasse shewes that the body hath beene strong, double immured, fortified with Bulwarkes and Towers; to each wall a ditch, lined with stone, and under those divers secret Posternes. You would thinke by the ruines, that the Citie rather consisted wholly of divers conjoyning Castles, then any way mixed with private dwellings; which witnesse a notable defence, and an unequall assault, or that the rage of the Conquerors extended beyond Conquest: the huge Wals and Arches turned topsie-turvey, and lying like Rockes upon the foundation. On the South side lyes the Haven, no better then a Bay; open to the West, North-west, and South-west winds, the bottome stony, and ill for their Cables. There are the ruines of a Palace, which yet doth acknowledge King Richard for the founder, confirmed likewise by the Passant Lion. An hundred yeares after, it remained with the Christians, and was the last receptacle in the Holy Land, for the Knights Hospitalers of Saint Johns of Jerusalem, called thereupon Saint John de Acre; to whom a goodly Temple neere the South side of the Citie was consecrated, which now over-toppeth the rest of the ruines. In a Vault thereof a great masse of Treasure was hid by the Knights of the Order, which made knowne from time to time unto their Successors, was fetcht from hence about forty yeares since by the Gallies of Malta, the Inhabitants abandoning the Towne upon their landing. In the yeare 1291. besieged by an hundred

Acon. See of it King Richard and his Nephew Earle Richards Acts, sup. c. 4.

and fiftie thousand Mahometans, Acre received an utter subversion, which the Mamalucks after in some sort repaired, and lost it at last with their name and Empire, unto the Turkish Selimus. It is now under the Sanziack of Saphet, and usurped with the rest of that Province, by the Emer of Sidon. In the Towne there are not above two or three hundred Inhabitants, who dwell heere and there in the patcht-up ruines; onely a new Mosque they have, and a strong square Cane (built, where once was the Arsenall for Gallies) in which the Francke Merchants securely dispose of themselves and their Commodities: who for the most part bring hither ready Monies, (Dutch Dollers being, as generally throughout Jury and Phœnicia, equivalent with Royals of eight, else-where lesse by ten Aspers) fraughting their ships with Cottons that grow abundantly in the Countrey adjoyning. Here have they a Cadee, the principall Officer. The English are much respected by the principall Moores: insomuch, as I have seene the striker stricken by his fellow, a rare example amongst the Mahometans, which I rather attribut to their policie then humanitie, lest by their quitting of the place they should be deprived of their profit, they being the onely men that doe maintaine that trading. Here wrastle they in Breeches of oyled Leather, close to their thighs, their bodies naked and anointed according to the ancient use, who rather fall by consent, then by slight or violence. The Inhabitants doe nightly house their Goats and Sheepe for feare of Jaccals (in my opinion no other then Foxes) whereof an infinite number doe lurke in the obscure Vaults, and reedy Marishes adjoyning to the Brooke; the Brooke it selfe abounding with Tortesses.

Respects of English.

Wrestling.

Jaccals.

Foure daies we stayed at Acre; in which time we vainely expected the leisure of the Merchants to have accompanied us to Nazareth, distant from hence about fifteene miles: who goe by one way and returne by another, for feare of the Arabs. Now a small Village of Galily, seated in a little Vale betweene two hils, where are the remaines of a goodly Temple (once the Chaire of an

Arch-bishop) erected over the house of the blessed Virgine: whereof there is yet one roome to be seene, partly hewne out of the living Rocke; amongst those Christians of great veneration. But the Romanists relate, that the roome wherein she was borne, was borne by the Angels (at such time as the Countrey was universally possessed by the Infidels) over Seas and shores to a Citie of Illyria. But when those people grew niggardly in their Offerings, it was rapt from thence, and set in the Woods of Picenum; within the possessions of a Noble Lady, named Lauretta, frequented by infinite numbers of Pilgrimes. When many miscarrying by the ambushment of Theeves, who lurking in the Woods adjoyning, the blessed Virgine commanded the Angels to remoove it unto a certaine Mountaine belonging unto two Brethren, where shee got much riches, and sumptuous apparell, by the benevolence of her Votaries, and her charitable miracles. By which meanes the two Brethren grew also rich, and withall, dissentions about the devision of their purchases. Whereupon it was once more transported by those winged Porters, and set in the place where as now it standeth, neere to the Adriaticke Sea, and not farre from Ancona, yet retaining the name of Lauretta. In which is her Image (made as they say, by Saint Luke) of the hue (though a Jew) of a Blackamore.* This Conclave hath a cover of Marble, yet not touched by the same, included within a magnificent Temple, adorned with Armors and Trophies; and beset with Statues and Tables, representing her miraculous cures and protections: And well hath she beene paid for her labour: her Territories large, her Jewels inestimable; her apparell much more then Princely, both in cost and varietie; her Coffers full: of whom, though the Pope be a yearely borrower, yet are they doubly replenished by the first, and latter Spring-tides of devotion. Now at Nazareth, no Christian is suffered to dwell by the Moores that inhabit it. Most of the old Citie seemeth to have stood upon the hill that adjoyneth, which beares the decayes of divers other Churches.

Blessed Virgins house.

Lady of Lauretta.

[II. viii. 1330.]

**It is like, made by some Abissine, for they picture Christ blacke, like themselves.*

Nazareth gave the name of Nazaretans unto Christians, called here corruptly Nostranes at this present.

Upon the eight of Aprill we went aboord the Trinitie, and hoised Sailes for Sidon: the winds favourable, and the Seas composed; but anon they began to wrangle, and wee to suffer. Spouts of water were seene to fall against the Promontorie of Carmel, the tempest increased with the night; and did what it could to make a night of the day that ensued. But the distemperature and horror is more then the danger, where Mariners be English, who are the absolutest under heaven in their profession; and are by forreiners compared unto Fishes. About foure of the clocke we came before Sidon, the Ship not able to attaine to the Harborage of the Rocke, which is environed by the Sea, and the onely protection of that rode for ships of good burthen: but some of us were so sicke, that we desired to be set ashoare in the Skiffe, (a long mile distant) which was performed, but not without perill.

Spouts of water.

Sidon.

Phœnicia is a Province of Syria, interposing the Sea and Galily stretching North and South from the River of Valanus, to the Castle of the Peregrines, which is on the farre side of Mount Carmel. The chiefe Sea-bordering Cities of Phœnicia, are Tripolis, Biblis, Beritus, Sidon, Tyrus, and Ptolomais, now called Acre. Tripolis is so called, because it was joyntly built by Tyras, Sidon and Aradus. It is seated under Libanus, and commanded by a well-furnished Cittadell, manned with two hundred Janizaries. Before it, there is an ill-neighbouring banke of Sand, which groweth daily both in greatnesse and neerenesse; by which they have a Prophesie, that it shall in processe of time be devoured. The Towne and Territories are governed by a Bassa. Two miles off, and West from it, is the haven, made by a round piece of Land adjoyning to the maine by an Isthmos; the mouth thereof regarding the North. On each side a Bulwarke kept by an hundred Janizaries, and planted with Ordnance to defend the entrance. Hither of late the Grand Signior hath removed the Scale, which was before at Alexandretta,

Tripolis.

Alexandretta, or Scanderoone.

a Towne in the furthest extents of the Streights, beyond the River Orontes, most contagiously seated by reason of the Marishes and loftie bordering Mountaines (towards the North, being part of Taurus) which deprive it of the rarifying Sunne, for no small part of the day; insomuch, that not many forreiners escape that there linger any season, who goe not a shoare before the Sunne bee high mounted, and returne againe ere too low declining: Notwithstanding, the Merchants doe offer great summes of Money to have it restored unto that place, as more convenient for their Traffick with Aleppo, (the principall Mart of that part of Asia for Silkes, and sundry other Commodities) from thence but three daies journey, being eight from Tripoly: which the Turke will not as yet assent to, for that divers ships have beene taken out of that Rode by Pirats, there being no Forts for protection, nor no fit place to erect them on. A thing usuall it is betweene Tripoly and Aleppo, as betweene Aleppo and Babylon, to make tame Doves the speedy transporters of their Letters; which they wrap about their Legges like Jesses, trained thereunto at such time as they have young ones, by bearing them from them in open Cages. A Fowle of a notable memory. Sidon is at this day contracted within narrow limits, and onely shewes the foundations of her greatnesse; lying Eastward of this that standeth, and over-shadowed with Olives. There is nothing left of Antiquitie, but the supposed Sepulcher of the Patriarke Zebulon, included within a little Chappell amongst these ruines, and held (especially by the Jewes) in great veneration. The Towne now being, is not worth our Description; the Walls neither faire nor of force; the Haven decayed, when at best but serving for Gallies. At the end of the Peir, stands a paltry Blocke-house, furnished with sutable Artillery. The Mosque, the Bannia, and Cane for Merchants, the onely buildings of note.

Zebulons Sepulcher.

The Inhabitants are of sundry Nations and Religions, governed by a succession of Princes, whom they call Emers: descended, as they say, from the Druses, the

Emers of Sidon.

remainder of those French men which were brought into these parts by Godfrey of Bullen, who driven into the Mountaines above, and defending themselves by the advantage of the place, could never be utterly destroyed by the Saracens. At length the affoorded them peace, and [II. viii. 1331.] libertie of Religion; conditionally that they wore the white Turbant, and paid such duties as the naturall subject. But in tract of time they fell from the knowledge of Christ: nor throughly embracing the other, are indeede of neither. As for this Emer, he was never knowne to pray, nor ever seene in a Mosque. His name is Faccardine, small of stature, but great in courage and atchievements: about the age of forty, subtile as a Foxe, and not a little inclining to the Tyrant. He never commenceth battell, nor executeth any notable designe, without the consent of his * mother. To his Towne hee hath added a kingly Segnioury, what by his sword, and what by his Stratagems. When Morat Bassa (now principall Vizier) came first to his governement of Damasco, he made him his, by his free entertainment and bounty: which hath converted to his no small advantage, of whom he made use in his contention with Frecke the Emer of Balbec; by his authority strangled. After that he pickt a quarrel with Joseph Emer of Tripoly, and dispossest him of *Barut, with the territories belonging thereunto, together with Gazer, about twelve miles beyond it; a place by situation invincible. This Joseph hated of his people for his excessive tyranny, got to bee made Seidar of Damasco (which is Generall of the Souldiery) and by that power intended a revenge. But in the meane season Faccardine sackt Tripoly it selfe, and forced the Emer to flie in a Venecian shippe unto Cyprus: where againe he imbarqued in a French-man, and landed at the Castle of the Paregrines; and there by Achmet the Arabian (formerly mentioned) entertained, hee repayred to Damasco, entred on his charge, converting his whole strength upon the Sidonian, now in the field, and joyned with Ali Bassa his confederate. In a plaine some eight miles short of

*She is supposed skilfull in blacke Arts.

*Olim Berytus.

Damasco, the armies met; the Damascens are foiled, and pursued to the gates of the Citie: The Conquerors lodge in the suburbs, who are removed by the force of an hundred and fiftie thousand Sultanie. This battel was fought about the midst of November in the yere of our Lord 1606. Three months after a Peace is concluded amongst them. But the sommer following, Morat the Great Vizier having overthrowne Ali Bassa of Aleppo, that valiant rebell (who in three maine battels withstood his whole forces; having set up an order of Sedgmen in opposition of the Janizaries) they sought by manifold complaints to incense him against the Emer of Sidon, as confederate with the traytor; which they urged with gifts, received and lost: for the old Bassa mindfull of the friendly offices done him by the Emer (corrupted also, as is thought, with great summes of money) not only not molesteth, but declareth him a good subject. Having till of late held good correspondency with the City and Garrison of Damasco, they had made him Sanziacke of Saphet. Now, when according to the governement of Turkie, which once in 2 or 3 yeeres doth use to remove the Governours of Cities and Provinces; and that another was sent by the Damascens to succeede him, he refused to resigne it; notwithstanding tendring to the Teftadar or Treasurer the revenue of that Sanziackry; this was the first occasion of their quarrell. Hee got from the improvident Peasants the Castle of Elkiffe, which he hath strongly fortified, and made the receptacle of Treasure: And the Castle of Banies from the Shecke that ought it, by a wile (which standeth on a hill by it selfe, and is indeede by nature invincible.) For the Emer in peaceable manner, pitching his Tents not farre from the wall, was kindely visited and entertained by the Sheck: when desirous to see it, he conducted him up, having not above twenty or thirty in his company, but those privately armed; leaving order that the rest should ascend by twoes and by threes, and so surprised it without bloud-shed, planting the inhabitants in other places within his Dominions, and

strengthning this with a Garrison. Out of the Rock whereon it is mounted ariseth one of the two heads of Jordan. His Signiory stretcheth from the River of Canis (which they call Celp) to the foote of mount Carmel. In which the places of principall note, are Gazir, Barut, Sidon, Tyrus, Acre, Saffet (which was Tyberias) Diar, Camer, Elkiffe, Banias, the two heads of Jordan, the lake Semochonthis (now called Houle) and sea of Tyberias, with the hot bath adjoyning; Nazareth, Cana, and mount Tabor. Saffet is his principall City, in which there abide a number of Jewes, who affect the place, in that Jacob had his being thereabout before his going downe into Ægypt.

His intelligence with the Florentine.

The Grand Signior doth often threaten his subversion, which he puts off with a jest, that hee knowes he will not this yeare trouble him, whose displeasure is not so much provoked by his incroching, as by the revealed intelligence which he holds with the Florentine; whom he suffers to harbour within his Haven of Tyrus, (yet excusing it as a place lying waste, and not to be defended) to come ashoare for fresh-water, buyes of him underhand his prizes, and furnisheth him with necessaries. But designes of a higher nature have been treated of betweene them, as is well knowne to certaine Merchants imployed in that businesse. And I am verily perswaded, that if the occasion were laid hold of, and freely pursued by the Christians, it would terribly shake, if not utterly confound the Ottoman Empire. It is said for a certainty that the Turke will turne his whole forces upon him the next Sommer: And therefore more willingly condescends to a Peace with the Persian. But the Emer is not much terrified with the rumor (although he seekes to divert the tempest by continuance of gifts, the favour of his friends, and professed integritie:) for he not a little presumeth of invincible forts, well stored for a long warre; and advantage of the mountaines: having besides forty thousand expert souldiers in continuall pay; part of them Moores, and part of them Christians: and if the worst should fall out, hath

His strength.

the sea to friend, and the Florentine. And in such an exigent intendeth, as is thought, to make for Christendome, and there to purchase some Signorie; for the opinion is that he hath a masse of Treasure, gathered by wiles and extortions, as well from the Subject, as from the Forreiner. Hee hath coyned of late a number of counterfeit Dutch Dollers, which he thrusteth away in payments, and offers in exchange to the Merchant: so that no new Dutch Dollers, though never so good, will now goe currant in Sidon. He hath the fifth part of the increase of all things. The Christians and Jewes doe pay for their heads two Dollers apiece yearely, and head money he hath for all the Cattell within his Dominions. A severe Justicer, re-edifies ruinous, and replants depopulated places; too strong for his Neighbours, and able to maintayne a defensive warre with the Turke: but that it is to be suspected that his people would fall from him in regard of his tyrannie. Now as for the Merchants, (who are for the most part English) they are entertayned with all courtesie and freedome; they may travell without danger with their Purses in their hands, paying for custome by three in the hundred. Yet these are but Traines to allure them, and disguise his voracitie; for if a Factor dye, as if the Owner, and hee his Heire, hee will seize on the goods belonging to his Principals, and seeme to doe them a favour in admitting of a Redemption under the value, so that they doe but labour for his Harvest, and reape for his Garners. For such, and such-like eatings they generally intend to forsake his Countrey. The Merchandizes appropriate to this place are Cottons, and Silkes, which here are made in the Mulbery Groves, in indifferent quantitie. Other Commodities (which are many, and not course) they fetch from Damasco: two dayes journey from hence; interposed with the Snow-topt Mountaynes of Antilibanus, so exceeding cold, that a Moore at our being here, returning from thence in the company of an English Merchant, perished by the way: the heate then excessive great in the Valleys on both sides.

[II. viii. 1332.]

Custome.

Justice.

Injustice.

Antilibanus very cold.

Damascus. See here Master Biddulph in the next Chapter.

Damascus is seated in a Plaine environed with Hils, and watered with the River Chrysoras: descending with a great murmure from the Mountaynes; but after awhile having entred the plaine becommeth more gentle; serving the Citie so abundantly, that few houses are without their Fountaines, and by little Rivolets let into their Orchards: then which the habitable earth affoordeth not more delicate for excellencie of fruits, and their varieties: yet subject to both the extreames of weather; rich in Trades, and celebrated for excellent Artizans. We were desirous to have seene it, but were advised not adventure, because of the lawlesse Spaheis there then residing in great numbers. The people about Sidon are greatly given to the nourishing of Cattel, (having notwithstanding not many) insomuch as Beefe and Veale are seldome here to be had, but when by chance they doe breake their legges or otherwise miscarrie. They fother them in the Winter (for they cut no grasse) with straw, and the leaves of Trees, whereof many doe flourish continually.

Our ship returning to Alexandria, and carrying with her two of our fellow Pilgrimes; on the five and twentieth of Aprill we returned also towards Acre by Land in the company of divers English Merchants: the Champaine betweene the Sea and the Mountaynes fruitfull though narrow; and crossed with many little Rivolets. After five miles riding wee came to a small solitarie Mosque not far from the Sea; erected, as they say, over the Widdowes house that entertayned Elias; close by it are

Sarepta.

the foundations of Sarepta. It was the Seate of a Bishop, and subject unto Tyrus. Right against it, and high mounted on the Mountayne, there is a handsome new

Sarapanta.

Towne now called Sarapanta. Beyond on the left hand of the way are a number of Caves cut out of the Rocke, the Habitations, as I suppose, of men in the Golden Age, and before the foundation of Cities. These are mentioned in the Booke of Josua, and called Mearah, (which is the Caves of the Sidonians, and afterward called the Caves of Tyrus,) a place then inexpugnable, and maintayned by the

Christians, untill in the yeare 1167. it was by the corrupted Souldiers delivered to the Saracens.

Wee crossed a little Valley devided by the River Elutherus (now called Casmeir) which derives his originall from Lybanus, and glideth along with a speedie course through a strangely intricate Channell: guiltie of the death of the Emperour Fredericke Barbarossa, who falling from his Horse as hee pursued the Infidels, and oppressed with the weight of his Armour was drowned therein, and buried at Tyrus. On the other-side of the Valley stands an ancient Cane, whose Port doth beare the pourtrayture of a Chalice. Five miles beyond wee came to a Village seated on a little Hill in the midst of a Plaine, the same by all likelihood that was formerly called Palatyrus, or old Tyrus. Forget I must not the custome observed by the Inhabitants hereabout, who retayne the old Worlds Hospitalitie. Be the Passenger Christian or whatsoever, they will house him, prepare him extraordinary fare, and looke to his Mule, without taking of one Asper. But the precise Mahometans will neither eate nor drinke with a Christian: onely minister to his wants; and when he hath done, breake the earthen Dishes wherein he hath fed, as defiled. Now through this Towne there passes a ruinous Aquaduct, extending a great way towards the South, and through the Champaine, seeming often to climbe above his beginning, and from hence proceedeth directly West unto Tyrus, which standeth about two miles and a halfe below it.

Palætyrus.

Rare Hospitalitie.

Tyrus was said to be built by Tyras, the seventh Sonne of Japhet; re-edified by Phœnix, made a Colony of the Sidonians, and after the Metropolis of Phœnicia. The Citie was consecrated to Hercules, whose Priest was Sicheus. The Citizens famous for sundry excellencies, and forreine Plantations.

Tyrus.

[II. viii. 1333.]

But in the yeare 1289. it was subdued by the Ægyptian Mahometans, and from them by the Ottoman Selymus. But this once famous Tyrus, is now no other then a heape of Ruines; yet have they a reverent respect, and doe

instruct the pensive beholder with their exemplarie frailtie. It hath two Harbours, that on the North-side the fairest, and best throughout all the Levant, (which the Cursours enter at their pleasure) the other choaked with the decayes of the Citie. The Emer of Sidon hath given it with the adjacent Territories, to his Brother for a possession, comprehending sixe miles of the Continent in length; two in breadth, and in some places three. A levell naturally fertile, but now neglected: watered with pleasant Springs; heretofore abounding with Sugar-canes, and all varietie of fruit Trees.

Salomons Cisternes. We passed by certaine Cisternes, some mile and better distant from the Citie: which are called Salomons by the Christians of this Countrey. I know not why, unlesse these were they which he mentions in the Canticles. Square they are and large; replenished with living waters, in times past conveyed by the Aquaduct into the aforesaid Orchards: but now uselesse and ruined, they shed their waters into the Valley below, making it plashie in sundry places: where the Ayre doth suffer with the continuall croking of Frogs. Within night, wee came unto certayne Tents that were pitched in those Marishes, belonging to the Emers Brothers Servants, who there pastured their Horses. Where by a Moletto the Master of his Horse (whose Sister he had marryed) we were courteously entertayned. The next morning after two or three houres riding, we *Saron.* ascended the Mountaynes of Saron, high and woodie; which stretch with intermitted Vallies, unto the Sea of Galilie, and here have their white Cliffes washt with the surges; called Capo Bianco by the Mariner: frequented (though forsaken by men) with Leopards, Bores, Jaccals, and such like savage Inhabitants. This passage is both dangerous and difficult, neighboured by the precipitating Cliffe, and made by the labour of man: yet recompensing the trouble with fragrant Savours, Bayes, Rosemary, Marjoram, Hysope, and the like there growing in abundance. They say, that of late a Thiefe pursued on all sides, and desperate of his safetie, (for rarely are offences here

pardoned) leapt from the top into the Sea, and swum unto Tyrus, which is seven miles distant; who for the strangenesse of the fact was forgiven by the Emer. A little beyond we passed by a ruinous Fort, called Scandarone, of Alexander the builder; heere built to defend this passage: much of the foundation over-growne with Oziers and Weeds, being nourished by a Spring that falleth from thence into the Sea. A Moore not long since was heere assailed by a Leopard, that sculkt in the aforesaid Thicket; and jumping upon him, overthrew him from his Asse: but the beast having wet his feet, and mist of his hold, retyred as ashamed without further violence: within a day or two after he drew company together to have hunted him, but found him dead of a wound received of a Bore. The higher Mountaines now comming short of the Sea, doe leave a narrow levell betweene. Upon the left hand on a high round Hill, wee saw two solitarie Pillars, to which some of us rid, in hope to have seene something of Antiquitie; where we found divers others laid along, with the halfe buried foundation of an ample building. A mile beyond we came to a Fort maintayned by a small Garrison of Moores, to prohibit that passage if need should require, and to secure the Traveller from Theeves; a place heretofore unpassable by reason of their out-rages. The Souldiers acquainted with our Merchants, freely entertayned us, and made us good cheere according to their manner of Diet: requited with a Present of a little Tobacco, by them greedily affected. They also remitted our Caphar, using to take foure Dollers apiece of the stranger Christians. From hence ascending the more eminent part of the Rockie and naked Mountaynes, which heere againe thrust into the Sea, (called in times past, the Tyrian Ladder) by a long and steepe descent we descended into the Valley of Acre. Divers little hils being here and there dispersed, crowned with Ruines (the Coverts for Theeves) and many Villages on the skirts of the bordering Mountaynes. Ere yet night, we re-entred Acre.

Scandarone.

A Leopard.

Tobacco.

Now is our Author shaping his course for England; and we have a further Asian Discoverie to make. Thankfull to him for his paines (which have eased us of further search in the many many Holy Land Pilgrimes, which I have in divers Languages) wee will seeke a new Pilgrime to be our Guide, both in Syria, and in the parts adjoyning. And loe, Jerusalem so pleaseth us, that once againe we will travell thither with Master Biddulph, following him from Constantinople to Aleppo, and thence by Land to Jerusalem, the Navill and Centre of many our Pilgrimes and Pilgrimages.

[II. viii. 1334.]

Chap. IX.

Part of a Letter of Master William Biddulph from Aleppo.

*The former part of this Letter is omitted: the later also pruned in some things to prevent tedious repetitions, of those things which you have had in others.

Fame of Q. Elizabeth.

THe *dolefull and lamentable beginning of your last Letter made mee exceeding sorrowfull; for therein you acquainted me with the death of blessed Queene Elizabeth, of late and famous memory; at the hearing whereof, not onely I and our English Nation mourned, but many other Christians who were never in Christendome, but borne and brought up in Heathen Countries, wept to heare of her death, and said, she was the most famous Queene that ever they heard or read of since the World beganne. But the ending of your Letter comforted us againe, and mitigated our mourning. And (as my dutie was) I appointed one day to bee kept holy, which wee spent in Prayer, and Preaching, and Thanksgiving unto God for the happie advancement of so Noble, Wise, Learned, and Religious a King over us. And in signe of joy, we feasted and triumphed in such sort, that the very Heathen people were partakers with us of our joy. After my departure from Constantinople, the first place wee touched at, was the two Castles at the Hellespont, about two hundred and twentie miles distant from Constantinople, where the order is, for

all ships to stay three dayes, to the end that if any slaves be run away from their Masters, or Theeves have stolne away any thing, they may thither be pursued in three dayes, before the ships passe: And then at three dayes end, the ship must be searched for goods, contra bando, and the Grand Signiors Passe shewed for all the Passengers in the ship; and then (their usuall duties payed) they may set saile and away. Yet if the Master of the ship pay extraordinarily, they may more speedily bee dispatched: and many give very liberally (when they have a good winde) rather than they will be stayed many houres. From thence we came to Chios, where we stayed a few dayes. From Chios wee set sayle with a very good wind, which brought us amongst the fiftie three Iles in the Arches, called Cyclades, or Sporades: And then, by a contrary wind, wee were driven to Samos, which is an Ile before Ionia, over against Ephesus, where we anchored untill wee had a good wind, and then sayled by Andros, an Ile, one of the Cyclades, and had a very good wind untill we came to Rhodos, commonly called Rhodes, which is an Ile in the Carpathian Sea, neere Caria, where we were becalmed. It is called the Carpathian Sea of Carpathus, an Ile in the middest betwixt Rhodes and Creet. From Rhodes we came to Cyprus, a famous and fruitfull Iland in the Sea Carpathium, betweene Cilicia and Syria, which was once conquered by Richard the First, King of England. In this Ile Venus was greatly honoured. There is still a Citie therein called Paphia, built by Paphus, who dedicated it to Venus. But the chiefest Cities in Cyprus are Famogusta and Nicosia. There is great store of Cotton-wooll growing in this Iland, and exceeding good Wine made here, and the best Dimetey, with other good Commodities. From hence a French Gentleman (who came in our ship from Constantinople,) imbarked himselfe for Joppa, with a purpose to goe to Jerusalem. Joppa is not two dayes sayling from Cyprus with a good wind: and Joppa is but thirtie miles from Jerusalem by Land. Cyprus was under the govern-

That is, goods forbidden.

Rhode.

Cyprus.

Joppa.

ment of the Signiorie of Venice; but now it is inhabited by Greekes, and governed by Turkes.

Tripoly in Syria. But our ship from Cyprus went to Tripoly in Syria, a Citie on the manye Land of Syria, neere unto Mount Lybanus, which is a Mountayne of three dayes journey in length, reaching from Tripoly neere to Damascus. Whilest our ship stayed in the Roade at Tripoly, I and *Lybanus.* some others road up to Mount Lybanus, to see the Cedar Trees there, and lodged the first night at the Bishops house of Eden, who used us very kindly. It is but a little Village, and called by the Turkes, Anchora, but most usually by the Christians there dwelling, it is called *Eden not the Garden.* Eden, not the Garden of Eden, (which place is unknowne unto this day) but because it is a pleasant place, resembling in some sort the Garden of Eden, (as the simple Inhabitants thereof suppose) therefore it is called Eden. This Bishop was borne in the same Parish, but brought up at Rome: his name was Franciscus Amyra, by whom I understood, that the Pope of Rome many yeeres since, sent unto the Christians inhabiting Mount Lybanus, to perswade them to embrace the Romish Religion, and yeeld themselves to the Church of Rome, making large promises unto them if they would so doe: whereof they deliberated long, but in the end yeelded, upon condition they might have libertie to use their owne Lyturgie, and Ceremonies, and Lents (for they strictly observe foure Lents in the yeere) and other Customes. Ever since which time, the Pope hath and doth maintayne some of their Children at Rome. These Christians which dwell upon Mount Lybanus, are called Maronites, they are very simple and ignorant people, yet civill, kinde, and courteous to Strangers. There are also many Turkes dwelling on the same Mountayne, and an Emeer or great Lord, called Emeer Useph, who governeth all the rest, both Christians and Turkes, beeing himselfe a Mahometan, yet one who holdeth the government of Mount Lybanus, in despight of the Great Turke, and hath done a long time.

[II. viii. 1335.] From Eden we rode ten miles further up the Moun-

tayne, to see certayne Cedar Trees, where we saw foure and twentie tall Cedar Trees growing together, as bigge as the greatest Oakes, with divers rowes of branches one over another, stretching straight out, as though they were kept by Art. Although we read of great store of Cedars which have growne on Mount Lybanus, yet now there are very few, for we saw none but these foure and twentie, neither heard of any other but in one place more. At these Cedars many Nostranes met us, and led us to their Villages. From these Cedars wee returned toward Tripoly, another way, descending by the side of the Mount towards a Village of the Maroniticall Christians, called Hatcheeth, where (as we were descending downe the side of the Mountaine) all the men, women and children, came out of their Houses to behold us: And when we were yet farre off riding towards them, they gave a joyfull shout altogether joyntly, to expresse their joy for our comming. And when we came neere, their women with Chaffing-dishes of coles burnt Incense in our way, and their Casseeses, that is, their Church-men (with blue Shashes about their heads) made crosses with their fingers towards us (as their manner is in signe of welcome) and blessed us, giving God thankes that he had brought Christian Frankes,* of such far Countries as they understood we were of, to come to visit them.

Cedars were plentiful in Salomons time, but now very rare.

So soone as we were dismounted from our Horses, the chiefe Sheh, with all the rest of their ancientest men, came and brought us to the chiefe house of the Parish, called the Towne-house or Church-house, and there spread Carpets and Table-clothes on the ground (as their manner is) and made us all sit downe; and every one that was able, brought Flaskets of such good cheere as they had, to welcome us, which was many Bottles or Ingesters of exceeding good Wine, with Olives, Sallets, Egges, and such like things, as on the sudden they had readie, and set them before us; and both by the cheerefulnesse of their countenances, gestures of their bodies, and presents of such present things as they had, expressed their gladnesse

**The Westerne Christians are so called thorow all the East, ever since the Hierosolymitan Expeditions by Godfrey Bullon.*

Sheh, signifieth an ancient man.

for our comming; and would also have prepared Hens, Kids, and other good cheere, but we would not suffer them. This was about eleven or twelve of the clocke. They would have had us continue with them all night, and with great importunitie craved it; but we understanding that the Patriarch was but three miles off, at a Village called Sharry, we went to salute him, who hearing of our comming (albeit he were at a Feast amongst all his Neighbours) came to meete us, and saluted us, and brought us all in amongst his Neighbours into a Roome foure square, and round about beset with Carpets and Table-clothes on the ground, and such cheere as the season of the yeere did affoord, set thereon, and made us all sit down, and conferred with us of our Country, and many other matters, saving matters of Religion, for the poore man had no Latine, and little Learning in any other Language; only he had the Syracke, (which was his naturall Language) with the Turkish and Arabian Tongue. After wee had spent one houre with him, we left him with his Neighbours at Sharry, where we found him, for he could not conveniently come from them: for their manner is, when they feast, to sit from mid-day untill mid-night, and sometimes all night, never altogether rising from their good cheere, but now and then one by Intercourses, as occasion requireth, returning againe speedily. Yet hee sent with us three men to bring us to his owne house, neere unto a Village (foure miles distant from Sharry) called Boloza, but vulgarly Blouza, from whence we descended downe the side of another part of the Mountayne, and in the middle of the descending of this Mountayne was the Patriarkes house, called Kanobeen Kadischa Mir-iam, in the Syriacke Tongue, but in Latine, Cœnobium Sanctæ Mariæ; that is, The Monasterie of Saint Marie. Over against the Patriarkes house is an high steepie Mountayne, from whence the water runneth downe into a deepe Valley betwixt the Patriarkes House and the Hill, and in the fall, the water maketh an exceeding great noyse, like unto

that Catadupa in Æthiopia, where the fall of Nilus maketh such a noyse, that the people are made deafe therewith that dwell neere it. This place is some-what like unto it in fall, but not in effect: for this water beeing not so great as Nilus, maketh not the like noyse, neither worketh the like effect. There is also an extraordinarie Eccho thereabout.

One side of the Patriarkes house is a naturall Rocke, the other of hewen stones and squared Timber: a very strong House, but not very large, nor specious to behold. So are also many of their Houses, in most of their Villages, built against a Rocke, as a Wall unto one side of it, especially Emeer Useph his House, the greatest part thereof being hewed out of the lively Rocke, and the passage or descending unto it so narrow and dangerous, that it is counted invincible, which maketh him to hold out against the Turke, and to domineere in this Mountayne, will he, nill he.

That is, Lord Joseph.

It is a most intricate Mountayne with Hils and Valleyes, Woods and Rivers, and fruitfull Pastures, Olives, Vines, and Fig-trees, Goates, Sheepe, and other Cattle. It is also exceeding high having Snow on the top all the yeere long.

At this Monastery of Saint Marie (which is the Patriarkes House) wee lodged all night, and both on Saturday at Evening Prayer, and on Sunday at Morning Prayer, we both heard and saw the manner of their Service in the Syriacke Tongue, both read and sung very reverently, With Confessions, Prayers, Thankesgivings, the Psalmes of David sung, and Chapters both out of the Old Testament, and the new distinctly read. It rejoyced me greatly to see their Order: and I observed in these ancient Christians called Nazarites, the Antiquitie of using set formes of Prayers in Churches, and also the necessitie thereof, that the people might have something to say Amen unto, beeing read in their Mother Tongue, that they may learne to pray privately, by those Prayers which they daily heare read publikely. This is too much neglected in England, God grant reformation thereof.

[II. viii. 1336.]

Set formes of Prayers.

But foure Parishes in all the World which speake Syriack.

There is no place in all the World, but foure Parishes or Villages on this Mountaine, where they speake the Syriacke Tongue naturally at this day. And these are these foure Villages, which I named before; at all which places wee had kind entertainment, viz. First, Eden, called by the Turkes, Anchora. Secondly, Hatcheeth. Thirdly, Sharry. Fourthly, Boloza, called vulgarly Blouza. And these people are called Nostranes, quasi Nazaritans, as it were Nazarites, and none but they. But more generally they are called Maronites, but this name is common to them with others.

Mount Lybanus.

There are dwelling on one side of Mount Lybanus, towards the foot of the Mountayne (and in some other places in that Countrey) a kind of Christians, called Drusies, who came into the Countrey with King Baldwine, and Godfrey of Bullen, when they conquered that Countrey, whose Predecessors or Ancestors are thought to have beene Frenchmen) and afterwards when the Saracens recovred it againe, these men (whom they now call

Drusies.

Drusies) fled into the Mountaynes to save themselves; and there dwelling long, in the end their Posteritie forgat all Christianitie, yet used still Baptisme, & retained still the names of Christians, whom the Turcomen call Rafties, that is, Infidels, because they eate Swines flesh, which is forbidden by the Turkes Law.

Turcomany.

These Turcomanny are kind, and simple people, dwelling alwayes in the fields, following their flockes, borne and brought up, living and dying in Tents, and when their flockes and heards remoove, then all their men, women and children remove with their houshold-stuffe, and houses too, which are but Tents made to remoove, after the manner of the ancient Israelites: & where they find good pasture, there they pitch their Tents; the men following their flocks of sheepe and heards of Cattle, the women keepe their Tents, and spend their time in spinning, or carding, or knitting, or some houshold huswiferie, not spending their time in gossipping and gadding abroad from place to place, and from house to

house, from Ale-house to Wine-taverne, as many idle Huswives in England doe. Yet sometimes are these simple soules abused by Janizaries, who in travelling by them, take from them perforce victuals for themselves and for their horses, and give them nothing but sore stripes, if they but murmure against them. But when Christian Merchants passe by them, they will (of their owne accord) kindly present them.

Janizaries, are Souldiers.

We returned from Mount Lybanus to Tripoly, by such an intricate way, that if we had not had a Guide with us, wee should have lost our selves. Neere unto Tripoly there is a Plaine at least one mile in length, full of Olive-trees and Fig-trees. At the foot of this Mountayne, neere unto Tripoly, there is a sandie Mount which hath arisen (in the memorie of some olde men there yet living) where there was none before; and it groweth still bigger and bigger, and there is a Prophesie of it, that in time it shall over-whelme the Towne. Tripoly hath the Etimologie (as some say) of two Greeke words, viz. τρις and πολις, because the Citie hath bin thrice built. First, on a Rockie Iland, where it was over-whelmed with water. Secondly, on the Marine neere unto the Sea, where it was often sacked by Cursares. And now thirdly, a mile from the Sea, where it is annoyed with sand. Our ship being not readie to set saile at our return from the Mount, but staying partly to dispatch their businesse, and partly for a good wind; we travelled by Land two dayes journey, to see Tyrus and Sidon, hard by the Sea. And at Sidon we saw the Tombe of Zabulon, the Sonne of Jacob, held in great estimation and reverent account at this present day.

A Mountayne of Sand.

Tyrus & Sidon.

Tyrus is now called (by the Turkes) Sur, because there beginneth the Land of Syria, which they call Sur; Tyrus is destroyed, and no such Citie now standing, onely the name of the place remayneth, and the place is still knowne where it stood. Eight miles from Tyrus towards the East, is the Citie Sarepta, of the Sidonians, where the Prophet Elias raised the Widdowes Sonne from death to life. We saw also Baruta, where sometimes was a great

Sur, or Syria.

Trade for Merchants, but from thence they removed it to Damascus, and from Damascus to Tripoly, and of late, from Tripoly to Sidon. Joppa is not far from these parts, oftentimes Barkes come from the one to the other. At our returne we went abroad, and presently set saile for Scanderone, (as it is now called by Turkes:) otherwise called Alexandretta by the Christians, which is the very bottome and utmost border of all the Streights. The Aire is very corrupt, and infecteth the bodies, and corrupteth the bloud of such as continue there many dayes, partly by reason of the dregs of the Sea, which are driven thither: and partly by reason of two high Mountaynes which keepe away the Sunne from it a great part of the day. And it is very dangerous for strangers to come on shoare, before the sunne be two houres high, and have dryed up the vapours of the ground, or to stay on shoare after Sunsetting. The water also neere unto the Towne are very unholsome, comming from a Moorish ground; but at the Fountayne, a mile off, there is exceeding good water to drink. It is far more healthfull to sleepe aboard then on the shoare. Scanderone is in Cilicia, and Cilicia is the Countrey Caramonia, (as it is now called) in the lesser Asia, and is divided into two parts, viz. Torcher and Campestris. It hath on the East, the Hill Amanus: on the North, Taurus: on the West, Pamphilia: on the South, the Cicilian Sea.

Scanderone.

Bottome and border of all the Streights.

[II. viii. 1337.] Scanderone is the Port for Aleppo, where all our Merchants land their goods, and send them up to Aleppo upon Camels. The Caravans usually make three dayes journey betwixt Scanderone and Aleppo. Whiles our Camels were preparing, wee tooke boat and went to an ancient Towne by the Sea side, called at this day Byas, but of old, Tarsus, a Citie in Cilicia, where Saint Paul was borne, mentioned Act. 22. 3. which Towne is arched about (as many of their Cities are) to keepe away the heat of the Sunne, which Arches they call Bazars. At the Gardens neere Tarsus (and likewise at other Gardens

Tarsus in Cilicia.

within three miles of Scanderone) wee saw great store of Silke-wormes, which at the first bee but little graines like unto Mustard seed: but by the bearing of them in womens bosomes, they doe gather an heat, whereby they come unto life, and so prove wormes; they keepe them in Tents made of reeds with one loft over another full of them, and feed them with leaves of Mulberie trees; these wormes (by naturall instinct) doe fast often, (as some report) every third day. *Silkewormes.*

Here we stayed certaine dayes to avoyd the infection of Scanderone. The Mountaines which obscure Scanderone, and make it more unhealthfull, I take to be a part of Taurus, which is a great and famous Mountaine, beginning at the Indian Sea, and rising into the North, passeth by Asia unto Mœotis, bordering upon many Countries, and is called by many names. Sometimes it is called Caucasus, which is the highest Hill in all Asia, which parteth India from Scythia, and is part of the Hill Taurus. Sometimes it is called Amanus, which Hill parteth Syria from Cilicia. And sometimes it is called by other names, according unto the Sea coasts along which it extendeth. About Scanderone there are many ravenous beasts, about the bignesse of a Foxe, commonly called there Jackalles, engendred (as they say) of a Fox and a Wolfe, which in the night make a great crying, and come to the graves, and if there have beene any Corse buried the day before, (if the grave be not well filled, with many great stones upon it) many of them together, with their feet, doe scrape up the earth, and pull up the corps and eate it.

At our returne from Tharsus, Edward Rose our Factor marine, provided us horses to ride to Aleppo, and a Janizarie, called Paravan Bashaw with two Jimmoglans to guard us, with necessarie victuals for our selves to spend by the way, for there are no Innes nor Victualing-houses in that Countrey, but travellers take victuals for themselves, and provender for their Horses with them. Our Merchants and Passengers making haste to be gone from *Edward Rose.*

this contagious and pestiferous place Scanderone (which one very well called, The bane of Francks) left their goods with the Factor marine to be sent after them, because the Malims and Muckremen (as they call the Carriers) were not yet come downe with their Camels to carrie them up: but we met them at the Fountaine of fishes neere unto Scanderone. About eight miles from Scanderone, we came to a Towne called Bylan, where there lieth buried an English Gentleman, named Henrie Morison, who died there comming downe from Aleppo, in companie with his brother Master Phines Morison, who left his Armes in that Countrey with these Verses under written.

Malims are chiefe Carriers.
Muckremen set Horses to hire.
Bylan.
Master Morisons travels are since printed in a large volume by themselves, where the Reader may feast himselfe with the rarities and varieties of many Kingdomes.

To thee deere Henry Morison
Thy Brother Phines here left alone:
Hath left this fading memorie,
For Monuments, and all must die.

From Bylan wee came to the Plaine of Antioch, and went over the River Orontes by Boate, which River parteth Antiochia and Syria. Antioch Plaine is very long and large, at least ten miles in length. We lodged the first night at Antiochia in Pisidia, an ancient Towne about five and twentie miles from Scanderone, mentioned Act. 11. 26. where the Disciples were first called Christians. Here we lodged in an house, but on the bare ground, having nothing to sleepe on, or to cover us, but what wee brought with us, viz. a Pillow, and a Quilt at the most, and that was lodging for a Lord.

Orontes.
Antiochia in Pisidia.

This Antioch hath beene, as a famous, so an exceeding strong Towne, situated by the Sea, and almost compassed (at the least on both sides) with exceeding high and strong Rockes. The Inhabitants at this day are Greekes, but under the governement of the Turke, but for matters of Religion, ordered and ruled by their Patriarchs, for the Greekes have foure Patriarchs to this present day, viz. The Patriarch of Antioch, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who ruleth all the rest. Yet as the Jewes, so also

the Greeks to this day are without a King, and both they, and their Patriarchs are but slaves to the great Turke.

And although their Patriarch of Constantinople be counted their chiefe Patriarch: yet I have knowen one Milesius (a learned man indeed) who was first Patriarch of Constantinople, preferred to the place by Master Edward Barton, an English Gentleman, and Lord Ambassadour for Queene Elizabeth of famous memorie, who for his wisedome, good governement, policie, and Christian carriage, hath left an immortall fame behind him in those Countries, to this present day, and lieth buried at an Iland of the Greekes, within twelve miles of Constantinople, called Bartons Iland to this day. After whose death, this good man Milesius was by the Greekes displaced from being Patriarch of Constantinople: (which they durst not doe whiles Master Barton was living) because, being a man of knowledge, he laboured to reforme the Greekes from many of their superstitious customes. Whereupon (presently after the death of Master Barton) they said, their Patriarch was an English-man, and no Greeke, and therefore manzulled him, that is, displaced him. Yet bearing some reverence towards him for his learning, they made him Patriarch of Alexandria. And being there Patriarch, hee excommunicated the Patriarch of Antiochia, because he accepted of reliefe at the Popes hand, and made him come to Alexandria, to humble himselfe unto him, and acknowledge his fault before he would suffer him to execute his Patriarchs office.

Master Barton. *Before him Master Hareborn was Ambassador.*

Bartons Iland.

[II. viii. 1338.]

Master Henry Lello (a learned, wise, and religious English Gentleman, sometime Student in Oxford, and afterwards at the Innes of the Court) succeeded Master Barton in his place, and in many things exceeded him, especially in his religious carriage and unspotted life: and had not the times beene more troublesome in his Regiment, then in the time of his Predecessor Master Barton; he would every way have gone beyond him.

Henry Lello.

The English Ambassadors with the Great Turke have beene, 1. *Master Hareborn.* 2. *Master Barton.* 3. *Sir Henr. Lello.* 4. *Sir. T. Glover.* 5. *Sir Paul Pinder.* 6. *Sir Joh. Aires.* 7. *Sir Thomas Roe, now Lieger there for his Majestie.*

Hee first of all reformed his familie, and afterwards so ordered himselfe in his whole carriage, that he credited our Countrey: and after ten yeeres governement of the English Nation there, hee returned into his Countrey with the teares of many, and with generall good report of all Nations there dwelling or sojourning; and is worthily by his excellent Majestie rewarded with Knighthood for his good service. If Milesius had lived, this good Gentleman would have restored him to Constantinople, as he placed many other Arch-bishops both at Salonica, (of old called Thessalonica) and elsewhere.

In the Mountaines betwixt Scanderone and Aleppo, there are dwelling a certaine kind of people, called at this day Coords, comming of the race of the ancient Parthians, who worship the Devill, and alledge for their reason in so doing, that God is a good man, and will doe no man harme, but that the Devill is bad, and must bee pleased, lest hee hurt them. There was one of our Carriers a Muccreman and Malim, named Abdel Phat, who was said to be of that Race and Religion. There is also, although not in the direct way, (yet for safety and pleasantnesse of the way, it is sometimes taken in the way to Aleppo) an ancient Citie called Achilles, where one Asan Bashaw ruleth like a King (paying duties to the Turkes) successively from his Predecessors, comming of the house of Sanballat, who hindred the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, who is called to this day, Eben Sumbolac, that is, The sonne of Sanballat: and all his kinred call one another, Ammiogli, that is, Brother Ammonite; for they account themselves of the race of the Ammonites. This Ashan Bashaw is now old, and (for the most part) referreth all matters of governement to his Kinsman Useph Bege, that is, Lord Joseph.

Achilles.

Sanballat.

Nebe. 4. 1.

The second night, in our travell from Scanderone, we lodged at a place called, The Gardens, in the open fields, having the ground to our Bed, a stone to our Pillow (as Jacob in his travell had) and the Skie to our covering. And many poore Travellers in these parts (who come

unprovided) have nothing but the aire for their supper, except they can meet with the fruits of Trees, or Herbs of the fields. Wee met in some places with Villages of Tents, where our Janizarie Paravan Bashaw (being partly feared and partly loved amongst them,) brought unto us from them, Bread and Water often times. Their Bread is made all in Cakes, after the ancient manner, as Abraham entertayned Angels with hearth Cakes. At one place we had also presented to us very good sweet Goats milke, and also good sowre milke, turned by Art, which is the most common dish in those hot Countries.

Cakes.

The day following, we came about noone to a Village, called Hanadan, eight miles on this side Aleppo, over against which Village, on the right hand, on the top of the hill, there is (as the Jewes report) the Sepulchre of the Prophet Jeremie. At this Village Hanadan there are many Pigeon houses, whereof the poore people make much profit, bringing them to Aleppo to sell. At this Village we dined with Musmelons, Sambouses, and a Mucclebite. And after dinner, we slept an houre or two (as the custome of the Countrey is) and then rode forwards towards Aleppo, whither we came by five of the Clocke, and were kindly entertayned at Cane Burgol by the worshipfull Richard Colthurst Esquire, Consull for the English Nation there.

Hanadan.

Jeremie his Sepulchre.

Sambouses are little Pasties.

Muclebite, a dish made of Egges and Herbs.

Aram Sobah, some thinke to have beene that Citie which is now called Aleppo. And of this Aram Sobah I find mention made, 2. Sam. 8. 3, 4, 5. And also in the title of the sixtie Psalme, where mention is made of the salt Valley which is but halfe a dayes journey from Aleppo, which is a very great Plaine, without grasse growing on it, the very sand whereof is good Salt naturally: after raine, being dried againe by the Sunne, they gather it. There is also a little Iland or Mountaine in the midst thereof, plaine on the top, which yeeldeth the best Salt. Some Jewes there dwelling, doe also say, that Aleppo was the Citie Sephervaim: but I thinke it to be a better Citie, which some say, was called Apollonius: but I know no

Aleppo.

In the title of Psal. 60.

reason for it, except it were built by one of that name. Howsoever, it should seeme this Citie Aleppo hath often changed her name, and that, if it were not Aram Sobah, yet to be built not farre from the place where Aram Sobah stood. But the Turkes (changing the names of all places where they come) call Aleppo at this day, Halep, which signifieth Milke, because it yeeldeth great store of Milke.

Aleppo is inhabited by Turkes, Moores, Arabians, Jewes, Greekes, Armenians, Chelfalines, Nostranes, and people of sundry other Nations. The Turkes come of Magog the sonne of Japheth.

The Moores are more ancient dwellers in Aleppo then Turkes, and more forward and zealous in Mahometisme then Turkes: yea all the Church-men amongst the Turkes are Moores (whom the Turkes count a base people in regard of themselves, and call them Tots.) Yet their Churchmen they have in great reverence; and not onely theirs, but they reverence Church-men of all Nations, and call them holy Men, Saints, and men of God. I my selfe have had great experience hereof, both in the place of my abode at Aleppo, and in my journey towards Jerusalem, and in other places. In Aleppo, as I have walked in the streetes, both Turkes and Moores, and other Nations, would very reverently salute me after the manner of their Countrey: yea, their very Souldiers, as I have walked in the Fields, with many other of our Nation, without a Janesarie to guard us, though they have beene many hundreds together, yet have they not offered either me or any of my companie wrong, for my sake, but have said one to another, Hadah Cassies; that is, This is a Church-man, and therefore take heede what you doe unto him, for he is a good man, &c. At Jerusalem many strangers of sundry Nations understanding that I was an English Preacher, came and kissed my hand, and called me the English Patriarke. Yea, in all my ten yeeres Travels, I never received, neither was offered wrong by any Nation but mine owne Countrey-men, and by them chiefly whom it chiefly concerned to protect me from wrongs: yet have I

[II. viii. 1339.] *Turkes reverence Churchmen of all sorts.*

found them most forward to offer me wrong, onely for doing my dutie, and following the order of our Church of England; knowing that I had none of the Reverend Fathers of our Church to defend me. So would it be in England, if we had not the Reverend Fathers in God the Lord Bishops of our Church to protect us. All other Nations, both Heathen and Christian, goe before us herein, in reverencing and providing for their Church-men. The Turkes honour their Muftie (which is their chiefe Ruler in Ecclesiasticall matters, next under the Grand Signior) as an Angell: The Nostranes, Greekes, Armenians, Chelfalines, and Christians of all other Nations, performe double honour unto them: onely in England, where there is a more learned Ministerie (I speake by experience) then in any Nation in the world, they are least of all regarded: Which maketh our Adversaries, the Papists, say, (as I have heard some of them speake in my hearing, many thousand miles from England) that if wee our selves were perswaded of the truth of our Religion, wee would reverence our Church-men as they doe, and not scorne them and contemne them as we doe.

Mad and foolish sanctitie.

They also account fooles, dumbe men, and mad men, Santones, that is, Saints. And whatsoever such mad men say or doe, though they take any thing out of their house, or strike them, and wound them, yet they take it in good part, and say, that they shall have good lucke after it. And when such mad men die, they Canonize them for Saints, and erect stately Monuments over their graves, as wee have here many examples, especially of one (who being mad) went alwayes naked, whose name was Sheh Boubac, at whose death they bestowed great cost on his funerall, and erected an house over his grave, where (to this day) there are Lampes burning night and day, and many idle fellowes (whom they call Darvises) there maintained to looke unto his Sepulchre, and to receive the offerings of such as come to offer to Sheh Boubac, which they take to themselves, and there is no weeke but many come out of the Citie of Aleppo and other places, to

Sheh Boubac.

offer. For this Sepulchre is built on an Hill, three miles from Aleppo, betweene the Kings Garden and the Fountaine of Fishes. If any be sicke, or in danger, they vow that if they recover or escape, they will offer so much money, or this or that good thing to Sheh Boubac. There is also such another Bedlam Saint in Aleppo yet living, whom they call Sheh Mahammet a Santone, who goeth alwaies naked, with a Spit on his shoulders; and as hee goeth thorow the streetes, the Shop-keepers will offer him their Rings; and if hee thrust his Spit thorow their Rings, they take it for a favour and signe of good successe: The like account they make, if hee take any thing from their Shop-boards, or box them or any of their house: yea, they are yet more mad upon this mad man then so, for both men and women will come unto him, and kisse his hand,* or any other part, sometimes his thighs, and aske him counsell, for they hold that mad mens soules are in Heaven talking with God, and that hee revealeth secrets unto them. In regard whereof, the Bashawes themselves oftentimes, and chiefe Captaines will come unto him with some present, and kisse some part of his naked body, and aske him whether they shall goe to battell or not, and what successe they shall have in warre: And looke whatsoever he saith, they hold it for an Oracle. Not long since, the Turkes had a victorie against the Christians; and at their returne, they reported that this naked Santone, Sheh Mahammet of Aleppo, was seene naked in the field, fighting against their enemies, and that by his helpe they over-came them, although hee were not neere them by many thousand miles. Whereby you may see how the Devill doth delude them still, as hee did their Fore-fathers at the first by Mahomets Machiaveilian devices.

Sheh Mahammet a naked Santone.

**Cotovicus pag.455. Itin. Hieros. & Syr. mentioneth this naked foole, and saith, that each other day hee washeth his naked body at the Fountaine of the great Can, and presently the water is reputed holy; drunke and carried to sicke folkes by the Moores. His Cell is like Vulcans shop, where he lyeth on the ground, is attended with Darvises, which beg almes, and gather Beasts bones to make fire; sometimes he, sometimes they singing.*

Their Darvises also they have in such reputation, that oftentimes great Bashawes, when they are in disfavour

Some women desiring issue, kisse his genetall member (which is alway naked) and depart joyfull. Hee ate Flies, Dogs eyes raw, and with his Spit used to pursue any Dog hee saw, for that purpose, &c. A fit glasse to looke upon superstition.

with the King, and feare either losse of life, or goods, or both, to avoide danger, will turne Darvises, and then they account themselves priviledged persons from the rigour of their Law. The witnesse of a Darvise or of a Churchman, will passe better then any mans witnesse besides, yea, better then Shereffes whom they account of Mahomets kindred, and they are knowne from others by their greene Shashes, which no man else may weare: for greene they account Mahomets colour, and if they see any Christian wearing a garment of that colour, they will cut it from his backe, and beate him, and aske him how he dare presume to weare Mahomets colour, and whether hee bee Kin to God or not? This I have knowne put in practise upon Christians (not acquainted with the customes of the Countrey) since my comming: one for having but greene Shooe-strings, had his Shooes taken away. Another wearing greene Breeches under his Gowne (being espied) had his Breeches cut off, and he reviled and beaten. *Darvises.* [II. viii. 1340.]

The Turkes have no Printing amongst them, but all their Law and their Religion is written in the Morisco tongue, that is, the Arabicke tongue. And he is accounted a learned man amongst them, that can write and reade. And as for the Latine tongue, hee is a rare man amongst them that can speake it. Some few amongst them have the Italian tongue: and many (especially in and about Constantinople) speake the vulgar Greeke, that is, Romeica tongue. For in Constantinople there are as many Grecians and Hebrues as Turkes. The poore, amongst the Moores and Turkes at Aleppo, beg oftentimes in the streetes, in the name and for the sake of Syntana Fissa, who was (as they say) a Whore of Charitie, and would prostitute her selfe to any man Bacsheese (as they say in the Arabicke tongue) that is gratis freely. *Syntana Fissa.*

The Diet of the Turkes is not sumptuous, for the most common dish is Pilaw, which is good savory meate made of Rice, and small morsels of Mutton boyled therein, and sometimes rosted Buckones, (that is, small bits or morsels of flesh.) Their more costly fare is Sambouses and *Diet of the Turkes.* *Pilawe.*

Muclebites. Sambouses are made of Paste, like a great round Pastie, with varietie of Herbes and meates therein, not minced, but in Buckones. A Muclebite is a dish made of Egs and Herbes. Their smaller Sambouses are more common, not so big as a mans hand, like a square Pastie, with minced meate therein. They have also varietie of Helloway, that is, sweet meates compounded in such sort, as are not to be seene elsewhere. The poorer sort feede on Herbes and Fruits of the Trees.

Coffa. Their most common drinke is Coffa, which is a blacke kinde of drinke, made of a kind of Pulse like Pease, called Coava, which being grownd in the Mill, and boiled in water, they drinke it as hot as they can suffer it; which they finde to agree very well with them against their crudities, and feeding on Herbes and raw meates. Other compounded drinkes they have, called Sherbet, made of Water and Sugar, or Hony, with Snow therein to make it coole; for although the Countrey bee hot, yet they keepe Snow all the yeere long to coole their drinke. It is accounted a great curtesie amongst them to give unto their friends when they come to visit them, a Fin-ion or Scudella of Coffa, which is more holesome then toothsome, for it causeth good concoction, and driveth away drowsinesse. Some of them will also drinke Bersh or Opium, which maketh them forget themselves, and talke idlely of Castles in the Ayre, as though they saw Visions, and

Coffa houses. heard Revelations. Their Coffa houses are more common then Ale-houses in England; but they use not so much to sit in the houses, as on Benches on both sides the streets, neere unto a Coffa house, every man with his Fin-ion full; which being smoaking hot, they use to put it to their Noses and Eares, and then sup it off by leasure, being full of idle and Ale-house talke, whiles they are amongst themselves drinking of it; if there be any newes, it is talked off there. They have also excellent good fountaine waters in most places of that Countrey, which is a common drinke amongst them, especially in Summer time, and in their travels at all times of the yeere.

Some of our Merchants have weighed their water and ours in England, when they have come home, and have found their water lighter then ours by foure ounces in the pound; and the lighter the water is, the more pleasant it is to drinke, and goeth downe more delectably, as if it were Milke rather then water. In great Cities where the Fountaines are either farre off, or not so plentifull, there are certaine poore men, which goe about the streetes from morning to night, with a Beares skinne full of water, sewed up and fastned about his shoulders like a Tinkers Budget, with a Bole of Brasse in his hand, and offereth water freely to them that passe by, except they give them any thing in curtesie, (some seldome times.) The greatest part of them are very curteous people amongst themselves, saluting one another at their meetings, with their hand on their brest (for they never uncover their head) with these words: Salam Alike Sultanum: that is, Peace bee unto you Sir. Whereunto the other replyeth, Alekem Salam: that is, Peace be to you also. And sometimes thus: Elph Marhabba ianum. Or in Turkish, thus: Hosh Geldanos, Sophi Geldanos: that is, Welcome my deare friend. And in the Morning, Subalkier Sultanum, that is, Good morrow Sir: and in the Evening, thus, Misalker Sultanum, that is, Good even Sir. And when friends and acquaintance meete, who have not seene one another many dayes before, they salute one another in Turkish, thus: Neder halen? that is, how doe you? In Arabicke, thus, Ish halac Seedi? that is, How doe you Sir? And Ish babtac? that is, how doth thy Gate? (meaning all within his Gate) and so proceed by particulars, to aske how doth thy Childe, Slave, Horse, Cat, Dog, Asse, &c. and every thing in the house, except his Wife; for that is held a very unkinde question, and not usuall amongst them, And if a man come to their houses, and at the doore enquire of the Children for their Father, they will answer him: but if he enquire for the Mother, they will throw stones at him and revile him.

Water lighter there then here.

Salutations of the Turkes.

Their women (as hath beene shewed before) have little

libertie to come abroade, except it be on the Eeve before their Sabbath (which is Thursday) to weepe at the graves of the dead, or to the Bannios or hot Baths to wash themselves (as the use of the Countrey is.) And when they come abroad, they are alwayes masked; for it is accounted a shame for a Woman to bee seene bare-faced: yea, they are so jealous and suspicious over them, that Fathers will not suffer their owne Sonnes, after they come to fourteene yeeres of age, to see their Mothers.

[II. viii. 1341.]

These bee their common salutations one to another. Their more speciall salutations to great Personages are these. When a man commeth to salute the great Turke, or Grand Signior himselfe (into whose presence few are admitted except Ambassadours and great Personages) they are led betweene two by the armes, for feare of a stab, by which meanes one of their Grand Signiors was once killed, and when they returne, they goe backwards; for it is accounted a disgrace to turne their backe parts to a great Man. In like manner they salute their Bashawes, and other great Men (but not led by the armes) but with their hands on the brest, bowing downe their heads to kisse the skirt of his Garment, pronouncing these words, Ollah towal omrac Seedi, that is, God prolong your dayes Sir. And so long as they talke with a Bashaw, they stand with their hands on their brest Maiden-like, and bow low at their departure, and goe backward. They never uncover their heads unto any man, no not to the King himselfe; yea, it is a word of reproach amongst them, to say, when they mislike a matter, I had as lieve thou shewedst me thy bare head.

Names.

They call one another diversly, and not alwayes by their names, but sometimes by their fathers Calling, Trade, or Degree: as Eben Sultan, that is, The sonne of a King: Eben Terzi, the sonne of a Taylor. And sometimes by their fathers qualities, as Eben Sacran, that is, The sonne of a Drunkard. And sometimes by their Marks, as Colac cis, that is, A man without eares: Cowsi Sepher, that is, Sepher with the thin beard. And some-

times by their Stature, as Tow-ill, that is, A tall man: Sgire rugiall, that is, A little man. And sometimes by their Offices, as I-asgee, that is, A Secretarie: Nibe, that is, A Clerke, &c. And sometimes by their humours, as Chiplac, that is, A naked man: or, One who was of a humour to weare no cloathes but breeches. But their common word of curtesie either to strangers, or such whose names they know not, or whom they purpose to reverence, is Chillabee, that is, Gentleman. And there is no man amongst them of any degree, will refuse to answere to any of these names. But if Nature have marked them either with goggle eyes, bunch backs, lame legs, or any other infirmitie or deformitie, as they are knowne by it, so they are content to bee called by it. But they have gone on pilgrimage to their holy Citie Mecha, where their Prophet Mahomet was buried, at their returne are called Hogies, that is, Pilgrims, as Hogie Tahar, Hogie Mahammet, &c. which is counted a word of great grace and credit amongst them. And the witnesse of an Hogie, will bee taken before any other.

There are also many Arabians in Aleppo, called vulgarly, Arabs or Bedweens. They have two Kings at this day, viz. Dandan and Aborisha; the one their lawfull King, the other an Usurper; and some follow the one, and some the other, and are bitter enemies one to another; yet have I seldome heard of any great warres betwixt them, for they seldome meet. They never come into any walled Townes or Cities, for feare of treason: but live in Tents, and are here to day, and many hundred miles off within a few dayes after. They are a base, beggarly, and roguish people, wandering up and downe, and living by spoile, which they account no sinne, because they are Mahomets countrimen, and hee allowed them libertie to live by theft. Yet their Kings doe no great harme, but take Toll or Tribute of the Caravans as they passe by, which if they pay willingly, they passe quietly, and are not robbed, but a little exacted upon. One of their Kings hath often times pitched his Tents neere unto the

Citie of Aleppo, and many Merchants being desirous to see them and their order, tooke occasion to present him with some small Present or other, which he tooke very kindly, and admitted them to his Table, and gave them a Tent to lodge in all night: on the morrow for breake-fast one of them made him a minsed Pie, and set it before him hot as it came out of the Oven: And when he saw it cut up and opened, and perceived smoke to come out of it, he shrunke backe, fearing it had beene some engine to destroy him, and that the fire would follow after the smoake. But when hee perceived no fire followed the smoake, he was content to taste of it, and highly commended it, as the daintiest dish that ever he tasted of in his life.

These Arabian Kings never keepe any money in their purses, but spend it as fast as they finde it, and when they want, with their Sword they seeke a new purchase. Some are Souldiers, fighting faithfully on any side that will give them pay. Some of this roguish Arabian Race follow neither of their Kings, but wander from place to place in Caves and Rocks, and live by their Sword, not onely robbing, but killing such as they can over-come. Others of them (of a better minde) sojourne in Cities of Trade and Traffique, and make themselves servants to any Nation that will set them on worke, and well reward them. Some of them are Horse-keepers, some Bastages, that is, Porters, and some under-Cookes in Kitchins, and are very serviceable. But for the most part their Lodgings are on some Dunghill or other, or odde corner of the Citie, with some silly Tent over their heads. Their wives weare Rings in their Noses, either of silver or brasse, fastned to the middle gristle of their Nose, and colour their Lips blue with Indico, and goe alwayes bare-legged and bare-footed, with Plates or Rings of brasse above their ankles, and bracelets of brasse about their hands. They are people which can and doe endure great hardnesse and miserie, both for Diet and Lodging. Their Women are skilfull in mourning and crying by Art, and therefore

[II. viii. 1342.]

they are hired to crie at the Funerals of Turks and Moores oftentimes, tearing their haire, and making all their face blue with Indico. There are here spoken so many severall Languages as there are several Nations here dwelling or sojourning, every Nation (amongst themselves) speaking their owne language. And here are of most Nations in the World some, who either come with their Merchandise to sell or buy commodities, or sojourne here as strangers, or else have accesse and recesse to this Citie as Travellers. But of all Christian languages, the Italian tongue is most used, and therewithall a man may travell furthest. But of all the Orientall Tongues, these foure are most spoken in these parts, Arabicke, Turkish, Armenian, and Persian, or Agimesco. Besides all these Mahometans (which I have alreadie named) there are many Jewes in Constantinople, Aleppo, Damascus, Babylon, Grand Cairo, and every great Citie and Place of Merchandise, throughout all the Turkes Dominions, who are knowne by their Hats: for they were accustomed to weare red Hats without brimmes at my first comming: But lately (the head Vizier being their enemie) they are constrayned to weare Hats of blue cloth, because red was accounted too stately, and Princelike a colour for them to weare. They are of more vile account in the sight of Turkes then Christians; insomuch that if a Jew would turne Turke, he must first turne Christian before they will admit him to bee a Turke. Yea, it is a word of reproach amongst the Turkes, and a usuall protestation amongst them, when they are falsly accused of any crime, to cleare themselves they use to protest in this manner, If this bee true, then God grant I may die a Jew. And the Jewes in like cases use to say, If this be not a false accusation, then God grant I may die a Christian, praying better for themselves then they beleeve, and as all of them must be that shall bee saved. And the poore Christians sojourning and dwelling in these parts, doe hate them very uncharitably and irreligiously: (in that we reade Rom. 11. many Arguments proving that they shall be converted againe) for on Good Friday in

Jewes stoned on good Friday.

many places (especially at Zante) they throw stones at them, insomuch that they dare not come out of their houses all that day, and yet are scarse in safetie in their houses, for they use to throw stones at their windowes and doores, and on the roofe of their houses. On Thursday about noone, the Jewes begin to keepe within doores, and continue there with their doores shut untill Saturday about noone, for if they come forth before that time they are sure to be stoned, but after noone on Easter Eeve if they come abroad, they may passe as quietly as ever they did. And some ignorant Christians refuse to eate of their meat or breade: their reason is, because the Jewes refuse to eate or drinke with Christians to this day, or to eate any meate that Christians kill. But it is not unusuall amongst Christians of better knowledge, to eate of the Jewes meat, which ordinarily they buy of them: for the Jewes to this day eate not of the hinder part of any beast, but onely of the former parts, and sell the hinder quarters of their Beefe, Mutton, Kids, Goats, &c. to Christians.

Superstition.

They observe still all their old Ceremonies and Feasts, Sacrifices onely excepted. Yet some of them have confessed, that their Physicians kill some Christian Patient or other, whom they have under their hands at that time, in stead of a Sacrifice. If a man die without Children, the next Brother taketh his Wife, and raiseth up seed unto his Brother: and they still marrie in their owne Kindred. Many of them are rich Merchants: some of them Drogomen, and some Brokers. Most of them are very craftie and deceitfull people. They have no Beggers amongst them, but many Theeves, and some who steale for necessitie, because they dare not begge. All matters of controversie betwixt themselves, are brought before their Cakam to decide, who is their chiefe Churchman. Most of the Jewes can reade Hebrew, but few of them speake it, except it be in two places in Turkie, and that is at Salonica, formerly called Thessalonica, a Citie in Macedonia, by the Gulfe Thermaicus; and at Safetta in the Holy Land, neere unto the Sea of Galile: Which two

places are as it were Universities, or Schooles of learning amongst them. *Two Universities.*

Amongst all the sorts of Christians, there is amongst the Maronites an ancient companie of Christians, called vulgarly Nostranes, quasi Nazaritans, of the Sect of the Nazarites, more civill and harmelesse people then any of the rest. Their Countrey is Mount Lybanus (as I wrote unto you heretofore) but many of them dwell at Aleppo, whereof some of them are Cassises, that is, Church-men; some of them are Cookes, and servants unto English Merchants and others; some Artificers: All of them live somewhat poorely, but they are more honest and true in their conversation then any of the rest, especially at their first comming from Mount Lybanus to dwell in Aleppo; and many, during their continuance there, if they bee not corrupted by other wicked Nations there dwelling: in whom I observed more by experience then I heard of them, or noted in them when I was amongst them at Mount Lybanus. And especially for the manner of their marriage, and how they honour the same.

They buy their wives of their Fathers (as others there dwelling, doe) but never see them untill they come to be married, nor then neither untill the marriage be solemnized betwixt them: for there is a partition in the place where they meet to be married, and the Man and his Friends stand on the one side, and the yong Woman and her Friends on the other side, where they may heare, but not see one another, untill the Cassies bid the yong man put his hand thorow an hole in the wall, and take his Wife by the hand. And whiles they have hand in hand, the Mother of the Maid commeth with some sharpe instrument made for the purpose, and all to bepricketh the new married mans hand, and maketh it bleed. And if hee let her hand goe when hee feeleth his hand smart, they hold it for a signe that hee will not love her: But if hee hold fast (notwithstanding the smart) and wring her hard by the hand untill shee crie, rather then hee will once shrinke, then he is counted a loving man, and her friends are glad [II. viii. 1343.]

that they have bestowed her on him. And how they honour Marriage above others, I observed by the naming of their first man-child. For as amongst us the women, when they are married, lose their Surnames, and are surnamed by the husbands surname, and children likewise; so amongst them the father loseth his name, and is called by the name of his eldest sonne, in this manner. I have knowne a Nostrane, whose name was Mou-se, that is, Moses, who having a man-child, named him Useph, that is, Joseph, and then was the father no more called Mouse, Moses, but Abou Useph, that is, The father of Joseph. Another whose name was Useph, named his eldest sonne Pher-iolla, after which he was no more called Useph, but Abou Pher-iolla, The father of Pher-iolla. Another man called Jubrael, that is, Gabriel, his sonne at the time of Baptisme being named Mouse, hee alwaies after was called Abou Mouse, that is, The father of Moses: such an honour doe they account it to be the father of a man-child.

These Nostranes reverence their Cassises greatly, and kisse their hand wheresoever they meet them: yet are most of them altogether unlearned, having onely the knowledge of the Syriac Tongue, wherein their Lyturgie is read. They keepe their Feasts at the same time as wee doe, viz. Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsuntide: and at Christmasse on the Twelfth day in the morning, called Epiphanie, their young men have a custome (betimes in the morning) to leape naked into the water: I could never heare any reason of their so doing, but Uzansa de prease, The custome of their Countrey. And though it bee then very cold, yet they perswade themselves and others, that then it is hotter then at any other time, and that the water then hath an extraordinarie vertue to wash away their sinnes. On Munday in Easter weeke and Whitsun weeke, these Nostranes goe with their Cassises to the graves of the dead, and there kneele downe, and burne incense, and pray at every grave.

Lyturgie read.

The Chelfalines are Christians, dwelling upon the borders

of Persia, betweene Mesopotamia and Persia, at a place called Chelfa. These bring Silke to Aleppo to sell. They are plaine dealing people. If a man pay them money, and (by over-reckoning himselfe) give them more then their due, though there be but one piece over, so soone as they perceive it, though it bee many dayes after, they will bring it backe againe, and restore it, and thinke they shall never returne safely into their Countrey, if they should not make restitution thereof. These people perswade themselves, and report unto others, that they dwell in that place which was called Eden, whereinto Adam was put to keepe and dresse it. *Eden.*

The Greekes in Aleppo are very poore, for they are there (for the most part) but Brokers or Bastages, that is, Porters; and many of their women as light as water, maintayning their husbands, themselves, and their families, by prostituting their bodies to others. And their owne husbands are oftentimes their Pandars or procurers to bring them Customers. But the Greekes that live at Constantinople are many of them great Merchants, and very rich; but exceeding proud, and sumptuous in apparell, even the basest of them, and especially their women, who though they be but Coblers wives, or poore Artificers wives, yet they goe in Gownes of Sattin, and Taffata, yea, of Cloth of silver and gold, adorned with Precious stones, and many Gemmes, and Jewels about their neckes and hands. They care not how they pinch their bellies, so that they may have fine apparell on their backes. And at the time of their Marriage, the women condition with their husbands to find them decent apparell, and convenient diet, and bring them before their Patriarch, of Constantinople to confirme it; which, if it be not performed accordingly, if they complaine to their Patriarch, they are divorced presently, and shee taketh an other man to her husband, better able to maintayne her: and hee may marrie another woman if hee please.

Coblers wives in Sattin Gownes.

He instanceth of one Sophia, which for brevitie is omitted.

And both at Constantinople, Aleppo, and other places of Turkey, where there is trafficking and trading of Mer-

chants, it is no rare matter for Popish Christians of sundry other Countries, to Cut Cabine, (as they call it) that is, to take any woman of that Countrey where they sojourne, (Turkish women onely excepted, for it is death for a Christian to meddle with them) and when they have bought them, and enrolled them in the Cadies Booke, to use them as wives so long as they sojourne in that Countrey, and maintayne them gallantly, to the consuming of their wealth, diminishing of their health, and endangering of their owne soules. And when they depart out of that Countrey they shake off these their sweet-hearts, and leave them to shift for themselves and their children. And this they account no sinne, or at leastwise such a sinne as may be washed away with a little holy water. And these are the vertues which many Christians learne by sojourning long in Heathen Countries.

Every Bashaw who hath governement over others in a Citie or Countrey, tyranniseth over those which are under their regiment; and sometimes strangleth, sometimes beheadeth, and sometimes puts unto terrible tortures those who offend. Yea, oftentimes without offence; onely because they are rich and have faire houses, the Bashaw will lay to their charge such things as he himselfe knoweth to be untrue, and put them to death that hee may seize upon his goods. There was a Sheriffe or a Green-head in Aleppo, whom they account Mahomets kindred, who offending the Bashaw, and braving him in termes, as though he durst not punish him, hee caused one of his Officers to goe with him home, and when he came before his owne doore, openly in the street to breake both his legs and armes, and there let him lie, and no man durst find fault, or give him food; or Physician, or Chirurgion come to him; or wife or servants take him into house, but there he lay all day, and should so have continued untill hee had died for hunger, or Dogs eaten him, had not his friends given money to the Bashaw to have his throat cut, to rid him out of his paine. And this is a common punishment amongst them. And sometimes for

[II. viii. 1344.]

small offences, they will lay a man downe on his backe, and hoyse up his feet, and with a cudgell give them three hundred or foure hundred blowes on the soles of their feet, whereby many are lamed. And some they set on a sharpe stake naked, which commeth from his fundament up to his mouth, if he find not favour to have his throat cut sooner. And some are ganched in this manner; they are drawne up by a rope fastned about their armes, to the top of a Gazouke or Gibbet full of hookes, and let downwards againe, and on what part soever any hooke taketh hold, by that they hang, untill they die for hunger. And some in like sort are drawne over a Gibbet, and they being compassed about the naked waste with a small cord, the cord is drawne by two men to make them draw up their breath, and still pulled straighter and straighter, untill they be so narrow in the waste, that they may easily be cut off by the middle at one blow, and then the upper part is let downe on a hot grid-iron, and there seared up, to keepe them in sense and feeling of paine so long as is possible, and the neather part is throwne to the Dogs, &c.

They, whom they call Franckes or Free-men, live in greater securitie amongst them then their owne People, by reason that they are governed by Consuls, of their owne Nation, and those Consuls also are backed by Ambassadours, for the same Nations which are alwaies Liegers at Constantinople: and when their Consuls abroad are offered wrong, they write unto the Ambassadours, how, and by whom they are wronged: and then the Ambassadour procureth from the Great Turke, commandements to the Bashaw of Aleppo to redresse their wrongs, and punish such as offend them. Otherwise there were no dwelling for Francks amongst them, but they should be used like slaves by every slave. And notwithstanding their Consuls and Ambassadours too, yet they are oftentimes abused by Turkes, both in words and deeds. In words they revile them, as the Ægyptians did the Israelites, and call them Gours, that is, Infidels; and Cupec, that is, Dog; and Canzier, that is, Hog; and by many other

odious and reproachfull names. And though they strike them, yet dare they not strike againe, lest they lose their hand, or be worse used. They also oftentimes make Avenies of them, that is, false accusations; and suborne false witnesses to confirme it to be true: and no Christians word will be taken against a Turke, for they account us Infidels, and call themselves Musselmen, that is, True beleevers.

This miserie abroad will make us love our owne Countrie the better when we come thither. And that is the best lesson which I have learned in my travels, Mundi contemptum, that is, The contempt of the world. And Saint Paul's lesson, Phil. 4. 11. In whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. Oh how happie are you in England, if you knew your owne happinesse? But as the prodigall sonne, untill he was pinched with penurie abroad, never considered the plentie of his fathers house: So many in England know not their owne felicitie, because they doe not know the miseries of others. But if they were here in this Heathen Countrie, they would know what it is to live in a Christian Commonwealth, under the government of a godly King, who ruleth by Law and not by lust; where there is plentie and peace, and preaching of the Gospel, and many other godly blessings, which others want. And God long continue his mercies to our noble King James, and his whole Realmes, and give us grace as farre to excell other Nations in thankfulnesse as we doe in happinesse. And thus for present I commend you to the most gracious protection of the Almightie Jehovah, beseeching him, (if it be his will) to send us a joyfull meeting, both in this world, and in the world to come. Amen.

Part of another Letter of Master William Biddulph, from Jerusalem.

WOrshipfull and my singular good friend, I being now (by the providence of God) at Jerusalem, Captus amore tui, raptus honore loci, for the love I beare

to you, and delight I conceive in this famous place, where our sweet Saviour Christ vouchsafed once his blessed bodily presence; I could not but remember you with some salutation from hence, having such choice of Messengers (by reason of the great concourse of people unto this place at this present, from sundry places of Christendome) to transport my Letters unto you: Nothing doubting but that as my former Letters (which I have heretofore written unto you both from Aleppo, and other places) concerning my former voyages, and such things as (by diligent observation) I noted in my travels, were acceptable unto you; [II. viii. 1345.] so that this shall be much more acceptable, both in regard of the Place from whence it came, as also of the matter subject herein contayned; beeing my Voyage from Aleppo in Syria Comagena, to Jerusalem, undertaken this present yeere 1600. not moved as Pilgrims with any superstitious devotion to see Relikes, or worship such places as they account holy; but as Travellers and Merchants, occasioned by Dearth and Sicknes, Pestilence, and Famine in the Citie where we sojourne: which two are such fellow-like companions, that the Græcians distinguish them but by one Letter, calling the Pestilence λοιμός, and the Famine λιμός: By reason whereof all Trafficke was hindred, and those Merchants whom they call Frankes, or Freemen, either removed to other places; or such as stayed in the Citie, caused their gates to bee shut up, and came not abroad untill Sol entred into Leo, which is usually the twelfth or thirteenth day of July, at which time the Plague still ceaseth in this place, though it bee never so great, and all that are then sicke, amend; and such as then come abroad, need not feare any danger. The Turkes, Moores, Arabians, and other Mahometans, never remoove for feare of any sicknesse, nor refuse any mans company infected therewith; for they say, every mans fortune is written in his fore-head, and that they shall not dye before their time; not knowing what it is to tempt God, and to refuse ordinary meanes. But in this interim, from the beginning of this sicknesse (which was in March) untill

The Plague ceaseth by influence of the Heavens.

the expected and undoubted end, when the Sunne entreth into Leo, we whose names are subscribed (for causes above mentioned) tooke our Voyage from Aleppo towards Jerusalem, having Letters of commendation, from Clarissimo Imo the Venice Consul, and sundry others of the chiefe Italian Merchants, to their Padres at Jerusalem, for our kind usage there, with libertie of conscience.

Anno Dom. 1600. The ninth of March, after Dinner we set forth, garded with Janizaries, and accompanied with sundry English, Italian, and French Merchants, who in kindnesse rode with us seven or eight miles, to bring us on the way, and then returned to Aleppo. But most of our English Merchants brought us to Cane Toman, ten miles from Aleppo, where we made merry with such good cheere as we brought with us. For there was nothing to be had for money but Goates Milke, whereof we had as much as we would. Here we purposed to have slept all night, but having no other Beds but the hard ground, with Jacobs Pillow (a good hard stone) under our heads, unaccustomed to such Downe Beds, we could not sleepe, but spent the time in honest mirth untill it was past mid-night, and then our friends tooke their leave of us, and returned towards Aleppo, and we proceeded in our journey towards Jerusalem. The night beeing darke, and the way dangerous and theevish, our Janizarie, Byram Bashaw, willed us every one to take a match lighted in our hands, and to whirle it about, that the fire might be seene the further, to terrifie the Theeves, lest they should surprize us on the sudden. And when wee came to suspitious places (as Caves, Rockes, Barnes, or odde Cottages in the way) our Janizarie used to ride before; and as Fowlers beate upon Bushes for Birds, so hee (with his Launce) would strike and beate upon such places, lest wild Arabs (which lye lurking in such places) should steale upon us on the sudden. When the day appeared, our way was pleasant and comfortable unto us, untill we came to a Village called Saracoope, whither we came about noone, the tenth of March. And because our Seisenars or

Cane Toman.

Saracoope.

Sumptor Horses (which carryed provision for Man and Horse, as the custome of the Countrey is) were tyred, and we our selves also (for want of sleepe the night past) wearied and hungry, wee were constrayned to lodge there all night on the hard ground by our Horse heeles, in an old Cane distant from Cane Toman eight and twentie miles.

The eleventh of March, betimes in the morning wee departed from Saracoope, and came betimes in the afternoone to a fine Village called Marrah, where there is a very faire new Cane builded by Amrath (commonly called Morat) Chillabee, sometimes Defterdare, that is, Treasurer of Aleppo, and afterwards of Damascus, who for the refuge of Travellers, and their protection against Theeves, built a stately strong Cane like unto Leaden Hall in London, or rather the Exchange in London, where there are faire upper Roomes for great men in their Travels, and the neather Roomes are for ordinary Travellers and their Horses, but in hot weather the best make choise to sleepe on the ground in low Roomes, rather then in their Chambers. The Founder hereof also ordayned, that all Travellers that way should have their entertaynment there of his cost. Hee alloweth them Bread, Pillaw, and Mutton, which our Janizaries accepted off; but we scorning reliefe from the Turkes without money, sent unto the Village, where (besides our owne provision which wee brought with us) wee had also other good things for money. Marrah is distant from Saracoope, foure and twentie miles.

Marrah.

Maner of their Canes.

The twelfth of March was a very raynie day, yet we travelled all the forenoone, untill wee came to a Village, called Lacmine, which a farre off made shew of a very faire Village; but when we came thither, wee found it so ruinous, that there was not one house able to shroude us from the extremitie of the showre: the Inhabitants thereof having forsaken it, and fled into the Mountaynes to dwell, for feare of the Janizaries of Damascus, who travelling that way used to take from them, not onely victuals for

Lacmine.

themselves, & Provender for their Horses without mony, but whatsoever things else they found in their houses. Onely there was a little Church or Chappel in good preparation, whereinto (for a little mony) we obtayned leave to enter, our selves with our horses & carriage, & there we brought out our victuals, & refreshed our selves, and baited our horses, and rested untill it left rayning. After the showre, while our Horses were preparing, we walked into the fields neere unto the Church, & saw many poore people gathering Mallows and three leafed grasse, and asked them what they did with it: and they answered, that it was all their food; and that they boyled it, and did eate it: then wee tooke pitie on them, and gave them bread, which they received very joyfully, and blessed God that there was bread in the World, and said, they had not seene any bread the space of many moneths. The showre ceasing, wee rode from this Chappell, and Village of Lacke money (I should have said Lacmin, but might say, lacke men and money too) and rode forward untill wee came unto a Village or Towne called Tyaba, where (because it was neere night) we desired to lodge, but could not bee admitted into any house for any money, whereupon our chiefe Janizarie, Byram Bashaw went into an house, and offered to pull man, woman, and child out of the house, that wee might bring in our Horses, and lodge there our selves. But when we saw what pittifull lamentation they made, we intreated our Janizarie either to perswade them for money, or to let them alone. And understanding that there was a faire Citie in our way, ten miles off, wee five, with our Janizarie, beeing well horsed, rode thither, and left our carriage with the rest of our company at Tyaba, to come to us betimes in the morning.

Wretched slaverie.

[II. viii. 1346.]

Miserable Povertie.

Tyaba.

Aman.

This Citie is now commonly called Aman, but of olde it was called Hamath, 2. Kings 17. Here we lodged in a faire Cane, but on the cold ground, and upon the hard stones, and thought our selves well provided for, that wee had an house over our heads to keepe us dry. Hamath is from Marrah, about five and thirtie miles. On the four-

teenth of March wee travelled from Hamath, a pleasant way, & a short dayes journey, to a fine Towne called vulgarly Hemse, but formerly Hus, *Hemse.* distant from Hamath, but twentie miles. This is said to have beene the City where Job dwelt, and is to this day called by the Christians inhabiting in those borders, Jobs Citie. *Jobs Citie.* And there is a fruitfull Valley neere unto it, called the Valley of Hus, and a Castle not farre off, in *Hus.* the way to Tripoly, called Hus Castle to this day. But I make some doubt whether Job were ever at this place, for Job is said to have dwelt amongst the Edomites, or wicked Idumæans: and Idumæa bordered upon Arabia Fœlix, and not neere Syria, where this Citie called Hus standeth.

On the fifteenth day of March, we went from Hus towards Damascus, which is foure dayes Journey off, and all the way (untill we came within ten miles of Damascus) is a Desart, un-inhabited, and a Theevish way; onely there are erected in the way certayne Canes to lodge in. But if they bring not provision with them both for man and horse, and some Quilt or Pillow to sleepe on, the hard stones must be their Bed, and the Aire their Supper: for some of their Canes are nothing but stone wals to keepe out Theeves. In Cities they have very stately Canes, but not for Travellers, but for themselves to dwell in; for every rich man calleth his house a Cane. But the Canes that stand in high wayes, are in Charitie erected by great men, for the protection of Travellers; but most of them are very badly kept, and are worse than Stables. Our first dayes Journey from Hus was a very uncomfortable and dangerous Desart: wee saw no House all the way until we came unto a Village called Hassia, *Hassia.* where we lodged in an old Castle distant from Hus two and twentie miles.

The sixteenth of March, from Hassia, we rode to an ancient Christian Towne called Charrah, where our pro- *Charrah.* vision being spent, we made supply thereof, and bought Bread and Wine of the Christians there dwelling. It is inhabited by Greekes and Turkes, but governed by Turkes

only. There is but one Church in the Towne, which is dedicated to Saint Nicholas, by the Christians who first builded it. But both Christians and Turkes pray therein: the Christians on the one side or Ile of the Church, and the Turkes on the other. But the Christians are overruled by the Turkes, and constrained to find them Oyle to their Lampes in the Church. For the Turkes not only burne Lampes in their Churches every night, but during the whole time of their Lent they beset the battlements of their Steeples round about with Lampes. But when their Lent is ended, they burne Lampes in their Steeples onely once a week, and that is on Thursday at night, which is the Eeve before their Sabbath. After wee had refreshed our selves heere, halfe the day being not yet spent, we roade from hence to a poore Village called *Nebecke.* Nebecke, or (as they pronounce it) Nebhkeh, where we lodged in an old Cane, distant from Hassia seven and twentie miles. And understanding at this place, that the way that wee were to passe on the morrow, was full of Arabs, and that two dayes before, many men were found in the way killed by them, we feared to goe any further. Yet meeting with company contrarie to expectation, March the seventeenth we went forwards, and saw no house nor company all the day long besides our selves, untill we *Cotifey.* came to a Village called Cotifey, where wee lodged in a very stately new Cane, built by Synan Bashaw; and not *Excellent Cane.* altogether finished. This Cane doth farre exceed that at Marrah, (before mentioned) for hereunto is adjoyned a faire new Church and a Bazar, that is a Market place where Travellers may buy many good things. Heere is also meate for Travellers, and Provender for their Horses to be had of the Founders cost. And in the middle of this Cane, there is a faire large Fountayne of water, of hewed stones foure square, wherein there is exceeding good water for Travellers to drinke, and Chambers for their Lodging: but if they will have any Beds, they must bring them with them, or sleepe on the hard ground, as most men that travell that way are wont to doe.

The eighteenth of March, from Cotifey, wee had not much more then twentie miles to Damascus. The first ten miles was a Desart, and dangerous way, and we hardly escaped danger; for an Arabian Horseman seeing us come, stood as a Spie in our way, to view our strength, and marked every one of us very narrowly, and what weapons we had; and then rode up an high Mountayne, as fast as if it had beene plaine ground, to acquaint his companions what a prey hee had found for them. Whereupon our Janizarie cast aside his upper garment, being a Gamberlooke, and bad us all make readie our Weapons, and hee himselfe rode before us with his Launce on his shoulders, expecting their comming upon us suddenly: but they having espyed (from the top of the Mountayne) fiftie Janizaries of Damascus at the least, with their Jimmoglans comming after us, came not, and so by the providence of God wee escaped their hands. The other part of our way to Damascus, was a pleasant Plaine of tenne miles in length, having many fruitfull Villages, fine Rivers, and pleasant Gardens thereon. At our entrance into this Plaine or Valley, riding downe an Hill, we beheld the prospect of Damascus ten miles off, whither we came about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and tooke up our Lodging in the middle of the Citie, at a Cane called in Morisco, Cane Nebbe, that is, The Cane of the Prophet: but by the Turkes; Cane Haramin, where we hired three Chambers for our money, and our Servants bought our meate, and dressed it themselves, as they did also all the rest of the way where wee could get any thing. To this end we tooke a Cooke with us, and other Servants from Aleppo, to dresse our meate, and to looke to our Horses. Heere we met with Frenchmen, and other Christians, staying for company to goe to Jerusalem.

Dangerous way.

At Damascus many Jewish Merchants, and Greekes, and others, knew some of us, and came to salute us, and present us with such good things as they had, both Wine, and Bread, and Kiddes, and Fruit, &c. and lent us very

good Beds with sheets and other furniture, which refreshed well our wearied bodies.

The nineteenth and twentieth of March, wee stayed at Damascus to rest our selves, and see the Citie.

Damascus. Damascus is a most ancient Citie, and as Esay spake of it in his time, The head of Aram is Damascus, Isa. 7. 8. so Damascus is the chiefest Citie of Syria to this day. The situation thereof is most pleasant, being built on a plaine ground, strongly walled about, and a strong Castle therein, with many fine Rivers running on every side of it, especially Abanah, and Pharpar, mentioned, 2. Kings 5. which now are divided into many heads. The Turkes say, that their Prophet Mahomet was once at Damascus, *The pleasant situation.* and that when he saw the pleasant situation of it, and beheld the stately prospect of it, excelling all others that ever hee saw before; refused to enter into the Citie, lest the pleasantnesse thereof should ravish him, and move him there to settle an Earthly Paradise, and hinder his desire of the heavenly Paradise. It hath also many pleasant Orchards, and Gardens round about the Citie, and some wayes for the space of a mile, and more about the Citie there are many Orchards, and great varietie of fruits: some called Adams Apples, and Adams Figs, and sundrie other strange Fruits. Damascus is called by the Turkes, Sham, and they call it, the Garden of Turkie, because there is no place in all the Turkes Dominions (especially in Syria,) that yeeldeth such *Store of fruits.* abundance of Fruit. Here we stayed two dayes and three nights to rest our selves, and see the Citie. And having a Greeke to our Guide, he shewed us first a stately Muskia, or Turkish Church erected in the place where the Temple of Rymmon stood, mentioned, 2. Kings 5. And two other memorable matters, mentioned, Acts 9. 25. viz. the place where the Disciples let downe Paul in the night through the wall in a Basket, whereof the Christians there dwelling keepe an exact memoriall; taking upon them to demonstrate the very place of the wall; which we not beleeving, they confirmed it with this

reason, that Damascus was * never overcome; and that there have beene Christians dwelling there ever since the time of Paul, and therefore might keepe a memoriall of the very place: But to let the place passe, the thing it selfe we know to be true. He shewed us also the house of Ananias, which is under the ground, whereinto we were led, downe a paire of staires from the street, as it were into a Celler; and the doore being unlocked, we entred with Candels into the place, where we saw two darke Chambers, where a man cannot see to reade in the day time without Candels, here they say, he lived in secret for feare of the Jewes. Many Christians comming thither to see that place, with a coale write their names on the wall, and there are so many names there alreadie, that there is scarce roome for any other to set his name. Some of them report Damascus to bee built in the place where Kain killed his Brother Abel. And some say it is neere it, and offered to bring us to the place; but we refused.

*Damascus was wonne from the Christians by the Saracens.

They take upon them also at Damascus to demonstrate the place where Saint George was buried, so they doe likewise at Aleppo, but I thinke the one to bee as true as the other. There is a fine Towne neere unto Damascus, about two or three miles distant on the side of an hill, called Salhia, from whence a man may behold the prospect of the Citie of Damascus most pleasantly, with the Gardens and pleasant places about it.

Saint George.

Salhia.

At Damascus we met many thousand Turkes, going on Pilgrimage towards Mecha in Arabia, to visit Mahomets Sepulchre, as they usually doe every yeere about their Byram time; for they hold, that whosoever once in his life time shall not goe on Pilgrimage to Mecha, to see the Sepulchre of their Prophet, shall never enter into Paradise. And therefore some of them goe thither often in their life time, partly for devotion, and partly to buy Merchandise. For there are brought thither at that time of the yeere, great store of Commodities from India, Persia, and other places; and none may buy or sell there but Mahometans. And it is forbidden to all Christians

Pilgrimage to Mecha.

[II. viii. 1348.]

upon paine of death, to come neere Mecha within five miles: partly, lest they should marre their Markets; but chiefly, lest they should see their folly or rather madnesse in worshipping an Iron Sepulchre; after the sight whereof, many of their old men (which thinke never to come thither againe) use to pull out both their eyes, after they have seene so holy a sight. And whosoever (say they) dyeth in his Pilgrimage thither, or returning from thence, is sure to goe to Heaven presently. And they that have beene there but once, are alwaies after called Hogies, that is, Pilgrims: and are called by that name in this manner. If his name before were Mahomet, he is at his returne called Hogie Mahomet. If before Mustapha, hee is alwaies after called Hogie Mustapha, &c. And they that have beene often at Mecha and returne againe, are called Great Hogies. And every yeere when the Caravan of Pilgrims returne from Mecha, hee that hath beene there oftnest, is called, The Great Hogie: and is greatly honored of them all, for hee rideth before them all in more stately apparell then they, with Flowers and Garlands about his Horse, and when they come neere any great Citie, the chiefest men in the Citie ride forth to meet him, and bring him into the Citie with great solemnitie. They falsely affirme, that this their Temple at Mecha in Arabia, was built by Abraham, and they prepare themselves with greater care to goe to worship there, then many Christians doe when they come to the Lords Supper, for they disburden their hearts of all hatred and malice, and reconcile themselves one to another, &c. Otherwise they hold that all their labour is lost, and that they shall bee never awhit the better for their Pilgrimage. But if they forgive one another, and repent them for their former sinnes, they thinke there to obtaine full remission of all their sinnes, and that at their returne they are pure and without spot.

Hogies.

An Angell-devill.

March twentie one, we departed from the Citie of Damascus, and about five or sixe miles from the Citie, passed by a Village called Daria; neere unto which, we

Daria.

saw a great multitude of men, women, and children on their knees, in the high way: and by that time they had ended their devotion, we drew so neere as to salute them; and asking what they were, it was told us, that they were all Christians of sundry Nations, viz. Armenians, Greekes, Chelfalines, Nostranes, and sundry others, who went to Jerusalem, to visit and worship the holy places there. We asked further, what they meant to fall on their knees in that place: they answered us, that it was the place where * Paul was converted, and that it was their custome when they travelled that way, to fall on their knees, and pray unto God to convert them. They were in number at the least foure or five hundred people, there was a Greeke Patriarke, and an Armenian Bishop in their companie. Many of them knew us, (having seene us in Aleppo) and saluted us by our names. Wee rode a while in companie together, and lodged all together that night at a Cane, called Sassa, distant from Damascus six and twentie miles.

Place of Pauls conversion.

**Mueco, furor Sauli, liber est conversio Pauli.*

Sassa.

March twentie two, we rode before the rest of the companie. Our way that we travelled all this day, was exceeding bad, rockie, waterish, and barren, called Arabia Petrea, where our Horses oftentimes stucke fast in the puddles and myrie places, and somtimes ready to breake their owne legs, and their Riders necks, among Rocks and Stones, it was neither pleasant going on foot, nor riding this way, for there was no path nor even ground, but huge stones and Rocks so neere together, that our Horses could goe but a foot-pace, and oftentimes met with such Marishes and Quagmires, that wee were constrained to goe farre about before wee could find better waies to passe over. It is also exceeding cold in this place alwaies (in respect of other places in that Countrey) for there are neither Trees nor Houses, nor high Hils to keep away the violence and force of the Windes. The Caravans that travell usually that way betwixt Damascus and Egypt, say, that this dayes journey troubleth them more then all the rest, and that they never passe by that way, but they leave

Arabia Petræa.

Ill way.

Great cold.

two or three of their Camels behind them, some misfortune or other befalling unto them. Wee saw also in sundry places this way, the carkasses of many dead Camels, which have miscarried amongst the Rocks. It is also a very theevish way, full of wilde Arabs: yet (by the providence of God) we came safely that day to Conetra, where we lodged in a good Cane, distant from Sassa eight and twentie miles.

Conetra.

Walking wondred at.

In a Bazar (like unto a Cloister) adjoyning to the Cane, wee tooke pleasure to walke up and downe some few turnes, which the Turkes beholding, wondred at us: (for it is not their custome in those hot Countries, to walke up and downe as wee doe in cold Countries, but to sit still on the ground like bruite Beasts) and one of them came unto us, and asked us what wee meant to walke up and downe in such sort, and whether wee were out of our way, or out of our wits. If your way (said hee) lyeth toward the upper end of the Cloister, why come you downewards? And if at the nether end, why goe you backe againe? It seemed no lesse strange unto them, to see a Christian with a cut Doublet: and they called him foole, and asked him what he meant to make holes in his Coate: for they neither cut nor pinke any of their Garments, but wearing them all plaine, sparing for no cost, to guard them with lace of silver and gold, if they be able. And such as weare long haire on their heads, the Turkes call Slovens, and account them savage Beasts; for they themselves weare no haire on their heads at all, but shave them every weeke once, and keepe them warme with a Turbant of white Shash, made of cotton Wooll, which they never uncover in their salutations to any man, but bow their heads, with their hands on their breasts. But if a man have a faire long beard, they reverence him, and say hee is a wise man, and an honorable personage. But if they have no beards at all, they call them (if they be yong) Bardasses, that is, Sodomiticall Boyes. But if they be men growne, and have no beards, they call them fooles, and men of no credit; and some of them refuse to buy or sell with such,

Cut doublet.

[II. viii. 1349.]

Long haire.

Long beards.

and say, they have no wit, and that they will not beleeve them, &c.

The three and twentieth of March, we had a more pleasant way; for the first ten miles wee rode thorow the fields, and a very pleasant Parke. But when we came out of this Parke of Forrest, we were somewhat troubled, partly by reason of the bad way, and partly by bad people in the way. The people did more trouble us then the way; for there sate amongst the Rocks, in our way, many Turkes and Arabs, with Maces of Iron, and other weapons, who stayed us, and demanded Caphar or toll money; we were glad to give them content, that we might passe safely by them. But the Caravan of Christians, who came after us, though they were many hundreds, yet some of them being not able, some not willing to pay so much money as they demanded, were shrewdly beaten with their Iron Maces. There was a Jesuit in their company, who escaped not without stripes, whereat (as I have heard) he rejoyced, and counted it meritorious, in that he suffered such misery in so holy a voyage. And in my hearing at Jerusalem, one of his companions told him, that he merited much to sustaine such travell and labour, and be at so great cost and charges, and suffer so many stripes for Christs sake: but I know, had it not beene more for love of his purse then for love of Christ, he might have escaped without stripes, yea, with these kind speeches, Marhabbah Janum, that is, Welcome my friend or sweet-heart. At another place in my Travels, I heard a Frier bragging of his good workes, and saying, that hee had done so many good workes, that if he should kill three men, his good workes would make satisfaction, and merit remission for them all. Here I may fitly take occasion to teach those that purpose to travell into Turkey, how to behave themselves. If they bee set upon by Theeves, they may defend themselves in their travels, if they be strong enough; but if they be polling officers (as these were) they must not be contradicted. But neither in their Cities, nor in their travels may they strike againe, though they be abused and beaten

Pleasant Park.

Caphar customers.

Much good do him with such Merits.

Friar Meritmonger.

An admonition for Travellers.

by any man (except they bee Theeves and Robbers) for if they doe, they shall either bee put to death, or have their hand cut off. Neither if a man receive a box on the eare at any of their hands, must he give one bad word, or looke frowningly upon him that smote him: for then hee will strike him againe, and say, What, Goure? Dost thou curse me, and wish that the Devil had me? but hee must kisse his beard, or the skirt of his Garment, and smile upon him, and then he will let him passe.

Base thraldome.

At the foot of this Mountayne there is an old Cane, where usually Travellers lodge: but it being not yet noone, we resolved to travell eighteene miles further, to the Sea of Galile. At the foot of this stony Hill, hard by this Cane, there runneth a pleasant River, which divideth Syria from Galile. And over this River there is a faire Bridge, the one end whereof is out of the Holy Land, the other in it. This River is called Jordan, the head whereof commeth from Mount Lybanus, and maketh three Seas. The first, is the waters of Maron, which we left on our right hand, about ten miles off. The other, on the left hand, which lay in our way as wee should travell. The second, is the Sea of Galile or Tiberias, or Lake of Genezereth. The third, is the Sea of Sodome, called Mare mortuum, where the River Jordan endeth. The Bridge that crosseth this River Jordan at the entrance into the Holy Land, is called Jacobs Bridge; for two causes. First, it is said, that there Jacob met his brother Esau. Secondly, that there Jacob wrestled with an Angell.

Jacobs Bridge.

The first part of Canaan called Galile, beginneth at this Bridge, and to this day it is a very pleasant and fruitfull Countrey. After wee were entred into Galile, about two miles from the Bridge, our Janisaries asked us whither wee would goe up to a Mountayne, and so to Saphetta neere unto Mount Carmel, which is a place of leaning for Jewes; or keepe the lower way, and goe by the Sea of Galile, which is the pleasanter way: and thereof we made choise; and tooke Saphetta in our way afterwards.

About seven miles from Jacobs Bridge, our Guide

brought us to a Well, adorned with marble Pillars, and covered with stone, which, hee said to have beene the Pit whereinto Joseph was put, when his Brethren sold him to the Ishmalites. But it seemed to us incredible: first, because that was a drie Pit, and this is full of sweet water. Againe, Jacob dwelt at Hebron twelve miles beyond Jerusalem, and his Sonnes kept Sheepe in Shechem. And that drie Pit whereinto they put Joseph was at Dothan (which we saw afterwards) and this Pit which they shewed us with marble Pillars, was in Galile; not neere Dothan nor Shechem where Josephs Brethren kept their Fathers Sheepe. But by others of better judgement, we understood that this also was called Josephs Pit, or Well, because it was built by one Joseph, not Joseph the sonne of Jacob, but some other. But the ignorant people which travell that way, are apt to beleeve any thing that is told them. About ten miles from this Well, we came to a Cane, called by the Moores Minium, but by the Turkes Missia, hard by the Sea of Galile, where we lodged all night, having travelled that day by computation sixe and thirtie miles.

Josephs Pit.

[II. viii. 1350.]

Minium.

The foure and twentieth of March we rode along by the Sea of Galile, which Joh. 6. 1. is called by two names, viz. the Sea of Galile or Tiberias. Galile, because it is in Galile: and Tiberias, because the Citie Tiberias was built by it, and Bethsaida an other ancient Citie; of both which we saw some ruinous walls. And it is said in that chapter (Joh. 6. 1.) that Jesus went over the Sea of Galile: and in an other place, that he went beyond the Lake. And, Luke 9. 10. it is said, that he went into a solitarie place, neere unto a Citie, called Bethsaida, which place of John, I learned to understand better by seeing it, then ever I could before by reading of it. For, seeing that Tiberias and Bethsaida were both Cities on the same side of the Sea, and Christ went from Tiberias to, or neere unto Bethsaida; I gather thereby, that our Saviour Christ went not over the length or breadth of that Sea; but over some Arme, Bosome, or Reach thereof, viz. so farre as Tiberias was distant from Bethsaida; which is also con-

Sea of Galile.

Tiberias and Bethsaida.

firmed in that it is said elsewhere, A great multitude followed him on foot thither; which they could not have done, if hee had gone quite over the Sea, to the other side among the Gergesens, which is out of the Holy Land. And therefore this Sea of Galile, is also called the Lake *Genesareth.* of Genesereth, because of the Countrey of the Gergesens is on the other side the Lake, from whence the Swine ran head-long into the Sea and were choaked therein: and as that place was out of the Holy Land, so the people which then inhabited it, were as farre from holinesse, when they requested our Saviour Christ to depart out of their Coasts. And such like holy people inhabit there still, viz. wild Arabs and Turks, &c. Wee saw also (neere unto this Sea) the place where that Towne (mentioned, *Cana.* Joh. 2. 1.) called Cana of Galile stood, where our Saviour Christ at a marriage turned Water into Wine; in place whereof there standeth now a poore Village, inhabited by Turks. This Sea of Galile is (by computation) in length eight leagues, and in breadth five leagues, and every league is three miles, and then it encloseth it selfe into a narrower compasse, carrying but the breadth of an ordinarie River untill it came to Sodome, where it endeth, which is called Mare Mortuum, that is, The dead Sea.

After we had rode about seven miles by the Sea of Galile, we left it on our left hand, and ascended up a Mountayne on the right hand. This Mountayne was not very steepie, but exceeding pleasant and fertile, for (being the Spring-time) it was so beset with such varietie of flowers among the greene grasse, that they seemed to fleere in our faces, and to laugh and sing (as the Psalmist speaketh) as wee went, Psal. 65. 13. This is said to bee that Mountayne, mentioned Joh. 6. 9. where our Saviour Christ wrought a miracle, in feeding five thousand men with five Barley loaves, and two Fishes.

When we came to the top of the Mountayne, we saw *Saphetta a Jewish Universitie.* Saphetta on the right hand, a Universitie of the Jewes, where they speake Hebrew, and have their Synagogues there. The Citie Saphetta is situated on a very high Hill

with three tops, and so the Citie hath three parts; one part is inhabited by Jewes, the other two by Turks. We asked some Jewes, whom we knew formerly to have beene Merchants of Aleppo, what they meant to leave their Trade and to live there: They answered, they were now old and came thither to die, that they might be neerer to Heaven. The Jewes have here more libertie then in any part of the Holy Land. They dare not come to Jerusalem, for feare lest the Christians there dwelling, stone them. Whiles we were at Saphetta, many Turkes departed from thence towards Mecha in Arabia. And the same morning they went, we saw many women playing with Timbrels, as they went along the street, and made a yelling or shriking noise as though they cryed. We asked what they meant in so doing? It was answered us, that they mourned for the departure of their Husbands, who were gone that morning on Pilgrimage to Mecha, and they feared that they should never see them againe, because it was a long way and dangerous, and many died there every yeere.

Mourning with Tymbrels.

All the way which we travelled this day, was very pleasant; and all the Ground both Hils and Dales very fruitfull, according as it is described by Moses, Deut. 8. 7, 8. and Deut. 11. 10, 11. And we came that day, about two of the clocke in the afternoone to a Village, called in the Arabick tongue I-nel Tyger, that is (by interpretation) The Merchants Eye, wherein there are two very faire Castles for Travellers to lodge in from danger of wild Arabs, which abound in those parts: we tooke up our lodging in the neerest Castle, which is the fairest.

I-nel Tyger.

After we had refreshed our selves, and slept a while: being hard by Mount Tabor, wee desired to ascend to the top of it, and tooke Ally (one of our Janisaries) and rode towards the Mountaine. But understanding that it was very dangerous, by reason of wild Arabs, which lodged in Caves, and Rocks, and Bushes, about the Mountaine, wee hired some of the principall Arabs to goe with us, and guard us from the rest. And as wee went, wee beheld

Tabor.

Mount Tabor.

the prospect of the Mountaine to be very pleasant, somewhat steepie, but not very high (in respect of some other Mountaines thereabout) not very large, but a comely round Mountaine, beset with Trees and thicke Bushes, which at that time of the yeere flourished greene: wee rode so farre as wee could for steepinesse, and then left some of our [II. viii. 1351.] Servants at the foot of the Mountaine to keepe our Horses, and tooke upon us to clamber up on foot, which wee should never have beene able to have done, had there not beene very high Grasse, Sprigs, and Bushes to hold by. One of our Arabs went up before us, as fast as if it had beene even ground, but we came very slowly after, which he perceiving, would looke backe, and often use these words to cheere us, Gel, gel, gel, that is, Come, come, come; and sometimes these, Ish halac Seeadi, How doe you Masters. Wee were almost all out of breath, and one of our companie cried, For the love of God let us returne, for I can goe no further; Oh, I shall die, I shall die. Whereupon, one of us being neerer the top then he himselfe supposed (to cheere the rest) said, Come cheerefully, I am on the top; which somewhat heartned the rest: otherwise *Top of Tabor.* they had all gone downe againe. Being on the top, we rested a while to take breath; and then we walked up and downe the top of the Mount, and saw onely one house, or rather low Cottage uninhabited, having onely two darke roomes in it, meete for Foxes or Jaccals to lodge in, and saw no signe of any other Taverne or Tabernacle. Onely we understood, that (many yeeres since) there was a Monasterie there inhabited by Popish Friers, but being molested by the Arabs, tooke away the holinesse with them, and left the Mountaine behind them; yet still they call this Mount Tabor, in Italian, Monte Santo, that is, the Holy Mountaine: as if there were some inherent holinesse in the Mountaine. And two dayes after we had beene there, came a Jesuit and two Friers with a yong Gentleman of Paris in France, who was a Protestant, and some other companie with them, who had a desire to ascend to the top of this holy Mountaine, and went all

Conference betwixt a Jesuite and a Protestant.

together untill they were wearie, which was at the foot of the Mountaine, and in the heate of the day: wherefore the French Gentleman said, he would stay for them there untill they returned, but was himselfe already wearie, and would goe no higher; the Jesuit and Friers reproved him, and called him foole, and told him he did not know what hee might merit by going to the top of that holy Mountaine. Merit (said the Gentleman) what may I merit? Thou maiest merit (said they) fiftie yeeres pardon. The Gentleman, to breake a jest with them, asked them whether hee might merit fiftie yeeres pardon for the time past, or for the time to come: If (said he) for the time past, I am not so old (for he was but twentie two yeeres of age) if for the time to come, he did not thinke hee should live so long. They answered him, if he did not live so long, he might give the yeeres which remained, to his friends. Yet could they not perswade him to goe up any higher. When we had seene enough this Mount, returned againe to the Castle, with good stomacks to our Supper, and wearied bodies, desiring rest. Tabor is distant from Galile not much above twentie miles. *Merit-mongers.*

The five and twentieth of March, being the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, and (according to the computation of our Church of England) the first day of the yeere 1601. we travelled over very pleasant fields all the way, the fields of Basan, not farre from the Mount Basan, where there was exceeding good Pasture, and fat Cattell: onely wee wanted good water to drinke, and our Wine was spent, and the day exceeding hot. Wee saw in our way some remnants of that old Tower or Fortresse, mentioned 2. Kings 5. 24. where Gehazi the Servant of Elisha, over-tooke Naaman, and tooke of him two Talents of silver, and two change of Garments. We saw also many other places worthy observation, but (for want of a good Guide) we knew not the names thereof, for the Turkes inhabiting those Countries, have given new names to most places. This was the pleasantest daies journey we had in our whole travell. I never saw more *Mount Basan.* *Gehazis Tower.*

fertill ground and pleasant fields, and so much together, all the whole day, from Mount Tabor, to a Village called *En-gannim.* vulgarly Jenine, but of old En-gannim, whereof wee reade, Josh. 15. 34. Neere unto this Village is the place where Jahel beheaded Sisera, mentioned Judg. 4. 21. Engannim is distant from Mount Tabor twentie two miles. It is a very pleasant place, having fine Gardens, and Orchards, and Waters about it. We stayed here all the day (the six and twentieth of March) because (the Turkes Romadan, which is their Lent, being ended) on this day *Turkish Byram.* beganne their Feast called Byram; and our Janisarie was loth to travell on that day, being their Feast day, and so much the rather, because his name also was Byram.

The seven and twentieth of March, riding from En-gannim, wee were endangered twice: First, by certaine Theeves dwelling neere unto En-gannim, who made us pay Caphar, or pole money twice, once at En-gannim. And when we departed from thence, they pursued us with Bowes and Arrowes, and other weapons: we withstood them long in parley; at length every man prepared his instruments of death ready for battell. Our Janisaries *Double Knaverie.* Kinsman, Fatolla, had his Musket ready, and being about to give fire, was stayed by our Janisarie, who saw not onely these Arabs present very desperate, with their Bowes and Arrowes ready drawne, but messengers also sent to raise up all the whole rabblement thereabout upon us; hee told us, wee were best give them content, or else we were all but dead men: wherefore, to avoide further danger, we gave them their owne desire, upon condition, they would pursue us no further nor suffer any of their companie to molest us: the chiefest of them answered, Stopherlo, Stopherlo, that is, God forbid, God forbid, we should doe you any harme, if you pay us what we demand; which we did with all speede, and rode away from them, being glad we were rid of them.

Dangerous Wood. About ten miles from them, wee rode through a Wood (a very fit place to harbour Theeves, who had killed certaine men travelling that way the day before, and tooke

away both a man and Horse from the Caravan which followed after; and a woman also riding on an Asse with their carriage) and (as our Guide told us) he never travelled that way but he saw some men killed: and therefore bade us all charge our Peeces, and shoot off when he bade us, though we saw no bodie, lest the wilde Arabs should set upon us on the sodaine, lying in ambush, which wee also did in a place most dangerous, to daunt the enemies before we saw each other. But before wee came unto the most dangerous place, there overtooke us many Turkes well armed, who dwelt in Jerusalem, and were glad of our companie thither. And shortly after wee had discharged every man his piece, we saw a great companie of Arabs on an high Mountaine neere unto our way, yet out of the reach of our shot, who perceiving us to be too strong for them, durst not set upon us. And so (by the providence of God) wee came that night to an ancient and famous Citie, (situated in a fruitfull valley betwixt two Mountaines called Sychar,) a Citie in Samaria, mentioned, John 4. Neere whereunto wee saw Jacobs Well, where our Saviour Christ asked water of the woman of Samaria. Wee came thither in good time, for wee were exceeding thirstie, and dranke thereof liberally and freely. The water thereof goeth downe very pleasantly, like unto Milke. From Jacobs Well we went into the Citie, and lodged in a very ancient and stately Cane, but very badly kept. It had beene better for us to have slept by Jacobs Well, as others did; for here we slept on the hard stones neere unto a Chappell in the middle of the Cane, under two or three great Fig-trees and Mulberrie-trees, where we were scarce safe from theeves, for we had some things stollen from us in the night, whiles wee slept under the Trees on faire broad stones, whereunto we ascended by a faire stone paire of staires, sixe or seven steps from the ground. Sychar is distant from En-gannim, seven and twentie miles.

[II. viii. 1352.]

Sychar.

Jacobs Well.

Pleasant water.

The nine and twentieth of March, wee departed from Samaria to Jerusalem, and met many Souldiers in severall

companies by the way, who knowing our Janizarie, and other Turkes in our Companie, let us passe by them quietly, and gave us the salam aliek, that is, peace be unto you. The first part of this dayes journey was somewhat pleasant; but, the neerer we came to Jerusalem, the more barren and tedious our way was. About ten of the Clocke we came to a great Forrest or Wildernesse full of Trees and Mountaines. When wee were on the top of this Mountaine, we saw the maine Sea on our right hand, and small Ships sayling towards Joppa. About three or foure of *Beere.* the clocke, we came to a ruinous Village called Beere, but of old (as it is reported) Beersheba, which in former times was a great Citie: And it is said to be the place where *Jerusalem.* Joseph and Mary comming from Jerusalem (the feast being ended) missed the Child Jesus, and sought him sorrowing; and returning to Jerusalem, found him in the Temple amidst the Doctors, hearing them and posing them. Our purpose was to lodge here all night, being all of us wearie and hungrie, and all our provision spent. But finding nothing here to be had for money, either for Man or Horse; and understanding that Jerusalem was but ten miles off, wee went on in our way somewhat faintly, five or sixe miles, and then beholding the prospect of the Citie, wee were somewhat cheered and revived, and solaced our selves with singing of Psalmes, untill wee came neere unto the Citie. Many Greekes dwelling in Jerusalem, seeing us afarre off, came to meet us, supposing their Patriarch had beene in our companie, who came two or three dayes after us.

We dismounted from our Horses at the West gate of *Joppa gate.* the Citie, called Joppa gate, or the Castle gate; which is a very strong gate of Iron, with thirteene Peeces of Brasse-ordnance planted on the wall about the gate. Wee stayed in the porch of the gate, and might not be admitted into the Citie, untill wee were searched by an Officer (as the manner is.) In the meane time there came to us two Italian Friers, viz. Padre Angelo, and Padre Aurelio, and kissed our hands, and bade us welcome, and told us, that two

other Englishmen were at their house, viz. Master Timberley, and Master Borell.

Master Timberley hath published a booke of his Voyage.

When we were searched without the gate by a Turkish Officer, and delivered up our weapons to the Porter to keepe for us in the gate-house untill our returne (because no Christian may enter into Jerusalem with weapons) these two Padres led us to their Monasterie; at the gate whereof wee were searched againe by another Turkish Officer before wee might enter into the house. For the office of the former Searcher at the gate of the Citie was onely to receive the weapons of all Christians, and deliver them safe to them againe at their departure. But this Searcher went further and searched all our carriage, which he caused to be opened, to see whether we had any Gunpowder, or any other engins there. For they are very suspicious of all Christians, fearing, lest for devotion to the place, they should worke treason; therefore they suffer not Christians to enter into the Citie weaponed, lest they make insurrection against them when they are many together, and conquer the Citie, as heretofore they have done. To this end also is the Citie walled about with strong walls, and fortified with foure strong gates, and a Castle, (but by Sultan Solyman) and every gate well planted with Ordnance for feare of Christians. And partly for hope have they environed this Citie with such strong walls, that Christians for devotion to the place, might come and build within the walls, and bee subject to the Turke. For though their walls be large and strong, yet there is great roome within the walls to build more houses then are there, for there are fields of Corne within the walls of the Citie; and the houses stand very thin, [II. viii. 1353.] scattered, and dispersed, here one, and there two or three together; there is not one faire street in all Jerusalem as it now is.

Entertaynment with the Friers.

After they had thus narrowly searched all our carriage, even to our cases of Bottles, we were admitted into the Monastery; at the entrance wherinto, met us Master Timberley, and Master Boreel, and then Signior Franciscus

Mannerba, the Padre Guardian of the Monasterie, and all the rest in order, and bade us welcome, and led us into a faire Parlour, and set good cheere before us, and served us themselves. After Supper we delivered them our Letters which wee had brought from the Venice Consull of Aleppo, and other Italian Merchants there, in our behalfe. Which when they had read, the Guardian said, our custome is, when strangers come to us, to call them the first night to Masse, and to Confession, and to give every man a Candle to hold in his hand at Masse time; and at night to wash their feet and to bring them to bed, and to many other ceremonies, during the whole time of their continuance there. But as for us, they understood by Letters what we were; and told us that we were so highly commended by their Patrons and Benefactors, the Venice Consull, and Merchants of Aleppo, that if they should shew us halfe the favour which was required at their hands, they should themselves lie without doores and suffer us to rule and dominiere at our pleasures. And that therefore they would not urge us to any thing against our consciences, but give free libertie both of persons and consciences, as if wee were in England, or in our owne houses elsewhere; and so much the rather, because they understood our Merchants were rich, and hoped to gaine by us. In regard whereof, although it were Lent, wherein they eate no flesh, yet offered us Hens, Egges, Milke: any thing that was there to be had for money, they requested us to command it. And during the time of our continuance there, he commanded one Padre Aurelio to attend upon us, and see that wee wanted nothing; and another of his brethren, one Padre Angelo, to be our guide abroad, and to shew us all ancient Monuments and places worth seeing, either in the Citie or out of the Citie.

These kind speeches being used, they brought us to our chambers where wee should lodge all night, and provided for every man severally a good neat Bed with faire sheets, and all things very wholsome and handsome, where wee

slept sweetly, and refreshed our wearied bodies all that night very comfortably.

But although they dealt thus kindly with us (at the instance of their Benefactors) in giving us libertie of conscience, yet they deale not so with others. For some I doe know who have beene there, and made no conscience to doe as they have done. Wherefore, I admonish those who have a desire to travell to Jerusalem hereafter, to take heed to themselves, that they make not shipwracke of conscience; for if they come not well commended, or well moneyed, or both, there is no being for them, except they partake with them in their idolatrous services. True it is, that the Turkes give libertie of conscience unto all that come thither; but they give not entertaynment unto any Christians in their houses. And the Greeke Patriarchs are poore, and not able to protect such as come unto them for refuge. These Padres, though they bee Papists, yet have they rich Benefactors, and want nothing, and (for the most part) very kind and curteous to strangers in all things, libertie of conscience onely excepted, wherein they seeke to make others like unto themselves, and to seduce them from their Faith, and to winne them to the Church of Rome: and offer unto them who have money in their purses, to make them Knights of the Sepulcher; but no good English Subject will accept of that order of Knighthood; for at the receiving thereof, they sweare to bee true to the Pope, and to the King of Spaine, and to other things, which no man can doe with a good conscience. And this kindnesse and libertie of conscience, which wee found amongst them, wee imputed not so much to the men, as to our owne money: for it cost us charo, viz. one hundred Duckets for our entertaynment.

An admonition to such as travell to Jerusalem.

After wee had rested one night in Jerusalem, the first day wee walked about the Citie our selves without our guide, onely to view the Citie, wee found it exceeding hot, and hotter then it is usually at Midsummer in England: It seemed strange unto mee, how it should once bee so cold, that Peter should creepe to the fire, and now (at

the same season) so hot that wee could not indure the heate of the Sunne. But after I had beene there a few dayes, the very place resolved that doubt: for there fall great deawes, and before the Sunne have dried it up, it is cold, and in the night season (about that time of the yeere) somewhat cold, as I felt by experience when I slept in the fields all night. And Peter having watched with Christ in the night, might well be cold in the morning, before the heat of the Sunne had expelled cold.

But here wee will breake off, having with Master Sandys his eyes curiously viewed Jerusalems Holies in the former Chapter.

[II. viii. 1354.]

Chap. X.

The Journey of Edward Barton Esquire, her Majesties Ambassador with the Grand Signior, otherwise called the Great Turke, in Constantinople, Sultan * Mahumet Chan. Written by Sir Thomas Glover then Secretarie to the Ambassador, and since employed in that Honourable Function by his Majestie, to Sultan Achmet. Two Letters are also inserted, written from Agria, by the said Ambassador Barton.

**If any think it ill that a Christian Ambassador should accompany the Turke in this warre against Christendom: they may please to understand, that his intents were to doe service to the Christians, if occasions were offered for peace: as also he did in deliverie of the Emperors Servants here mentioned, &c.*

First, the Ambassador well mounted, and his two spare Horses, with a Coach with foure Horses; next before him his Chauses, and an Enterpreter, with three Janizaries: and before the Chauses, and Janizaries, his men, (beeing twelve in number) in Liveries rode before him, and foure Gentlemen next after him: and foure Coaches with the Christian Captives (being three and twentie in number) the Family of Signior Crotskii, the Emperour his late Ambassador in Constantinople, which hee redeemed from the Great Turke, and had licence

to carrie them a long with him, and to send them into their owne Countrey, allowing and giving him the foure Coaches, with two Horses in each Coach, and a man to tend on every Coach. Lastly, thirtie sixe Camels for carriage of provision, and to every sixe Camels, two men to attend on them, to lade and unlade as occasion served (which in Turkish, are called Deuedzilers) of them there were twelve in all wayting on the Camels: More the Chauses man and another Turke, called Mahomet, who was recommended to the Ambassadour to be his Lackey, to runne by his Horse untill wee came to Agria.

Now on Friday being the second day of July, 1596. the said Ambassador parted his house (which is in the Vines of Pera,) and tooke his Journey, having to accompany him that first day, Master John Sanderson Merchant (who was by him left an Agent or Logotenent until his returne) Jonas Aldrich Merchant, and John Field a Physician: who brought him that day unto a place, called Aquadulce, and there pitched their Tents, remayning there that night, and the next day ensuing. On Sunday morning at Sunne rising, we departed from Aquadulce, and came to Ponte Piccolo, about mid-day, which is some fifteene miles distant from Aquadulce, and there wee pitched our Tents. On Munday, before the breake of the day, parted thence about ten of the clocke in the morning, and arrived at Ponte Grande, which is about twelve miles distant; where having pitched our Pavillions the Ambassadour sent his Chaus, and the Drogue-men, with the Grand Signior, his Commission to the Cady of the said Towne, for his allowance of provision, who sent him five Sheepe, two hundred Loaves of Bread, five Meatres of Wine, one loade of Hay, with twentie Kylowes of Barley.

On Tuesday, before day, we parted Ponte Grande, and by Sun-rising wee came to a small Village, called Combergasi, where the Ambassador his people broke their fast, and after an houres stay parted thence, and came to a Towne, called Celebria, about eleven a clocke, which is some ten miles distant from our last Lodging. There also

Or Selimbria.

the Ambassadour sent his Commission to the Cady of the said Towne, who sent him three Sheepe, two hundred Loaves of Bread, ten Meaters of Wine, one loade of Hay, and twentie Kyllowes of Barley, wee pitched our Tents a quarter of a mile distant from the Towne; and an houre within the night, the Moone being up, parted thence.

The twentieth, wee were to passe through a great Wood, betwixt two Mountaynes that day, and in the night to keepe watch. These men are Bulghars, beeing appointed by the Grand Signior, to guard all Travellers (I meane of the Campe) that come that way, for which service the said *Bulgaria.* Bulgharians pay no Tribute to the Turke. Then wee came to a Village, called Servia, which is at the entrance betweene those two Mountaynes, and no other passage but one that goeth to Wallachia, all the Countrey else within these Mountaynes, beeing as it were environed with mightie steepe, woodie hils, as though they were wals of strong Cities; this was the passage that Julius Cæsar passing out of Servia, lost so many thousand men before he could gaine it; for this passage is as though it were hewen or cut out betwixt these two Mountaynes. At the mouth or rather the entrance on the North-side, it is fortified with a mightie great wall from Mountayne to Mountayne, and a strong Castle in the midst, with a great Gate to passe thorow, there is yet to be seene part of the wals, or rather fragments: the wals adjoyning to the Gate are marvellous loose, and shake, readie to fall: some two houres before night, we came to the foot of the Mountayne, and there pitched our Tents a mile from a Towne, called Erchpnia; being from Tartarb-sardgi eight and twentie miles, this day and nights travell was all betwixt these two Mountaynes.

The five and twentieth, we came to the mouth or entrance of a strong passage beeing tenne miles long betwixt two Mountaynes, the way winding in and out, as it [II. viii. were, hewen, or cut out of the Mountaynes, on both sides 1355.] verie loftie: this place is of a wonderfull strength for resisting of the Enemies: Now little after mid-day, we

came to pitch our Tents towards the end of the said passage, by a faire River side.

The sixe and twentieth, passing along the River side, on the high way, wee found two men most miserably put to death, having each of them a stake thrust in at his Fundament, through his bodie, and so out by his necke; the stake being set up right on end: the cause was for killing of a Janizarie, they being Christians. The Grand Signior passing by, caused them so to suffer.

The eight and twentieth, we came to a Towne, called Neesa, and a little before our comming to the same, we saw two men staked as afore-said, who were Transilvanians, came purposely to spie and view the Campe: also at this Townes end, there were of Christians heads flead, and stopt full of Hay hanged on posts by strings, to the number of three hundred which foure moneths before were slaine by Turkes, under Mahomet Bassa, at Bosna: From the entrance of the straight passage to this place are ten miles, and from Sofpa to this place all high Mountaynes, rockie and troublesome to travell: these Mountaynes part Servia and Sclavonia, this Citie is situated in a verie delectable Valley, having towards the West side a faire Plaine, that stretcheth it selfe towards Albania and Macedonia, here we rested all that day and night. *Neesa.*

The third of August, wee came to spread our Tents close by the mayne Campe, halfe a mile distant from Belgrado, which is a marvellous great Plaine adjoyning to the Citie, and about the midst of the Campe, the Grand Signior his Pavillion is alwayes placed; and now hard by his Pavillion by force of hands was raised a small Hill, upon which was growne a Haw-thorne, cut artificially spreading, which made a marvellous good shadow: every Evening the Great Turke would ascend into it to view his Campe, and to be seene of his people, being a custome amongst the Turkes, his Souldiers in the Wars to see their King, once in foure and twentie houres. [II. viii. 1356.]

The seventh, the Ambassador went to the chiefe Vizier, Abraham Bassa, about the Captives he had in his charge, *Abraham Bassa Chiefe Vizier.*

and in conference with him presently, the said slaves were sent for, and beeing brought before the Bassa, in the presence of the Ambassador and other Viziers, and great personages, their deliverance being pronounced, to be sent by the Ambassador into their Countrey, it was granted by them all; whereupon the said slaves kissing the Bassa his feet, as the manner of the Turkes is for such a grace; and the Ambassador also giving them thankes, tooke his leave and so departed, carrying his Captives along with him to his Pavillion.

Christians delivered.

The thirteenth, about Quindi, the Ambassador with his company departed from Belgrado, riding by the South-west end of the Castle, came to the River Lava, neere where it entreth into the Danubium, to passe the bridge purposely made for the Grand Signior, his Armie to passe the same, which bridge is artificially builded upon fortie five great Boats made for that purpose like Lighters, but much broader, deeper and flat bottomed, the length of the same bridge is some one hundred paces, the breadth betwixt the Rayles fortie foot: for space of eight dayes the Armie was going over, in such sort as a man could not passe for the continuall presse of the people.

Bridge of Boates.

Armie eight dayes in passing.

Next morning the Grand Signior parted thence, and some two houres after, the Ambassador followed: now the ordinarie riding of the Great Turke, was in this manner (not speaking of the whole Armie, which went before and followed him, but only of those that attended on his owne person) before him rides one thousand of the bravest and best armed Horsemen, every one with his Lance. Next them some three hundred Chauses; then one hundred Foot-men next before him, with Bowes & Arrowes; then followes his Youths, all for the most part at mans state (called Jehoglans) about some three hundred clothed in Gownes of Brocado, of Gold and Silver, all of one fashion, and a Cap on their heads, made in manner of a French-hood, of course red cloath: in the midst amongst them, are fortie or fiftie men riding on Camels, Horses and Mules, who play on Drummes, Fifes, and many other sorts

of Instruments, continually all the way along: after these follow some fortie Coaches; then his ordinary Servants, as Stable-men, Kitcheners, and such like: this day travelling till about eleven of the clock, we came and spread our Tents, as neere the Grand Signiors Pavillion as we could, and close by the Danubium: whence we came, to this place, is about some nine miles.

The next morning, the Grand Signior departed from Slanconie, and about ten of the clocke came to spread his Pavillion under the side of an hill, close on the other side of the Danubium, some seven miles from the Towne aforesaid; all alongst this Hill full of Vineyards, where the Souldiers gathering and spilling Grapes, were complayned of; whereupon, sixe of them beeing taken, were hanged on Trees in the Vineyards, and after, a strict commandement given not to take any thing perforce from any man, upon paine of death: here the Ambassador was sent for to the Bassa, and readie to depart, the Bassa willed the Ambassador, that the next morning, as the Grand Signior should passe along on his way, hee should bee ready to salute him, for hee said, that he asked for him, and marvelled hee could not see him. Upon this, taking his leave, departed; and so went to the great Hodgia his Tent, and after awhile to his owne Tents. The next morning, perceiving the Great Turkes departure, the Ambassador with his men about him, all on Horse-backe salute his Highnesse according to their manner, bowing, at severall times, and the Grand Signior beholding the Ambassador with his retinue, also did bow himselfe unto them very kindly, and so past on his way, for that the Grand Signior, upon the newes aforesaid, was desirous to see the Ambasadour, which was cause that the Bassa willed the Ambassadour to doe as aforesaid. *Slanconie.*

The five and twentieth, the Grand Signior parted this place (in the morning early) the rather to hasten towards Hatuan, not that hee himselfe in person would goe, but being neere the way to Agria, whereto he went to lay his siedge, might upon any occasion send more succour; the

Ambassador also followed him with his retinue, finding (as before) all plaine Champion grounds, full of Grasse, and Hay: The Grand Signior willing to see his whole *Huge Armie.* Armie, gave order that they should all troope together that day, that hee might have full view of them, which was done accordingly, and a sight almost uncredible, over-spreading a Plaine, further then any man could discerne. The Ambassador, to have a full view of them, mounted a small Hill, about the midst of that Plaine, somewhat higher then the rest; from whence beholding them with great wonder, round about so farre as could not be discerned, the Plaine was over-spread (as aforesaid) with people and carriages. And about Quindi, we came to spread our Pavilions neere unto a ruinated Towne; for that there was no body dwelling in the same, we did not demand the name, being from the place wee came, some twelve miles: All along this way wee saw many reliques of Castles and Townes, which by these warres, afore-time, and now, have beene, and are destroyed and pulled downe.

Quindi, is their Vespers or Even-song, about three or foure in the afternoone, at which time they call to Prayers from their steeples.

The twelfth of September, the Grand Signior removed neere Agria, within full sight thereof, and there hath laid his siege, commanding a Turret of wood to bee made very high, to the end hee might view the whole Campe, to see all what past at his pleasure. All the way from Belgrado, hitherto newes were bruited, that Maximillian was under Vatiæ, where hee kept long Councell, yet hitherto (though he had full power of the Emperor) makes no show nor signe to meete the great Turke, or succour Agria. The same night the Janisaries built and entred their Trenches, placing good store of Artillarie therein; having Abraham Bassa the Visere, and Assan Bassa the Beglerbie of Grecia, to their guard, and began to beate the East part of the Castle; also Giafar Bassa and Mahomet Bassa, the North part, the Bassa of Natolia and Caramania, the West part. The thirteenth, the Hungarians set their Suburbs on fire, which were very well fenced with a high Wall, yet distructing their forces, fearing that the Turkes once entring the same, should make a Fortresse of offence, fired the

[II. viii. 1357.]

same, and fled unto the Castle: Now the Turkes perceiving them to be gone up into the Castle, scaled the out wals of this Towne, and tooke such pilledges as the fire had left there: The chiefest of the Inhabitants of this Citie, fled into the Countries thereabouts, before the Grand Signior his aproaching to the said siege, and the rest retyred themselves into the Castle, as aforesaid, with as much goods as they could. The fourteenth, the Turkes entred, and burned and spoyled the rest of the Suburbs, with a great Church, but were soone repelled, and the Church, with the rest, for that time was well defended. The same day Cigalla was appointed out Skire, with a troope of light Horse-men, to see that no succour should come to the Castle.

The twentieth, Turkes giving fire to a Mine, it proved contrarie to their minds, the force comming forth, and not into the Castle: After which, the defendants perceiving it tooke courage, and assaulted the Trenches of the venturers, whom they found unprovided of defence; slew many, and taking some of them and their Banners, retired into the Castle with their prey, and there set the Banners upon the wals, to terrifie the Turkes. The two and twentieth at night, the Turkes filled the Castle Ditches with Wood and Hay, but because they were not ready, or devised to cover the same with earth, as it ought to be; the defendents seeing it, presently with Wild-fire consumed it; so for that time frustrated their desire, yet continuing their batterie, made foure severall places of the Castle wals assaultable. The three and twentieth, by night had they provided sufficient wood, and other matter to fill the Ditches; in the meane time, the Beglerbie of Janik being sent hither to the siege, without order from the Grand Signior or the chiefest Bassa, and word being brought, the Emperour was strong in those parts, if pardon had not beene gotten for him, he had lost his head; yet presently was sent backe againe from whence he came, upon his owne proper cost and charges, and that was his penaltie for the offence.

The foure and twentieth, the Turkes giving fire to a Mine, had made a great breach, and thereupon gave a generall assault, which indured most fearefully on both sides, for the space of an houre: yet at last the Turkes were beaten backe. After a little rest made, began a new assault, which continued two houres; in the which, the Turkes got the better, gayning the wals and the Artillery on the same, which presently they turned upon the Castle. The twentie five, the Turks gave an assault upon the inner part of the Castle, but repulsed with a great slaughter. The twentie sixe, the Turkes attempting to undermine the Castle, and presently thereupon, to give a generall assault: but the Christians having by some meanes knowledge thereof, to hinder the Turkes they should not give fire thereunto, and to have more time themselves to countermine theirs, went and cast great quantitie of unbeaten corne on that side the wall, so that the Turkes could not wel stand to come nigh to dig or bring powder, so for that day the assault was deferred. The eight & twentieth, in the morning, first fired a Mine which cast up the Castle wall, the breadth of two Carts, and presently upon the same, gave a new assault; but because the Janisaries was not backed, the assault tooke no effect, but about two houres after, refreshing themselves, and gathering more strength, about mid-day began the assault afresh, which indured till night; but because of the great raine that at the instant fell, they prevailed not, though on both sides many slaine, and the Castle put in great jeopardie. On Wednesday the nine and twentieth, and Thursday the thirtieth, still skirmishing for all it rained.

The first of October, as before said, continually skirmishing, it chanced that an English-man a Trumpeter, fled out of the Castle, and being taken by the Turkes, was brought to the Grand Signior, and being examined, advised him of the weake state thereof: according to whose report, in the morning being Saturday the second of October, it was rendred upon condition they might depart with Bag and Baggage: which was granted. The

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF HUNGARY

third, being licenced to depart according to the Grand Signior his promise, under the charge of the Beglerbie of Natolia. At their departure forth of the Castle, they were spoyled of their goods carried with them, and most of them slaine by the Spahies, Janisaries of Hatuan, and other Turks, not without suspition of the Grand Signior his knowledge, because he used no severe punishment for the breaking of his commandement, and his owne promise. There were in number about one thousand Souldiers, and as many more men, women, and children Inhabitants, which were saved and kept to remaine Subjects there: the chiefe Captaines were kept and promised their libertie. The chiefe was Honnger, Signior Paulo: The Coronell Gulielmo Trozka, Johannes Jacobus, Comes Atarne Bohemo, Johannes Kinskye de Tetan; and Count Rugero Italiano.

A Letter written by Master Edward Barton Ambassador, to Master Sanderson; inscribed Al Molto Mag. Sig. Gio. Sanderson, &c. [II. viii. 1358.]

These two letters written by the Ambassador his owne hands, I have for his sake and theirs inserted, given me by Master Sanderson.

LOving friend, I have written twice unto you, as well from Bellograd as also Solnok, of what in my voyage hitherto had passed, but my Letters were intercepted and torne, brought unto my hands againe, and being of no great importance, I will no more reply them, but advise you of the Grand Signior, and our arrivall at Agria, which happened the twelfth of September, and the selfe same night he made his trenches and batteries in six severall places; the Vice-Roy in one place, the Beglerbie of Grecia in another, the Beglerbie of Natolia in the third, the Janisaries in the fourth, Jeffer Bassa Eunuch in the fifth, Mahemed Bassa Gera in the sixt; Cigal Ogli was Captaine over the light Horse-men, to scoure the coasts on all sides, that no succour should come, and to learne advice of the Emperours proceedings and designes.

The thirteenth, the Inhabitants set all their Suburbs on fire, which might be little lesse then Gallata, which though they were well defenced with a strong wall, yet the

defendants being few in number, and distrusting to their owne strength, left the defence of them, and retired themselves within the Castle. The sixteenth, the Janisaries offered a generall skirmish, even under the Gate of the Castle, where on both sides many were slaine, but the Hungars keeping themselves close within the wals, and the Janisaries tyred, soone retired. The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, they intended to undermine the Castle, and the twentieth, put fire thereto, but not succeeding to their mindes (though they valiantly attempted to enter the breach) they gave courage to the defendants to make issue to mutuall damage. The foure and twentieth, the assailants having made another breach, valiantly entred the same, but not being seconded with fresh forces, were repelled, yet two houres after, in the same day, taking on them better courage, and more valiantly seconded, gave a new assault, when by chance, a woman in the Castle setting, by chance, fire on a Barrell of Powder, and the Souldiers of the Castle thinking it was a Mine fired in the Castle, for feare thereof retiring themselves, gave the Turkes courage to enter a small but strong Bastion, builded for defence of a weake part of the Castle, which they valiantly even to the last defended, and ever after, with myning and counter-myning, continuall assaults and skirmishes on both parts fighting, to the extreame losse of the defendants. The first of October, an English Trumpetter escaped out and fled to the Vice-Roy, requiring life and libertie, and declaring the weakenesse of the Castle, was brought before the Grand Signior, to whom likewise he made like relation; according to whose reports, the next day being Saturday the second of October, the Castle was rendered, with compact that all the Souldiers should safely retire whither best they list, and the Inhabitants to remaine continuall Inhabitants, and owners of their former possessions; the latter of which promises was observed, but the first was broken, because the Inhabitants of Hatuan, a Castle belonging to the Grand Signior, two dayes journey thence, together with the Tartars, assaulted the said

Souldiers a mile from Agria in their departure, and cut them all in pieces, because Maximillian with the Emperours forces, having a moneth since taken Hatuan, did most cruelly, without compassion, put all the Inhabitants to the sword. Hence the Grand Signior doth within five daies determine to goe towards Buda uncertaine upon what designe. From Solnok I sent my Drogueman to Buda with the Emperours Ambassador his familie, and in Buda I released five other, with all which companie, consisting of seven and twentie, I received Letters from my Drogueman, and the Gentleman in Buda released; that they departed from Pest the thirteenth of December toward the Emperours Court, God send mee a good answer speedily. And I pray you send this advise for England; Commending me to Ju. Field, and Doctor Sette Cotte, and Master Peter Gallant, with Sign. Ant. Peron, and the French Secretarie: this fift of October, 1596.

Sette Cotte had beene Jew, Christian, Turke, of all, and therefore no Religion: now a rich Turke. Gallant a rich Merchant, Peron a rich Grecian.

Yours assured, E. BARTON.

Part of another Letter written likewise by the said Ambassadour from Agria, to Master Sandy the English Consull at Aleppo.

I Thinke that at your residence with me, you remember how that the Grand Signior had made me grant of the libertie of all the Emperours Ambassadors his family, which now he hath performed, and I have sent them by my Drogueman unto the Emperour, even twentie eight persons of which number divers were Gentlemen of account, so that I hope my service therein shall be gracefull to his highnesse, and acceptable to his Majestie, and of delight to you and the rest my good friends, whom I could not leave unadvised thereof, as alike of the Mansulling of the Bassa, and successe of Abraham Bassa, late high Treasurer, now Bassa of that place, to whom, as to my very good friends, I will earnestly commend you, and the rest of my Countriemen and friends, &c.

The Polish Ambassadour departed from Agria, having

with him three Janisaries, and two Girles, which the Janisaries tooke at Agria the same day, the Ambassadour having occasion to goe to the Bassa, at his returne his Chauses carried him through the Citie of Agria, which was burned and spoyled to the ground, and lying a mile beyond the Towne upon a great Plaine, the poore Christians that were licenced to depart out of the Castle, lay all slaine there scattered. Returning back, we saw under the Castle wals of Christians that were slaine at the siege a great number heaped up together close to the wall, about two fathome high, all naked frying in the Sunne, besides in divers other places many more. Comming along to our Pavilion, wee saw with certaine Janisaries five women and children, the one of five yeeres, and the other sucking the mothers brest; those women and children the Janisaries made purchase of, at rendring up of the Citie, and the Castle of Agria. The Girle of five yeeres of age, the Ambassadour bought for ten Chekines; Here the Grand Signior stayed till the Castle was againe repaired.

[II. viii. 1359.]

The tenth, came newes that Christians were within three daies journey of the Campe, wherupon Gieffer Bassa, and the Beglerbie of Grecia, were sent to view the Christians Campe; who more ventrous then wise, entring the clawes of the Christians, were wholly discomfited, & most of their retinue slaine, and pursued to the Turks campe; for which cause they were both deposed. Yet Assan Bassa was preferred to the Beglerbie of Grecia, which five daies before was taken from him. Now Cigalla was made General together with Assan Bassa, and appointed to go on the Christians: but Agria wals being already repaired, the Grand Signior resolved himselfe to go in person, and departed from Agria on the fourteenth, travelling all that day, till about Quindie, then came to spread his Tents or Pavilions. Next morning proceeding on his journey, about ten of the clocke hee came in sight of the Christians, and within halfe an houre after, began to skirmish with them, they being intrenched neere to their Campe, by two old Churches or Chappels upon a great Plaine, neere to

a long puddle or moorish ground, of some foure miles long, all alongst a small banke or hill, in breadth some seven or eight Rods; and beyond this, upon this hill or banke aforesaid, had the Christians incamped themselves. About mid-day, at the aproaching of the Grand Signior, they skirmished freshly, and some Turkes intrenched themselves neere unto one of these Churches aforesaid, these continuing all day skirmishing, as aforesaid, where both sides shewed great valour, but small bloud shed, in respect of such infinite forces as were there, especially of Turkes. The Janisaries in particular, bravely entred the Christians Trenches, but not being seconded, were most of them put to the Sword; and the Christians perceiving no seconds, valiantly marched forwards, and gained the Turkes Trenches, put them to flight with some slaughter. Now the night approaching, and raine withall, the Grand Signior retired with his Pavilions, some mile off: the Ambassadour also with his companie, seeking to plant themselves for that night, not finding his carriages, was constrained to rest in the open field without any Tent, or ought else over his head, and neither meat nor drinke. The Ambassador was faine to send two of his Janisaries to seeke for somewhat for him and his Companie, as also for their Horses; at length they brought some twelve Okes of Bisket, whereof some part wee eate, and the rest gave our Horses: also Benjamin Bushop having formerly under Agria bought a Dutchman, Slave to the Turks, who riding all day with us, and being ill at ease, the same night he dyed with his Horse in his hand.

The sixteenth, when after a troublesome night, approached the day, that bloudy day, that dreadfull day to the Turkes, but most unfortunate to the Christians: In the morning newes being brought, that the Christians had forsaken the Turkes Trenches, and retired to their owne; the Turkish Horse-men that seeing, assaulted them valiantly, and though they found good incounter, yet repulsed the Christians. Now againe, when the Christians had set their forces in good order, they brought their maine

campe forth, and soone repelled the Turks, where the poore Janisaries, being Foot-men, were all put to the Sword, some two thousand persons, the Christians seeing *Turkes flee.* the Turkes flie, followed in brave Martiall manner: The Foot-men Harquebuses, before them the light Artillerie, and after them the Horse-men in warlike manner, whose approaching so terrified the Turkes, that without respect of their Emperour, and their livings depending on him, they fled in most shamefull wise, so that the Christians without resistance, approached even nigh the Pavilions of the Grand Signior. At which time I leave to the world, to consider what fright the Grand Signior was in, seeing all his Armie flie; yet incouraged by some about him of his chiefe Officers, caused his Banners Imperiall, to march forwards upon the Christians; and he with his Bow and Arrowes shot thrice, and as some say, slue three Christians. Now the Tartars, for feare of the Harquebuses, gathered themselves about the Grand Signior his Pavillion, and hovering a little off, and Hassan Bassa who had the charge of the rereward (lest the Christians Horse should assault the Grand Signior on the backe side) approaching with all the Grecian light horsemen, who taking the right side of the Christians, were al ready on the face encountred with those who invironed the Grand Signior, and on the other side, by the Tartars, were on the sudden so frighted, that the Horse-men forsaking the Artillerie and guard of the Foot-men, fled without order, and being pursued, many of them were slaine; but the poore footmen soone incompassed by the troopes of Turkes Horse-men, were all most cruelly without blow offering or shew of resistance, put to the Sword; many of the Horse-men by benefit of the night, escaped to the Mountaynes of Agria.

The seventeenth in the morning, there came to the [II. viii. Ambassadors Pavillion, two great Chauses from the Bassa, 1360.] who willed him to goe with them to view the place where the Christians had encamped themselves: which he did, taking foure Janizaries, his owne two Chauses, two Spaheis, and his owne men. Now missing one of his Janizaries, his

fellow not having seene him all that day, riding along at the entrance of the Christians Campe, found the said Janizarie slaine, whom the Ambassador shewed the Chauses, and so past along; the foresaid Chauses shewed the Ambassadour what place they had chosen for their Armie; which, if they had kept themselves within that compasse, and let the Turkes assault them still as they began, and they but to defend themselves, in small time would have wearied the Turkes, and done them great damage; and little hurt to themselves: for onely but at two muddy watery places (by the foresaid old Chappels) could the Turkes come neere them to doe any great harme: for hardly could a Horse passe, for being layed in, so that no possibilitie was for the Christians to have any great repulse. But passing those places, assaulting and skirmishing with the Turkes was their overthrow. Thus these Chauses led the Ambassador from the one end to the other, which is about two miles long, and a very great Plaine, and Woods at the end thereof. There was all their Ordnance left behind them, and much Armour which the Christians that fled cast away, to goe with more speed when the Turkes pursued them so neere. When they came to the end thereof, some which fled, being overtaken, lay slayne, both Horse-men and Foot-men. There was left great store of Wheat, Meale, Bread, Butter, Cheese, Bacon, Sausages, Beefe, and other provision. Now, the Ambassador returned to his Pavillion, bringing these two Chauses with him to dinner; which done, they tooke their leave and departed. After this conquest, the Grand Signior rested in his Pavillions there three dayes.

The nineteenth, the Grand Signior raysed his whole Armie, bending his course homewards, arriving at Constantinople on Sunday, being the twelfth of Decemb. 1596. at which time he was received with great pompe, and before his entrance, the Ambassadour, being placed by the chiefe Vizere, that when the Grand Signior came, hee went and saluted him, as the manner amongst them is, and kissed his hand; which done, he returned to his Horse.

The Agent aforesaid, with a fresh Horse, and a troope of more then twelve met; having met him foure miles off from Constantinople, and about midday came to his owne house in the Vines of Pera, God be thanked, and his holy and blessed Name, for this, and our preservation in so dangerous a Voyage, and for all other his infinite goodnesse towards us, be praised for evermore. Amen.

The Ambassador reported to Master John Sanderson, that the Hodjee or Schoole-master of the Great Turke, encouraged him in this extremitie to get upon his Horse, wrapping himselfe in Mahomets Flag, and to take these three * Arrowes, and shoot them towards the Christians Campe, using these words following, Bismilla Rohmane Roheim; which hee did. Cigallogli encouraged the Turkes to turne upon the Christians then busied in pillaging, and put them to flight. After which service Cigallogli (before Mansul'd or put out of his place of High Admirall) came to the Turke, who embraced and kissed him, saying, he deserved not onely his place againe but the Kingdome.

**This holy Flag and these Arrowes seeme to be reliques, and of holy esteeme as those three words also.*

The Reader may informe himselfe more fully of this Battel, and the Christians spoile through greedinesse of spoile, in Knolles, or other Writers of the Turkish Storie. This our Author hath so written his Voyage, from thence sent by the Ambassador into Poland, also from Constantinople to Tripolis in Syria, 1601. from Constantinople to Aleppo, 1602. into England, 1603. and againe from Constantinople to England, 1604. But I feare my Reader will bee wearie of Turkie: from whence yet yee may not, shall not depart, till yee have beene made spectators of a Tragicall Comedie, and a Comicall Tragedie (Comicall, I hope to us, if the sinnes of Christendome prevent not, to the Turkes a Tragedie) the most dismall that ever yet befell the Ottomans. In the first, the same man is both Author and Actor; in the next, you have a Chòragus, to whom wee owe much for this, for former his learned and honourable services, both full of Raritie and Varietie, the parents of Wonder and Delight.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF FRANCE

Chap. XI.

[II. viii. 1361.]

The Travels and Adventures of Captaine John Smith in divers parts of the world, begun about the yeere 1596.

§. I.

His Travels thorow France, Italie, and on the Sea coasts of Europe, Africa, and Asia: His entertaynment and exploits in the Emperours warres against the Turke: his subtile Stratagems, valorous Combats, Applause, advancement, Honour.

N his youth, when France and Netherlands had taught him to ride a Horse, and use his Armes; with such rudiments of Warre as his tender yeeres in this Martiall Schoole could attayne unto; he was desirous to see the World, and trie his fortune against the Turke. Opportunitie casting him into the companie of foure French Gallants well attended, fayning to him they were devoted that way; overperswaded him in the Low Countries, to goe with them into France: with such ill weather as winter affoordeth, in the darke night they arrived in the broad shallow inlet of S. Valereys in Piccardie. A worse winter, and darker night accompanied him, namely his French Gallants; which, liking well his apparell, and thinking him better furnished with money then themselves, plotted with the Master of the ship, who conveyed them and his Trunks ashoare; and left him aboord till the Boat could returne, which was not till next day towards evening. The reason he alleaged was, the Sea was so high he could come no sooner: And that his pretended French Lord was gone to Amiens, where they would stay his comming.

A French cheater pretending to be the Lord Deprean and his company, coozen him of his Clothes, Trunkes, and Money.

Which treacherous villanie, when divers other Souldiers Passengers had understood, they had like to have slaine the Master: and had they knowne how, would have runne away with the ship.

Currianuer, a kind Frenchman.

One of the Souldiers, called Currianuer, compassionating his injurie, assured him this great Lord Deprean, was onely the sonne of a poore Lawyer of Mortaine in Bas Brittagine, and his attendants Cursel, La Nelie, and Monferat, three younger Brothers, as arrant cheaters as himselfe; and if he would accompanie him, he would bring him to their friends, and in the interim supplie his wants. Thus travelling by Diep, Codobeck, Honfleu, Pount Rodemer in Normandie, they came to Caen in Bas Normandie. Where both the Noble Currianuer, and many of his friends kindly welcommed him, and brought them to Mortaine, where hee found their friends, as hee had promised him, but to small purpose. Yet the bruit occasioned the Ladie Columber, the Baron Larshan, the Lord Shasge, and divers other honourable persons to supplie his wants, and to give him kind entertainment with them, to recreate himselfe as long as he would. But such pleasures little suted with his poore estate: and his restlesse spirit could never find content to receive such noble favours as he could neither deserve, nor requite. Whereupon, wandring from Port to Port, to find some Man of Warre, he spent that he had, and in a Forrest, neere dead with griefe, a rich Farmer found him by a faire fountaine under a tree. This kind Pesant relieved him againe to his content, to follow his intent. Not long after, as he passed through a great Grove of trees betwixt Pounterson and Dinan in Brittaigne, it was his chance to meet Cursell, more miserable then himselfe. Without any word they both drew, and in a short time Cursell fell to the ground: where, from an old ruinated Towne the Inhabitants seeing them, were satisfied, when they heard Cursell confesse what formerly had passed; and that in the dividing what they had stolne from him, they fell by the eares among themselves: but for his part hee excused himselfe to be

Diep. Caudebecq. Honfleu. Caen.

He meets Cursell, & wounds him in fight.

Theeves fall out without satisfaction to the true man.

A.D. c. 1596.

innocent, as well of the one as of the other. In regard of his hurt, Smith was glad to bee so rid, directing his course to an honourable Lord, the Earle of Ployer: who (during the Warres in France) with his two brethren had beene brought up in England; by whom he was better refurnished then ever. When they had shewed him Saint Malo, Mount Saint Michael, Lambal, Saint Brieux, Lanion, and their owne faire Castle of Tunkadeck Guigan, and divers other places in Brittaigne, and their Cornwall; taking his leave he tooke his way to Renes, the Brettons chiefe Citie; and so to Nantes, Poytiers, Rochell, and Bordeaux. The rumour of the strength of Bayon in Biskay caused him to see it: And from thence tooke his way from Leskar in Bearn, and Pow in the Kingdome of Navarre to Tolouse, Vizers, and Carcasson in Gascoigne; Narbonne, Montpellier, Nysmes, and Poundegale, in Langedock, and through the Countrey of Avinion by Arles, to Marselles in Provence.

Earle of Ployer.

Saint Malo, SaintMichael, Lamballe, Saint Brieux, Lanion, places of note in Brittaigne. Renes. Nantes. Rochell. Bordeaux. Baione. Lescar in Bearn. Carcasson. Narbonne.

There embarking himselfe for Italie, the ship was inforced to Toulon; and putting againe to Sea, ill weather so grew upon them, they anchored close aboord the shoare, under the little Ile of Saint Marie against Nice in Savoy. Here the inhumane Provincials with a rabble of Pilgrims of divers Nations going to Rome, hourely cursed him not onely for a Hugonot, but said, his Nation were all Pirats; rayling on his dread Soveraigne Queene Elizabeth, and that they never should have faire weather so long as he was aboord them. There disputations grew to that passion, that they threw him overboord: yet God brought him into that little Ile, where were no Inhabitants. The next morning hee espied two ships more ride by them, put in by the storme; which fetched him aboord, well refreshed him, and so kindly used him, that hee was well contented to trie the rest of his fortunes with them. After he had related unto them this former discourse: what for pitie and for love of the Honourable Earle of Ployer, this Noble Britton his neighbour, Captaine La Roshe of Saint Malo, regarded and enter-

[II. viii. 1362.]

Nysmes. Marceille in Provence. Toulon. An inhumane Act of Popish charitie.

Entertayned by a Brittaigne Captayne.

tayned him. With the next faire wind they sayled along by the coast of Corsica, and Sardinia, and crossing the Gulfe of Tunis, passed by Cape Bona, to the Ile of *Lampedosa.* Lampadosa; leaving the coast of Barbarie till they came at Cape Rosato, and so along by the African shoare for *Alexandria.* Alexandria in Egypt. There having delivered their *Scanderone.* fraught, they went to Scanderone; and after keeping their *Cyprus.* course by Cyprus, and the coast of Asia; sayling by *Rhodes.* Rhodes, the Archipelagus, Candia, and the coast of Græcia, *Archipelagus.* and the Ile Cephalonia; they lay to and againe a few dayes, *Cephalonia.* betwixt the Ile of Corfu, and the Cape of Otranto in the Kingdome of Naples, in the entrance of the Adriaticke Sea, till they mette with an Argosie of Venice, which it seemes, the Captaine desired to speak with: whose untoward answer was such as slue them a man. Where-*A desperate Sea-fight.* upon presently the Britton gave them his broad side, then his stearne, and his other broad side also; and continued his chase Peeces till hee gave so many broad sides one after another, that the Argosies Sayles and tackling were so torne that shee stood to her defence, and made shot for shot. Twice in one houre and halfe the Brittons boorded her, yet they cleered them selves. But clapping her aboord againe, the Argosies fired him, with much danger to them both, but was presently quenched. This rather [II. viii. augmented the Brettons rage, then abated his courage; 1363.] and having re-accommodated himselfe againe, he shot her so betweene wind and water, that shee was ready to sinke: then they yeelded. The Brettons lost fifteene men, shee twentie, besides divers hurt: the rest went to worke on all hands; some to stop the leakes, others to guard the *Argosie taken and rifled by a ship of Brittaine.* prisoners, which were chayned; the rest to rifle her. The Silkes, Velvets, Cloth of gold, and Tissue; Peasters, Chickines, and Sultanies, they unloaded in foure and twentie houres in wonderfull store: whereof having sufficient; and tyred with toyle, they cast her off with all her companie, with as much good Merchandize as would have fraughted such another Britton.

To repaire his defects he stood for the Coast of Calabria:

A.D. c. 1596.

but hearing there were sixe or seven Galleys at Mesina, he departed thence for Malta: but the winde comming faire, hee kept his course along the coast of the Kingdome of Sicilia, by Sardinia and Corsica, till hee came to the Road of Antibo in Piemont, where he set Smith on shoare, with five hundred Chickenes, and a little Box which he had, worth neere as much more. Here he embarqued himselfe for Legorne, being glad to have such an oportunitie and meanes to better his experience, by the view of Italie: and having passed Tuscanie, Veterbo and many other Cities, as Rome, and Saint Peters Patrimonie, he went downe the River Tyber, to Civita Vecha: where hee embarqued himselfe to satisfie his eye with the faire Citie of Naples, and her Kingdomes Nobilitie, returning by Capua, Rome, and Siena, he passed by that admired Citie of Florence, the Cities and Countries of Bolonia, Ferrara, Mantua, Padua, and Venice: whose Gulfe he passed from Malamaco, and the Adriaticke Sea for Ragouza, spending sometime to see the barren broken Coast of Albania and Dalmatia, to Capo de Istria, travelling the Mayne of poore Sclavonia, by Tubliano, till hee came to Gratz in Stiria, the Seat of Ferdinando an Arch-duke of Austria, (now Emperour of Almaine) where hee met an English and an Irish Jesuite: who acquainted him with many brave Gentlemen of good qualitie: especially with the Lord Ebersbaught, to whom hee gave experiments of such conclusions, as he projected to undertake: hee preferred him to Baron Kizell, Generall of the Artillery: and he to a worthy Colonell, the Earle of Meldritch, with whom going to Vienna in Austria, hee made him Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Souldiers, under whose Regiments how he spent his time, this insuing Discourse will declare, as it is written in a Booke intituled, The Warres of Transilvania, Wallachi, and Moldavia, written by Francisco Ferneza a Learned Italian, Secretarie to Sigismundus Bathor the Prince.

Smith set on shoare at Antibo, in Piemont.

Legorne, or Livorno.

Rome.

Sienna.

Florence, &c.

Sclavonia.

Gratz in Stiria.

Vienna.

[Extracts of

[II. viii. 1364.]

Extracts of Captaine Smiths Transylvanian Acts, out of Fr. Fer. his Storie.

Olimpach relieved.

AFter the losse of Caniza, the Turkes with twentie thousand besieged the strong Towne of Olimpach, so straitly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour, till John Smith an English Gentleman, acquainted Baron Kizell, Generall of the Arch-Dukes Artillerie, that he had taught the Generall his worthy Friend, such a Rule, that hee would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and have his Answere; would they bring him but to some place, where he might make the flame of a Torch seene to the Towne. Kizell inflamed with this strange invention; Smith made it so plaine, that forth-with he gave him Guides, who in the darke night brought him to a Mountaine, where he shewed three Torches equi-distant from each other, which plainly appearing to the Towne, the Governour presently apprehended: and answered againe with three other fires in like manner, each thus knowing the others being and intent. Smith, though distant seven miles, signified to him these words. On Thursday at night I will charge on the East, at the Alarme sally you: Eberspaught answered he would. And thus it was done, First, he writ his Message, as briefe you see, as could be; then divided the Alphabet in two parts thus: A B C D E F G H I K L with one Light, the other Letters following with two, M N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z. The first part from A to L is signified by shewing and hiding one Linke so oft as there is Letters from A to that Letter, you meane; the other part from M to Z, is mentioned by two Lights in like manner; the end of a word is signified by shewing of three Lights, ever staying your Light at that Letter, you meane, till the other may write it in a Paper, and answere by his signall, which is one Light. It is done, beginning to account the Letters, by the Lights every time from A or M: by this meanes, also the other returned his Answere, thereby each understanding other. The Guides all this time, having well

Speech by Torches.

A good stratagem.

viewed the Campe, returned to Kizell, who doubting of his power, being but twentie thousand, was animated by the Guides which related that the Turkes were so divided by the River in two parts, that they could not easily second each other. To which Smith added this conclusion, that two or three thousand pieces of Match, fastened to divers small Lines of two hundred fathome in length, beeing armed with Powder, might all bee fired and stretched at one instant, before the Alarme, upon the Plaine of Eysnaburge, supported betweene two staves, at each Lines end: in that manner, would seeme as if they were so many Musketiers: which was so put in practice, as being discovered by the Turkes, they prepared to encounter these false fires, thinking there had bin some great Armie, whilst Kizell with his Forces entred the Turkes quarter. They now ranne up and downe as men amazed, and it was not long ere Eberspaught was pell mell with them in their Trenches: in which distracted confusion, a third part of the Turkes that besieged that side towards Konbrucke were slaine, many of the rest drowned, and fled: the other part of the Armie was so busied to resist the false fires, that Kizell before the morning had put in two thousand good Souldiers into the Towne, and with small losse was retyred: the Garrison was also well relieved with that which they found in the Turkes Quarter: Which caused the Turkes to rayse their Siege, and returne to Caniza, and Kizell with much honour was received at Kerment: and occasioned the Author a good reward and preferment, to bee Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Souldiers, under the conduct of Colonell Meldrich.

Another stratagem.

Smith made Captaine of 250. Souldiers.

A generall Rumour of a generall Peace, now spread it selfe all over the face of those tormented Countries: but the Turke intended no such matter, but levied Souldiers from all parts he could, and the Emperour also by the assistance of the Christian Princes, provided three Armies: the one led by the Arch-duke Matthias, the Emperours Brother, and his Lieftenant Duke Mercurie to defend low

Three Armies.

Hungarie; the second by Ferdinando the Arch-duke of Stiria, and the Duke of Mantua his Leiftenant to regaine Caniza: the third by Don Gonsago Governour of high Hungarie to joyne with Basta, to make an absolute Conquest of Transilvania.

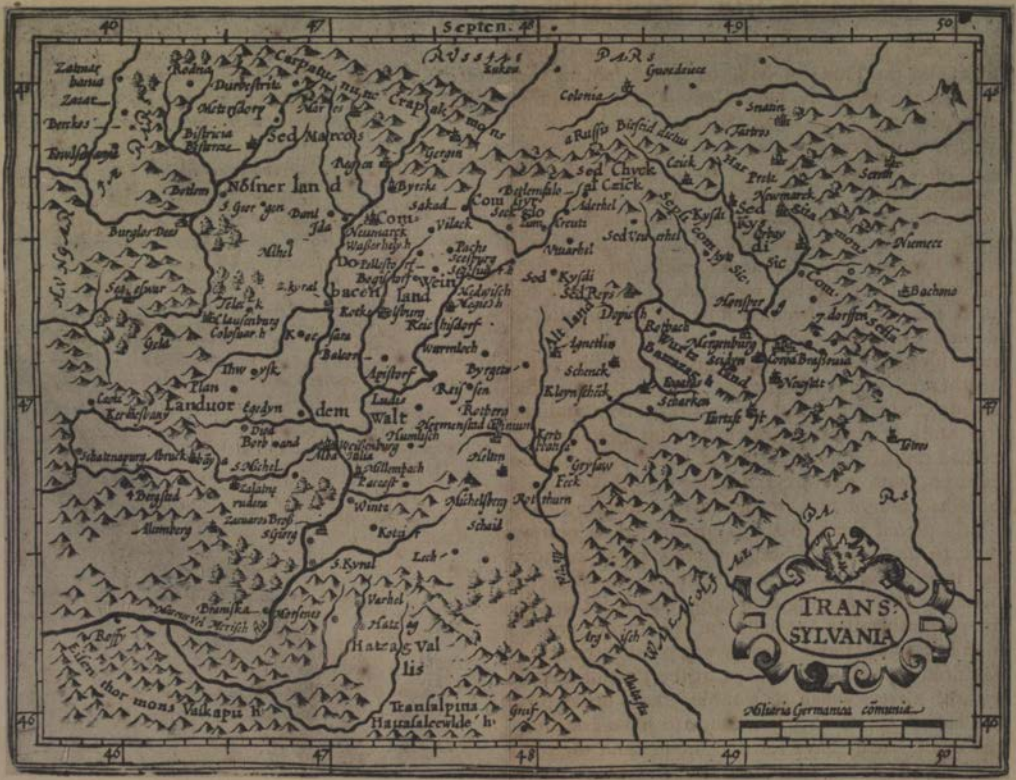
The siege of Alba Regalis. Duke Mercurie with an Armie of thirtie thousand (whereof neere ten thousand were French) besieged Stolewisenburg, otherwise called Alba Regalis, a place so strong by art and nature that it was thought impregnable. There hapened many a bloudie sally, strange stratagems and valiant Exploits on both sides by severall Nations: but in briefe, Earle Meldritch by the information of three or foure Christians escaped out of the Towne. Captaine Smith tooke occasion upon the great Assemblies, thronging together at every Alarme, to put in practice the fierie Dragons, which hee had demonstrated him and the Earle Von Sults at Comora, which he thus performed. After hee had prepared fortie or fiftie Earthen round bellied Pots prepared, with mixtures, Powder and Bullets, as experiences had taught him (though with exceeding danger) he so fitly placed them in slings, graduated so neere as they could to these Assemblies, and other places of advantage, that at mid-night upon the Alarme, it was a fearefull sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the Ayre: but presently after the fall, the lamentable noyse of the miserable slaughtered Turkes was most terrible; besides, they fired that strong Suburbe, at the Port of Buda, in two or three places, which so troubled the Turkes to quench, that had there beene any meanes to have assaulted them, they could hardly have resisted the fire and their Enemies.

Fierie Dragons.

This Citie being taken by the incredible Adventures of the Duke, the Earle Roseworme with the other Colonell and Captaines, which had beene in possession of the Turkes, more then fiftie yeares: the Turke sent presently Asan Bassa with threescore thousand, if it were possible to re-gaine it: the Duke understanding this, with twentie thousand met him: where five or sixe thousand were slaine, with the Bassa of Buda, and foure or five Zanzackes.

[II. viii. 1365.]

A Battell, and the Bassa of Buda slaine.



HONDIUS HIS MAP OF TRANSYLVANIA

Duke Mercurie dividing his Armie, sent the Earle Meldrich (of whose Company was Captaine Smith in this encounter) to assist the Lord Basta, Generall for the Emperor Rodulph, against Sigismundus Bathur, the Prince of Transilvania: who was beyond all mens beliefe, newly returned from Polonia; and established in his Estate; the Earle neither finding pay, nor such regard as he expected, perswaded his Troupes rather to serve the Prince against the Turkes, then Basta against the Prince. The Souldiers worne out with these paylesse Travels, upon hope to make Bootie of what they could get from the Turke, were easily perswaded to follow him wheresoever: especially to helpe to re-gaine or ransacke his Fathers Country then possessed by the Turkes, which (they heard) notwithstanding those Warres, were rich and unspoyled. The Prince glad of so a brave a Commander, and so many expert and ancient Souldiers, made him Campe-master of his Armie, gave him all necessaries else hee could, and what freedome they desired to ransacke the Turkes.

The Earle having made many incursions into the Land of Zarkain, amongst the rockie Mountaines, where the people were some Turkes, some Tartars, some Jewes, but most Banditos, Renegadoes, and such like, which sometimes he forced into the Plaines of Regall: where is a Citie, not only of men and Fortifications, strong of it selfe; but so environed with Mountaines, and the passage so difficult, that in all those warres, no attempt had beene made upon it to any purpose. Having satisfied himselfe with the situation and those passages, amongst which he had many a sharpe encounter: at last, with eight thousand he pitched his Campe before it. The Inhabitants scorning so small a number, sallied in such abundance, that about one hundred and fiftie were slaine on both sides, and the Turkes chased so neere the Ports, that the Towers small shot and Ordnance caused the Earle to retyre. *Regal besieged.*

The next day Zachell Moyzes, Liuetenant Generall to the Prince, came with foure thousand Foote and Horse, and foure and twentie Peeces of Ordnance, but in regard

of the situation of the place, they did more feare then hurt them: till they had spent neere a moneth in raising their Mounts and Batteries; which slow proceeding the Turkes daily derided, and as fearing least they should depart ere they assaulted the Citie, sent this challenge to any Captaine in their Armie: That to delight the Ladies who did long to see some Courtlike pastime, the Lord Turbashaw did defie any Captaine that had the command of a Companie, which durst cumbat with him for his head. The matter being discussed, was accepted. But so many questions grew for the undertaking, that it was devided by lots, and the lot fell upon Captaine Smith, before spoken of. Truce being taken for that time, the Rampiers all beset with faire Dames, and men in Armes, the Christians in Batalia; Turbashaw, with a voice of Hoboyes entred the field, well mounted and armed: on his shoulders were fixed two paire of great wings, richly garnished with gold, silver, and precious stones, a Janisarie before him, bearing his Launce; on each side, another leading his Horse; where long he stayed not before Smith with a noise of Trumpets (onely a Page bearing his Lance) passing by him, with a curteous salute, tooke his ground with such good successe, that at the sound of the charge he passed the Turke thorow the sight of his beaver, face, head, and all, that hee fell dead to the ground; where alighting, unbracing his Helmet, he tooke off his head, leaving the Turkes his body, and so returned without any hurt at all. The head he presented to the Lord Moyzes the Generall, who kindly accepted it, and with joy to the whole Armie, he was generally welcome.

Three single combats.

The first onely with Lances.

Manner of Turbashas entrance.

C. Smith enters.

Turbasha slaine.

The death of this Captaine, so swelled in the heart of one Grualgo his vowed friend, as rather inraged with madnesse then choller, he directed a particular Challenge to the Conquerour, to regaine his friends head, or lose his owne, with his Horse and Armour for advantage: which, according to his desire, was the next day undertaken, as before. Upon the sound of the Trumpets their Launces flew in pieces, upon a cleere passage, but that the Turke

The second combat twixt Smith and Grualgo with Pistols.

was neere unhorsed: their Pistols were the next, which marked Smith upon the Placket; but the next shot, the Turke was so wounded in the left arme, that not able to rule his Horse, and defend himselfe, he was throwne to the ground, and so bruised with the fall, that he lost his head, as his friend before him, with his Horse and Armour; but his bodie and his rich apparell, was sent backe to the Towne.

Grualgo slaine.

Every day the Turkes made some sallies, but few skirmishes would they indure to any purpose, our workes and approaches being not yet advanced to that height, and effect as necessitie required. To delude time, Smith with many incontradictable perswading reasons, obtained leave, that the Ladies might know he was not so much enamored with their Servants heads, but if any Turke of their ranke would come to the place of Combat to redeeme them, hee should have his also upon the like conditions, if they could winne it. The Challenge presently was accepted by Bony Molgro. The next day both the Champions entring the field, as before, each discharging their Pistols, having no Launces, but such martiall weapons as the Defendant had appointed, no hurt was done. Their Battle-axes were the next, whose piercing bils made sometimes the one, sometimes the other, to have scarce sence to keepe their Saddles: especially the Christian received such a wound, that he lost his Battle-axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it: whereat the supposing conquering Turke had a great shout from the Rampiers. The Turke prosecuted his advantage to the uttermost of his power: yet the other, what by the readinesse of his Horse, and his judgement and dexteritie in such a businesse beyond all mens expectation, by Gods assistance, not onely avoyded the Turkes violent blowes, but having drawne his Faulchion, pierced the Turke so under the Cullets through backe and body, that although he alighted from his Horse, hee stood not long ere hee lost his head, as the rest had done.

Third combat with Battle Axes.

C. Smith endangered. Drawes his Faulchion, and kills Bonny Molgro.

This good successe gave such incouragement to the

His honorable returne. Armie, that with a guard of sixe thousand, three spare Horses, before each, a Turkes head upon Launces, hee was conducted to the Generals Pavilions with his presents. Moyses received both him and them with as much respect as the occasion deserved, imbracing him in his armes, gave him a faire Horse richly furnished, a Cymiter and Belt worth three hundred Ducats, and Meldrich made him *Made Sergeant Major.* Sergeant Major of his Regiment. The Towne with an incredible trouble and danger was assaulted, and at last *Regall taken.* taken perforce, where the Earle remembring his Fathers death, caused all he could find beare Armes to be put to the Sword, and their heads to bee set upon stakes, round about the walls, in the same manner as they had served the Christians when they tooke it. Then he sacked *Varatzo, Solmos, Cuprouka.* Varatzo, Solmos, and Kuprouka, whereto had retired the remnant of this Den of Theeves, leaving five thousand dead (though he lost neere as many, yet) with all the spoyle and two thousand prisoners (most women and children) he returned to Esenberge, not farre from the Princes Pallace, where hee incamped. The Prince comming to view the Armie, presented with the Prisoners, and sixe and thirtie Ensignes (after his accustomed manner, having given thankes to God) he was acquainted what service Smith had done at Olimpach, Stolewisenberge, and *Prince of Transilvania honoreth Captaine Smith.* Regall; for which, with great honor and solemnitie, he gave him three Turkes heads in a Shield for Armes, with an oath ever to weare them in his Colours, his picture in gold, and three hundred Duckats yeerely for a pension.

During all this time, Basta and the Prince being capitulating of a peace, the Emperour had raised new forces for Basta to invade Transilvania; which caused the Prince to condescend to the Articles propounded him: which when Moyses understood, then in field with the whole Armie (that hated the Germans as ill as Turkes) he *Bloudie battell of Christians.* gave battell to Basta. Betwixt them in sixe or seven houres, more then sixe or seven thousand on both sides were slaine. Moyses thus overthrowne fled to the Turkes, and his scattered Troopes, some one way, some another.

The Prince excused himselfe of this unexpected accident, made composition for his dispersed Troopes, yeelded himselfe to Basta; and all his Countrey and Subjects to the Emperours obedience.

Basta thus possessed of Transilvania, drew all the Christians of those old Regiments of Sigismundus, of whose greatnesse and true affections, he was most suspitious, under the conduct of Rodoll Voyuad of Walachia, forced out by Jeremy, put in by the Turke. In this Armie of thirtie thousand, Captaine Smith was one, who (under his noble Colonell holding the same places he had before) had many severall imployments in every dangerous incounter, which would be too voluminous particularly to relate, before they could draw Prince Jeremy to battaile, where (as it is recorded) two thousand on both sides, lay dead in the fields; but Jeremy fled, and Rodol had the victorie, and thereby againe his Soveraigntie.

Smiths imployments under the Vayuod of Walachy.

Bloudie battell twixt the two Vayuods.

Meldrich not long after with thirteene thousand, was sent against the stragling escaped Troopes of Jeremy, which joyning with some Tartars, forraged the frontiers towards Moldavia; but when they heard it was the Crimme Tartar and his two sonnes, with thirtie thousand, and that Jeremy which had escaped, lay with fifteene thousand in Ambuscado for him, about Langanow, hee retired towards Rotenton, a strong Garison for Rodoll: But they were so invironed with these hellish numbers, that they could make no great haste for skirmishing with their Scoutes and Forragers: Yet by getting through a wood in a thick Fog, meeting two thousand loaden with pillage, and two or three hundred Horse and Cattell, the most of them were slaine or taken prisoners, who told Meldrich where Jeremy lay, expecting the Crimme Tartar. Meldrich intending to make by him his passage by force, was advised of a pretie stratagem by Captaine Smith, which presently so accommodated two or three hundred Trunkes, with wild-fire upon the heads of Launces, charging the enemie in the night, gave fire to the Trunkes,

Thirtie thousand Tartars.

A memorable stratagem at the battell of Rottenton.

which blasted forth such flames and sparkles, amazing not onely the Horse but also the Foot, that by the meanes of this flaming incounter, their owne Horses turned tailes with such furie, as by their violence overthrew Jeremy and his Armie, without any losse at all to Meldrich. But of this victorie they not long triumphed; for, being within three leagues of Rotenton, in the Valley of Verest Horne; the Tartar with fortie thousand had so beset him, that they were forced to fight with this matchless number, where neere thirtie thousand were slaine. The Earle, with some fifteene hundred escaped, but the rest were all slaine or taken prisoners: as the Historie at large will plainly shew, the times, place, chiefe Commanders, with the manner and order of their battels, and fights, to which I referre you.

§. II.

Divers valiant English-men in this battell. Captaine Smith taken, sold, sent into Turkie, and over the Black Sea to Tartaria. His admirable escape and other travels in divers parts of Christendome.

IN this dismall battell, Nederspol, Veltus, Zarnava, Mavazo, Bavell, and many other Earles, Barons, Colonels, Captaines, brave Gentlemen and Souldiers were slaine. Give me leave to remember the names, and honor the memories of our owne Country-men in those exploits, which as resolutely as the best, in the [II. viii. 1367.] defence of Christ and his Gospell ended their daies, Batchelor, Hardwicke, Thomas Milemay, Robert Mullynax, Thomas Bishop, Roger Compton, George Davyson, Nicholas Williams, and one John the Scot. These all did what men could doe, and when they could doe no more, left there their martyred bodies, in testimonie of their Martiall minds, onely Ensigne Carlton, and Sergeant Robinson escaped. But Smith amongst the slaughtered dead bodies, with toyle and wounds lay groning, till being

Englishmen slaine.

Ensigne Carlton and Sergeant Robinson escape.

found by the Pillagers that he was able to live, and perceiving by his Armour and habit, that his ransome might be better to them then his death, they led him Prisoner with divers other. Well they used him till his wounds were cured, and at Axopolis they were all brought into the market place and stripped, that the Merchants might see their limbs and wounds, (who had Servants upon purpose to try their strengths) and there sold like beasts. Smith fell to the share of Basha Bogall, who sent him forth-with to Andrinopolis, and so for Constantinople to his faire Mistris for a Slave. By twentie and twentie chained by the necke, they marched in Fyle to this great Citie, where they were delivered to their severall Masters, and he to his young Charatza Tragabigzanda.

Captaine Smith taken.

Captaine Smith sold.

This Noble Gentlewoman tooke sometimes occasion to shew him to some friends, or rather to speake with him, and because she could speake Italian, would faine her selfe sicke when shee should goe to the Banias, or weepe over the graves, to know how Bogall tooke him Prisoner, and if he were, as Bogall writ to her, a Bohemian Lord conquered by his hand, with many more which he had with him, whom hee would present her ere long, whose ransomes should adorne her with the glory of his Conquests. But when shee heard him protest he knew no such matter, nor had ever seene Bogall till hee bought him at Axopolis, and that hee was an English-man, onely by his adventures made a Captaine in those Countries: to try the truth, shee found meanes to find out many which could speak English, French, Dutch, and Italian; to whom he relating the most part of those former passages, (which they honestly reported to her) shee tooke as it seemed, much compassion on him. But having no use for him, least her mother should sell him, she sent him to her Brother the Tymor Bashaw of Nalbrits, in the Country of Cambrya in Tartaria.

But let us remember his passing notes in the speculative course from Constantinople, by Sander, Pelus, Pannasamusa, Lastilla, to Varna, an ancient Citie upon the blacke

How he was sent into Tartaria.

Sea, where having little more libertie then his eies judgement, he might see the Townes with their short Towers, in a most excellent plaine, pleasant, and fertile Countrey, full of Villages, and dispersed faire buildings, as well in Sagovia as Romania. But from Varna, nothing but the blacke Sea, till he came to the two Capes of Taur and Pergillo, which are two muddy Promontories, at the entrance of the Straight Niger, which hath a very deepe Channell, and as he conjectured, ten leagues long, and three broad. At the entrance of the Disabachi Sea, are a great many of high blacke Rocks on each side the Channell to ones thinking, which they said were onely Trees, Weedes, and Muds, throwne from the in-land Countries by the inundations, and by the violence of the Currant cast there by the Eddy: of which as they sayled, they saw many without sight of Land, seeming like high Rockes on low Ilands, which are onely great flats of Osie Quagmires, where infinite heapes of Trees doe sticke; and by their waight, time, and multitudes, though the boughes rot, the bodies they say, have made many of those Osie Flats firme Land in many places: Thus sayling this Dissabachi Sea, till hee came betwixt Susack and Curaske, onely two visible Townes appeared at the entrance of the River Bruago. In sixe or seven daies sayle, hee saw foure or five, seeming strong Castles of stone, with flat tops and Battlements about them; but ariving at Cambria, he was according to their custome, well used. The Castle was of a large circomference, ten or twelve foote thicke in the foundation. Some sixe foote from it a Palizado, and then a ditch round about, fortie foot broad, full of water: on the one side of it a Towne all of low flat houses, but no great matter as it seemed; yet it keeps all that Country in admirable awe and subjection. Three daies he rested there, then it was two daies journey to Nalbrits, the Timors habitation, a place not of much lesse strength then Cambria, where sometimes resideth this Tymor Nalbrits, Brother to the Ladie Tragabigzando. To her unkind Brother this kind Ladie writ so much for his good usage,

Varna.

A description of the Disabachi or blacke Sea.

Cambria.

that hee halfe suspected as much as she intended. For shee told him, he should there but sojourne to learne the language: and what it was to be a Turke, till time made her Master of her selfe. But the Tymor her Brother diverted, and perverted all this to the worst of crueltie: for within an houre after his arrivall, hee caused his Drugman to strip him naked, and shave his head and beard as bare as his hand, a great Ring of Iron with a long stalke bowing like a Sickle about his neck, and a coate made of Ulgrayes haire, much like Hairecloath, guarded about with a piece of an undressed skinne. There were many other Christian Slaves, but more then two hundred Forsados, and he being the last, was Slave of Slaves to them all. Among those slavish fortunes, there was no great choise, for the best was so bad, a Dog could hardly have lived to indure: and yet for all their paines and labour, no more regarded then a Beast. The Tymor and his friends fed upon Pillow, which is boyled Rice and Garnancis, with little bits of Mutton or Buckones, which is rost pieces of Horse, Ulgry, or any Beast. Samboses and Muselbits are great dainties, and yet but round pies full of all sorts of flesh chopped, with varietie of Hearbs. Their best drinke is Coffa, made of a Graine, called Coava, boyled with water and Sherberke, which is onely Hony and Water. Mares Milke, or the Milke of any Beast, they hold restorative; but all the Comminaltie drinke pure Water. Their Bread is made of this Coava, which is a kind of blacke Wheate, and Cuscus a small white Seed like Millet in Biskany. Our common victuall, was the Intrals and Offal of Horses and Ulgryes; of this cut in small pieces, they will fill a great Cauldron; which being boyled, and with Cuscus put in great bowles in the manner of Chafing-dishes, they sit about it on the ground; after they have raked it through as oft as they please with their fowle fists, the remainder was for the Christian Slaves. Some of this broth they would temper with Cuscus, like Butter for Fritters, and putting the fire off from the hearth, powre there a bowle full, then cover it with coales till it

Shaving of Slaves, and hard usage.

Millet.

[II. viii. 1368.]

be baked, which stued with the remainder of the broath, and small pieces of flesh, was an extraordinary dainty.

Their Attire. The better sort are attired like Turkes, but the plaine Tartar weareth halfe a blacke Sheepes skinne over his backe, two of the legges tyed about his necke, the other two about his middle; with another over his belly, and his legges tyed in like manner behind him: then two skinnes more made like a paire of Bases, serve him for Breeches, with a little Cap close to his skull of course blacke Felt, and they use exceeding much of this Felt for Carpets, for Bedding, for Coates, and Idols.

Houses. No houses but moveable Tents. Their houses are much worse then your Irish: but the In-land Countrey hath none but Carts and Tents, which they ever remove from Countrey to Countrey, as they see occasion, driving with them infinite troups of blacke Sheepe, Cattle, and Ulgryes, eating up all before them as they goe.

The Tartars of Nagi. For the Tartars of Nagi, they have neither Towne nor House, Corne nor Drinke, but Flesh and Milke; and live all in Hordias, three or foure thousand of them in a company, all living in great Carts, fifteene or sixteene foot broad, which is covered over with small Rods, wratled together in the forme of a Birds-nest turned upwards, and with the Ashes of bones; tempered with Oyle, and a Clay they have, & Camels haire, they loome them so wel, that no weather wil pierce them, and yet they are very light. Each Hordia hath a Murse, which they obey as King. Their gods are infinite, but the Crimme Tartar and the Tauricks, obey Murtissalla Mahomets chiefe Prophet. One thousand or two thousand of those glittering white Carts drawne with Camels, Deere, Bulls, and Ulgryes, they bring round in a Ring, where they pitch their Campe, and the Murse with his chiefe Alliances are placed in the midst: They doe much hurt when they get any Strogs, which are great Boats, used upon the Edle a River we call Volga, to them that dwell in the Countrey of Poronlog, and would doe much more, were it not for the Muscovits Garisons that there inhabite.

All the hope he had ever to be delivered from this

thraldome, was onely the love of Tragabigzanda, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage: for although he had oft debated the matter with some Christians, which had beene there long Slaves, they could not find how to make any escape, by any reason or possibilitie. But God beyond Mans expectation or imagination, helpeth his Servants when they least thinke of helpe, as it hapned to him. In this miserable estate, he became a Thrasher at a Grange in a great field, more then a league from the Tymors house. The Bassa as he oft used to visite his grounds, visited him, and tooke occasion so to beate, spurne and revile him, that Smith forgetting all reason, beate out his braines with his bat: and seeing his estate could not be worse then it was, he cloathed himselfe in his cloathes, hid his body under the Straw, filled his Knapsacke with Corne, shut the doores, mounted his Horse, and ranne into the Desart at all adventure: Two or three daies thus fearefully wandring he knew not whither, and well it was hee met not any to aske the way. Thus being even as one taking leave of this miserable world, God did direct him to their great way or Custragan, as they call it, which doth crosse those large Territories, and is generally knowne among them by these markes.

How Smith escaped his captivitie.

In every crossing of this great way, is planted a Poste, and in it so many bolts with broad ends, as there were waies, and every bolt hath the figure painted over it, that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth, as that which pointeth towards the Crimmes Countrey, is marked with a halfe Moone: if towards the China, the picture of the Sunne; if towards the Georgians and Persia, a blacke man full of white spots; if towards Muscovy, the signe of a Crosse; if towards the habitation of any other Prince, the figure whereby his Standard is knowne. To his dying spirits thus God added some comfort in this melancholy journey, wherein if he had met any of that vild generation, they had made him their Slave, or sent him backe againe to his Master. Sixteene daies he travelled in this feare and torment after that crosse, till hee arrived at Axopolis,

Exopolis.

upon the River Don, a Garrison of the Muscovits. The Governor after due examination of those hard events, tooke off his Irons, and so kindly used him, that he thought himselfe newly risen from death.

The description of Cambria, and his passage to Russia.

The most he could learne of these wild Countries was this, that the Countrey of Cambria is two dayes Journey from the head of the great River Bruapo, which springeth from many places of the Mountaynes of Inagachi; that joyne themselves together in the Poole Kerkas, which they account for the head, and falleth into the Sea Dissabach: which receiveth also the River Don, and all the Rivers that fall from the great Countrey of the Circassi, the Caitaches, the Tauricaces, Pricopes, Cumania, Cossunka, and the Crymme, through which Sea hee sayled, and up the River Bruapo to Nalbrits, and thence through the Deserts of Circassi to Exopolis, as is related, where he stayed with the Governour, till the Convoy went to Coragnaw, then with his Certificate how he found him, and had examined him, with his friendly Letters he sent him by Zumalacke to Coragnaw, whose Governor in like manner so kindly used him, that by this means, he went with the safe conduct to Letch & Donka, in Cologosk, and thence to Birniske, & Newgrade, in Seberya, by Kezachica upon the River Niger, in the Confines of Littuania. From whence with as much kindnesse he was conveyed in like manner by Coroskie, Duberosko, Duzihell, Drohobus, and Ostroge in Volonia. Shaslaw and Laxco in Podolia, Halico and Collonia in Polonia, and so to Hermonstat in Transilvania. In all his life he seldome met with more respect, mirth, content and entertaynment, and not any Governour where he came, but gave him somewhat as a Present besides his charges, seeing themselves subject to the like calamitie. And because our Authour hath so thorowly travelled Europe, I have here presented Hondius his Map of Europe:

Bruapo.

Don, or Tanais.

[II. viii. 1369.]

A faire sunshine after a storme.

His Observations in his Journey to Transilvania, and the midst of Europe.

Through those poore continually forraged Countries there is no passage, but with the Caravans or Convoyes; for they are Countries rather to bee pittied then envyed,

and it is a wonder any should make Warres for them. The Villages are here and there a few Houses of streight Firre-trees, laid heads and points above one another made fast by notches at the ends, more then a mans height, and with broad split boards pinned together with woodden pinnes thatched for coverture in ten Villages you shall scarce find ten Iron Nayles, except it bee in some extraordinarie mans House. For their Townes, Exopolis, Lech, and Donka have Rampiers made of that woodden walled-fashion, double, and betwixt them Earth and Stones, but so latched with crosse Timber, they are very strong against any thing but fire, and about them a deepe Ditch, and a Pallizado of young Firre-trees, but most of the rest have only a great Ditch cast about them, and the Ditches [II. viii. 1370.] Earth is all their Rampier, and the toppe on it round, well environed with Palizadoes; Some have some few small Peeces of small Ordnance and Slings, Curriours and Muskets; but their generallest Weapons are the Russe Bow and Arrowes. In their wayes you shall find pavements over Bogges, only of young Firre-trees laid crosse over one another for two or three houres Journey, or as the passage requires, and yet in two dayes travell, you shall scarce see sixe Habitations. Notwithstanding, to see how their Lords, Governours, and Captaines are civilized, well attyred and accoultred with Jewels, Sables, Horses, and after their manner with curious Furniture, it is wonderfull; but they are all Lords or Slaves, which makes them so subject to every Invasion. *All Lords, or Slaves.*

In Transilvania he found so many good friends, that but to see and rejoyce himselfe after all those Encounters to see his Native Countrey, he would ever hardly have left them, though the Miracle of Vertue, their Prince was absent. Being thus glutted with content, and neere drowned with joy; he passed high Hungaria, By-fylecke, Tocka, Cassovia, and Unaderawa, by Ulmitch in Moravia, to Prague in Bohemia: at last he found the most generous Prince Sigismundus with his Colonell at Lipswicke in Misenland, who gave him his passe, intimating the service *Sigismunds Testimoniall.*

hee had done, and the honours he had received with fifteene hundred Duckets of Gold to repaire his losses. With this he spent sometime, to visit the faire Cities and Countries of Dresden in Saxonie, Mandabourge, and Brunswicke Castle in Hessen, Wittenberge, Ulme and Minikin in Bavaria, Ausburge and her Universitie, Hanna, Franckford, Mets, the Palatinate, Wormes, Spire, and Strawsburge. Passing the Cardinalship to Nancey in Loraine, and the Kingdome of France, by Paris to Orleance, he went downe the River of Leyer, to Angers, and imbarked himselfe at Nants in Britania for Bilbow in Biskanie, to see Burgos, Valiodolid, Squeriall, Madrill, Toledo, Cordua, Cuede Ryall, Sivill, Cherges, Cales, and Saint Lucars in Spaine.

His returne for England.

Then understanding that the Warres of Mully Shash and Mully Sedan, the two Brothers in Barbarie of Fez and Moroco (to which hee was animated by some friends) were concluded in peace, he imbarked himselfe for England with one thousand Duckets in his Purse, which after with a great deale more hee employed, in searching more dangers in the West Indies, and the unknowne parts of uncivilized America, where how he discovered and inhabited Virginia, how hee was taken Prisoner by Powhatan, their Emperor 1607. and delivered, how hee tooke the King of Paspahegh, Prisoner in single Combate, and the King of Pamavuke Prisoner in the middest of his Armie, and brought thirtie of their pettie Kings, and all their people in subjection to the English: How since hee hath searched, and caused a new England, and was taken Prisoner by French Pirats, and escaped: You shall after heare in fitter place.

Chap. XII.

The death of Sultan Osman, and the setting up of Mustafa his Uncle, according to the Relation presented to His Majestie.

THe Grand Signior Sultan Osman discontented since his disgrace in Poland, as soone as he came to Constantinople, pretended a journey upon the Emir de Saida, who was reported to be in Rebellion, having taken Armes to other ends. But being diverted from this purpose by the great instance of the Viziers, and that it would not so well serve his secret Designes, because hee must then keepe an Armie on foote; hee gave out that hee would visite Mecha, the Tombe of his false Prophet. *Pretence of visiting Mecha.*

To make this Voyage the more secure, in appearance, hee seemed content to accept of any Treatie with the Polacks, even to conditions both of disadvantage and dishonour; for his estates in Hungarie, he re-enforced the frontiers with divers troupes, and though hee were much troubled at the league betweene the Emperour of Germanie and Bethlem Gabor, yet he dissembled it so, as that he would not displease the Transilvanian, but rather offered new succours, and forbearance of his Tribute. From the Incursions of the Cossacks, hee hoped to assure himselfe, by the treatie of the Poles, and in occasion of breach, he had the Tartars readie to requite them (it being both their trades to live upon spoile and robberie) and for more securitie hee appointed twentie Gallies to keepe the Blacke Sea. The common people and Viziers that loved rest, and knew not the Designe, were much troubled and discontent at this Journey, who made many Remonstrances to him of the inconvenience and danger to leave the seat of his Empire to the trust of a Deputie, in a time when Bethlem Gabor was newly reconciled to the Germane Emperour, and therefore not to be trusted; and the

Polacks newly reconciled to him, and therefore to bee mistrusted. Divers other reasons were made to [II. viii. 1371.] him, many Petitions delivered from the Churchmen, Lawyers, and from all Estates. But melancholike Revenge had wholly possessed him, so that by no meanes he could be perswaded to desist. The Souldierie passed so farre, as to threatten publikely, and to protest, they would not follow, but rather set up another King in his absence that should stay among them. In conclusion, carried by his owne fate to destruction: the 1622. seventh of May, having first commanded away all his Gallies to the Levant, and thereby disposed away many of his Souldiers, he began to passe over his Tents and Pavilions to Asia side, with great quantities of Treasure: *Janizaries mutinie.* The Janizaries and Spahees, who had also secret Intelligence upon the King, his owne words and actions betraying some further Designe then a Pilgrimage (for he made preparations to carrie away all his Jewels and Treasure, even defacing his Palace, and taking from Churches, and his Wardrobes, whatsoever could be converted to Bullion) suddenly met at the Hippodrome in the Citie upon a word given; and from thence ranne to the Seraglio in tumult, but without Armes, and there according to their barbarous mutinies cryed out for the King (having first taken order to stop the passage of any thing upon the water) who appearing to them, asked what this insolencie meant, and what they pretended. They then by the mouth of a multitude (for they had no head but that of the Monster) demanded first that hee should not proceed in his purpose to goe to Mecha, nor into Asia, but that he must abide in the Citie. Secondly, they would have delivered to their furie the Great Vizier De-lavir Bassa, the Hoja, or Confessor of the King, the Cashariaga Governour of the women, the Tefterdar, or Treasurer, the Cadde Leskar, or Chiefe Justice, and some others, as Enemies to the State, and consenting to this Voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The first, after a little dispute, the King granted unto them; promising to give

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF EUROPE

over his Journey, but they not content, exacted it in writing. To the second, he replyed, that it was dishonour to him to have his Servants so used without order of Justice: but perswaded them to have patience to stay untill Saturday, the next Divan, or publike Councell, where they should all appeare, and if they were found culpable, they should receive punishment; not meaning to performe any of this, but to get time and allay their present furie. These fellowes not content with this moderate answere, undertooke to know that they were guiltie, and therefore that they needed no other witnesse, tryals, nor Judge, but themselves, and with extreme clamour, called to have them delivered. But the King refusing to give them any other satisfaction, and they unprepared for force, returned into the Citie, which now was all in feare, every house and shop shut up expecting a generall sacke. But they followed the way of their owne hatred, and first went unto the house of the Hoja, which they brake and pillaged: but not finding him, they proceeded to the Great Viziers, who made some defence, and (they being unarmed) beate him off; and so they separated being now Evening, but yet kept a Guard in some parts of the Towne.

This night the King made an attempt to send over to Asia side, but was prevented; and to fortifie and defend his Seraglio, which is walled strongly about, and hath alway in it of household Servants about three thousand, but it seemes no man would arme in his cause. For the next morning, the Mutiners assembled againe, and taking their Armes, went first to the Mufti, or Arch-priest among them, and forced him and divers others to accompany them to the Court, where they anew demanded these men, but with more instance and furie. In the meane time the Hoja, Caddee Leskar, and Tefterdar fled, and were yet never heard of. The Vizier retyred to the King, and perswaded him earnestly to goe over in person in his owne Boates (which from his Garden he might easily doe) to Asia, and there to take Horse, and he would secure him from all perill; but the King would not moove, bidding him stay

confident and assured that hee would punish these Rebels.

The wise old man seeing this constancie or obstinacie, desired leave to shift for himselfe, which he either tooke or obtayned, and so got away to the Hermitage of a Saint renowmed amongst them, who (like himselfe) betrayed him to a Captaine of the Janizaries; yet did him the favour as not to deliver him to the multitude, but carried him backe to the Kings House. At this time it was disputed in the Seraglio, about the deliverie of these Officers, the Emperour refusing, the Rebels clamouring and threatning; insomuch, as he began to feare they would breake in, and in their rage doe worse then was yet pretended. Whereupon, whether by the Kings order, or by his owne consent (willing to bee the Peace-offering) the Vizier went out to them, and with a good assurednesse demanded what they sought of him, and wherein he had offended: But they answered him with their Swords, and suddenly cut him in pieces.

Saint Knave.

The Emperour seeing their furie so out-ragious, had now more cause to doubt, and retyred himselfe then too late, when hee had lost his brave Counsellor; would have fled into Asia, and could not, but conveyed himselfe into a private place, prepared by his Bustengi Bassa, or chiefe Gardiner. The Rebels continue without in their madnesse, asking for the King, and for more Sacrifices. But the Servants protesting they knew not where he was, they said, they must have a King, and if he would not appeare, they would make another; and having awhile attended, they resolved to enter the Palace (but first tooke a generall Oath not to sacke the Imperiall Throne, which they called their house and their honour) and there seeking for the King, not able to find him, they extorted by confession the Caslariaga, and slue him, and then they demanded for Mustafa, Uncle to Osman, by him formerly deposed, a man estemed rather holy (that is franticke) then wise, and indeed fitter for a Cell, then a Septer. The King the first day of this tumult had put Mustafa into a Vault with two

Grand Signiors flight.

[II. viii. 1372.] *Mustafa made King.*

Negro women, without bread or drinke, in which estate these new Electors found him almost naked, and halfe pined. At first sight, hee thought they had beene the Messengers of death: but that feare passed over, he begged of them a Cup of water. Whom they tooke, and instantly proclaimed their Emperour, which hee was loth to accept uti pudebat aucti nominis; How unstable are the Estates of the greatest Princes! Quem dies videt veniens jacentem, hunc vidit dies fugiens regnantem. He that was now in the Jawes of death, naked, starved, and dying for thirst, is become the Emperour, and may drinke Gold, or the bloud of men.

They as yet not knowing what was become of Osman, and loth to trust Mustapha in the Palace, carried him in triumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him, departing to the sacke of the Viziers house, and so in the Evening to their Rendevous, where they kept both good gard, and good order in the Citie, from fires and other Insolencies. Sultan Osman amazed with these newes, so soone as they had left the Court, came out and called to Councell in the night, Huzein Bassa, late Vizier in the Polish Warre, and the Aga of the Janizaries, both faithfull to him, and demanded their advice, first, having sent to the old Seraglio, to practise the women there, to strangle Mustafa; but some taking his part, a new uproare beganne in the house betweene that Sexe: and the Souldiers that kept watch, taking the Alarum, entred in, and rescued him, and from thence remooved him to the Chambers of the Janizaries, where they garded him for that night, in an ill Lodging. All this while Osman consults what course to take. These two his friends, and some others, tell him, that the case was desperate, and could not bee cured but by a desperate remedie. And they agreed that the Aga should goe and perswade with the Mofti, and that the King in the morning should suddenly present himselfe to the Souldiers at their owne doore, and make experience, what his Presence, his submission, and his benevolence promised could worke, to move them to Loyaltie, or compassion; which

counsell early in the morning they put in practice. The King accompanied with the Mofti, (who never consented to his deposing, though he favoured the Souldiers against the Vizier) with Huzein Bassa, and about twelve Horsemen, went directly to the Janizaries Colledge where Mustafa was kept, and there in teares made them an Oration, offering great recompence repenting of his errour; and finally, invoked them by the merits of his Father and all his Ancestors to have some pitie upon their true Master. The multitude (tam prona in misericordiam, quam immodica sævitia fuerat) now knew not what to doe; a silent murmure ranne among them, and they were halfe converted: But the Aga of the Janizaries, thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead unseasonably for him, with some harsh words of upbraidure, Ut natura Maris omni flatu venti turbida, anew moved their furie, so that they cryed out Treason, and fell upon him and Huzein Bassa, and cut them into pieces, every man taking a part of their flesh to satisfie their revenge. The Mofti would speake, but is withdrawne by some, for respect to his place, and with difficultie is conveyed away. Now the poore Osman sees his friends slaine, and knowes not which way to convert himselfe, but binding up his eyes with a Napkin, expects death as the last of their furie; But they carrie him first before Mustafa, and accuse him as the disturber of the Peace of the Empire, and demand sentence against him, more vulgi suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes. The forsaken Prince pleades for life, and the new King knowes not how to condemne, but nods and agrees to all that is propounded. At last, they consult with themselves, and put him upon an Horse (an insolent Spahee changing Turbants with him) and sent him away Prisoner to the seven Towers under good gard, and then returned to their new Master, and placed him in the Seraglio and Imperiall Throne, where he hath need to have good Broths and nourishment to restore his decayed bodie.

New mutinie.

Mustafa enthronized.

The Souldiers thinke all is done, and (onely sacking the

houses of Huzein Bassa, and some others their conceived Enemies) returne in quiet to their severall Lodgings, and have no further malice. But the new Vizier Daout Bassa, made by Mustafa, knew well, if Osman lived, that this storme might passe over, and hee would as easily and by the same meanes returne to his Estate, as hee fell from it, Vulgus ut mos est, cujusque novi motus cupidum. Therefore hee consulted with some few interessed in Mustafaes preferment, and thereby obnoxious to Osman, to search how many of the Royall bloud were left alive, and resolved if there remayned two, to make an end of Osman. Two of his Brothers were found, the one about twelve, the other about seven yeares of age: and thereupon the Vizier went himselfe to the Prison with a packe of Hangmen, and gave order to strangle the unfortunate Prince: who now having had no rest in two nights, and thinking himselfe secure for a season, was newly falne asleepe: but awaked by the comming of these Messengers, asked what newes, saying, hee did not like their sudden intrusion. They at first stood amazed, and the King made shew to defend himselfe; but a strong Knave strooke him on the head with a Battle-axe, and the rest leaping upon him, strangled him with much adoe. Thus one of the greatest Monarkes in the World is first affronted by mutined troupes, his owne slaves, almost unarmed, and few in number, no man taking up a Sword to defend him: and they who began this madnesse, not meaning to hurt him, by the increase of their owne furie, which hath no bounds, depose him against their owne purpose, and at last expose his life against their will, to the counsels of other men, whom they equally hate. And now they mourne for their dead King, as freshly as they raged unreasonably, knowing they have stayned their honour, being the first of their Emperours they ever betrayed, and that they have set up another that in all likelihood they must change for disabilitie: Nonnunquam tulit documenta sors majora, quam fragili loco starent superbi.

Osmans brethren.

Osman slaine.

[II. viii. 1373.]

This is the last act of the life of Sultan Osman: but his

intents and great designes, which drew upon him this fatall blow, I suppose will not bee unworthy the communication, the Practices, Reasons, Secrets, and Counsels of all Actions being the soule of Historie, and res gestæ but the bare carkasse: and I am perswaded, as many Ages have not produced so strange an Example of the incertaintie of humane greatnesse; so in the disposition thereof, and in the wayes leading thereunto, there is seene evidently the wonderfull providence of God, in confounding of the counsels of the worldly wise, who had laid a foundation of new greatnesse, whereby he aspired the universall Monarchie, ambitious of the honour of Trajan, in whose time the decayed Empire was said, Primum movere lacertos, & senectutem Imperii, quasi reddita juventute reviviscere. And lastly, the world may see upon how weake foundations this Monarchie was at first builded, but it is now shaken and corrupted; how their Kings are subject to the rage of a few Slaves, how Anarchie hath prepared it an easie prey to any able hand, that would attempt it. From the Invasion of Poland, all these changes took their beginning. Sultan Osman advanced to the Throne in his youth, full of heate and bloud, being of a great and haughtie spirit, very couragious, strong of bodie, and a mortall hater of Christians, envious of the glory of his Ancestors, and ambitious to rayse his name above any of theirs, had projected in himselfe the Conquest of the Remaynes of the bordering Europe. But to so great designes he had one vice that resisted all hope of prosperitie, which was extreme Avarice, and he fell into the latter times and decrepit age, Ubi vires luxu corrumpebantur, contraveterem disciplinam & instituta majorum, apud quos virtute quam pecunia res militaris melius stetit. His first enterprize was that of Poland, mooved by the Incursions of the Cossacks, which yet he undertooke of his owne head, without the counsell of any his Viziers (who in a Monarchie growne to the height by ease and wealth, and perhaps, longa dominatione inertes, are ever corrupt and lazie) and against the liking of all the Soul-

Osmans ambition.

His avarice & unseasonable attempts against Poland.

diers, who now contrarie to their Institution being marryed, and Fathers of a Family, entred into Trades, receiving nothing in Warre more then in Peace, præter pericula & labores, are not easily drawne from their owne Chimneies. This action he thought so easie, as he had disposed of his Conquest, and devided the live Lions skinne. But being met upon the Borders with a poore Armie in comparison, he was first arrested at Chotyn a little Fortresse, which he was faine to leave behind him untaken. And then seeking to advance into the plaine Countrey, by forcing the Trenches of the Chancellor of Poland, opposed against him, he could never procure his Janizaries to fight, though engaging his person once or twice beyond the regard of his qualitie, and his owne Troupes readie to mutinie against him, or to forsake him, he was at last enforced to rayse shamefully his Campe, and to accept of any Treatie to save his outward honour. In this attempt he lost above one hundred thousand Horses for want of Fodder, and fourescore thousand men for want of fighting: for they would rather dye, running, or pillaging, or eating, then in the face of the Enemie. For this disgrace he conceived so inward and rooted an indignation against the Janizaries, and so justly, that he often lamented himselfe, and complayned hee was no King, that was subject to his owne slaves, upon whom he spent great Treasures, and yet they would neither fight in Warre, nor obey in Peace, without exacting new bounties and Priviledges. Delavir Bassa a man of great wit and courage, lately called from the Easterne parts, where hee had long governed with honour, who came in, though late, yet in a very brave and Warlike Equipage, above all other his Captaines, was suddenly made Great Vizier, the former Huzein Bassa being in the same disgrace, common with the Souldier, though not in the same fault. This man was never bred at Court, but had lived many yeares in Action, and so had neither Faction nor Dependance heere, but stood upon himselfe and his owne merit: And being now unlooked for, and advanced to this high dignitie, he wrought upon the

Janizaries perverse.

Delavir Bassa.

Kings discontent, and nourished it: and in conclusion, brake with him, that it was true, he was no Emperour, nor could be safely alive, while the Janizaries had the power, which they lately usurped. Informing him, that they were corrupted from their ancient Institution, and were lazie Cowards, given over to Ease and Lust, Et animo per libidines corrupto, nihil honestum inerat. But if his Majestie would pull up his spirits, and follow his advice, hee would provide him a new Souldioury about *The Coords.* Damascus, and from the Coords, of men ever bred in the Frontier, Hardnesse, and Warre, of great Courage and Experience, and that of them hee should erect a new Militia, that should wholy depend of him, entertayning onely fortie thousand in pay, which should alway be his Guard, and that in the distribution of every Province, he should constitute that the Beghler-begh in his Government should trayne some of the Inhabitants, who in all occasions of making a great Armie, should be in readinesse, [II. viii. 1374.] and hereby hee should spare Infinite Treasures spent upon these Drones that eate up his Estate; And with men of new spirits and hopes, hee should be enabled to doe greater matters, then any of his Ancestors: but withall he desired the King to communicate this counsell to no man, nor to trust his life upon anothers secrecie. Delavir Bassa never revealing himselfe to any but the King, who extremely pleased with this advice, that flattered his owne humour, consented, and remitted all to the Viziers direction, who was a true Souldier, and a very wise man, able by his credit in Asia, to performe all hee had undertaken: for he was exceedingly beloved in those parts, very rich, and had kept Damascus, whereof he was Governour, for himselfe in the last Rebellion. Upon this conclusion betweene them, it was first agreed, that the King should pretend to goe in person against the Emir de Zaida, who was moved to take Armes really to assist in the designe: but they used it, to colour the departure of the Emperour; which when it was well weighed, it was found, that then the Army of the Janizaries must be kept together, which could

not agree with their ends. Hereupon the journey of Mecha was divulged, that the King might, under the shadow of an holy pilgrimage, goe out with a smal trayne, and disperse those who were suspected to him. And for this preparation was made, but somwhat too grosly by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, furniture of house, Lamps of Churches, and whatsoever could more easily be conveyed away in metal, with all the Jewels and treasurie. This gave the first suspicion, which was confirmed by divers unadvised words let fall from the King, of disdayne against the cowardize of the Janizaries, and that he would shortly find himselfe soldiers that should whip them; & lastly, dismissing all his houshold, except some few elect, the discontented observed and betrayed him. Delavir Bassa kept his owne secret, and in the meane time prepared by his friends in Asia 10000. about Damascus, 10000. from the Coords, besides those in readinesse of the Emir de Zaida, and all upon pretence of defending the borders of Persia, who having intelligence of some change in those parts; And gave order that all these should meet the King at Damascus, where he would presently cut off his Guard, and stay there, untill he had regulated his new Armie, and discipline, and then to returne triumphant to Constantinople, and utterly root out the order of Janizaries, Spaheis, and Timariots, and to exauctorate all their Captaines and Officers to settle a new government, and to change the name of the Citie. And these things succeeding, he then resolved with his new Souldiers to attempt the recoverie of his honour in Christendome: in the meane time to hold a dissembled friendship there in all parts. Certainely, this was a brave and well-grounded designe, and of great consequence for renewing of this decayed Empire, languishing under the insolencies of lazie slaves, if God had not destroyed it: It being very true, that the Turkish Emperour stands at the devotion of his owne troops for peace or warre, life or death, and is in effect nothing but the Steward or Treasurer of his Janizaries. If this project had taken effect, what events it might have produced by a

Unadvised threats.

Lazie Slaves.

Civill Warre, is not easie to judge. For doubtlesse, the Souldiourie here would have set up another King, and maintayned him as well as they could, and this European part had beene in danger to have beene torne away by the division. Besides, Delavir Bassa having the King and the Treasurie in his possession, and his owne credit so great, and his inclination, velle imperare, once discovered, it may well be thought that he had some ends of his owne to share a part of this mightie estate: If on the other side, the Vizier had proved true and faithfull, the reformation and new erection of the Discipline of Warre, and the encrease of Treasure consequent to the dismission of the old Militia, would have beene fearefull to all Christendome: But, Ubi est sapiens? Ubi disquisitor sæculi hujus? Nonne infatuavit Deus sapientiam mundi hujus? Perdam sapientiam sapientum, & vanam reddam intelligentiam intelligentium. It is a great question whether is the wiser wish, that these Counsels had succeeded or not: for either division and subversion, or a new prosperitie and enlargement of their Dominion had necessarily followed.

Observations. Some observations upon this occasion, will not be very impertinent to those that desire to know as well the disposition and use, as the things themselves. First, in the purpose of the Souldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much lesse to depose and murther him; but onely to take away those about him, whom they thought assistants in this project: yet the furie once on foot, they proceeded by missensible steps, to the uttermost of outrage, against many innocents in that businesse, though otherwise obnoxious, and against the Throne and life of their owne Emperour, ubi furor ingraut innocentes ac noxios juxta cadere. Secondly, in the degrees, that yet the King had not falne thus low, if first hee had not lost that awe and reverence which alway attendeth upon Majestie, by unseemely offices, done by him in the streets and Tavernes, apprehending many Souldiers for pettie faults, like a Constable, making his person common, cheape, and despised among them which were wont onely

to be seene and feared, as somewhat supra humanitatem. And this he did also in hatred and disdayne of those that had in the Warre forsaken him. And now in this last act, if his owne obstinacie had not plunged him into destruction, but that he had softned them by a seasonable yeelding to time, he had prevayled onely by time. Thirdly, in the order, That these Mutiners having no head, or direction, kept that reglement, that they tooke oath in their furie, in hot bloud, in the Kings yard, not to dishonour, spoyle, nor sacke the Imperiall Throne, neither committed nor suffered any insolence nor violence in the Citie to the Neutrals, but rather proclaymed peace and justice. Fourthly, in the consequents, that at the third dayes end, all was at quiet, and all men in their trade, as if no such thing had hapned; Onely the Janizaries suffered no Divan nor Councell, untill they had received a Donative, as [II. viii. 1375.] Guerdon of their iniquitie, in which also the infinite waste of Treasure is worthie of consideration, which must of necessitie be exceedingly exhausted by three changes in foure yeeres, and by the late Warres in Persia and Poland: For every Janizarie in the Citie, absent or present, whose roll is about fortie thousand, receive five and twentie Chequins gold, besides Spaheis, Jamoglans, and other orders at every alteration, which amounts in all neere to two millions. And now these fellowes all living, that have tasted the sweet of prosperous mutinies, haud ignari summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio, they have taken such a head as cannot safely be suffered on, nor securely be taken off. Fiftly, of certaine presages that fore-ran, it being related to mee from the mouth of a Cadee, inward with the King a moneth before the tumult: That Osman dreamed in the night, that he thought to ride *Osmans dream.* a Camell, and being mounted, he could not force him to goe by faire meanes nor stripes, and that then he descending in a rage, the bodie of the beast vanished, and left the head in the Kings hand. Who next day troubled at this fancy, sent to a learned Man, familiar with him, for the interpretation. Hee excused himselfe as unfit to

give opinion in a matter of that consequence, but perswaded Osman to send to the Mufti. Hee also craved pardon, but withall said, there was none so fit to interprete it, as Mustafa the Kings Uncle, and now Emperour, who is esteemed a holy man, that hath Visions, and Angel-like speculations, in playne termes, betweene a mad man and a foole. The King repayres to Mustafa, who briefly tells him, The Camell signifies his Empire: his riding, abuse in governement: his descension, his disposition: the vanishing of the bodie, the revolt of his subjects: the head remayning in his hand, onely a bare Title; and that hee should shortly die within few moneths, and lose his Kingdome, but the emptie name of Emperour should accompanie him to his Grave.

Conference betwixt the Emperors Ambassador and the Vizier.

A second of lesse consequence in the Vizier Delavir Bassa, from whom the Lord Ambassador having received particular friendship about sixe dayes before this uprore, he went to visit, and having no other businesse but to perswade him to stay the King from his intended Pilgrimage, the Ambassador gave him many reasons in the present estate of their owne affaires, especially the Treaty of Poland yet depending. To which the Bassa replyed very gravely. Then the Ambassador urging the feare of some tumult, collected from the licentious speeches rumoured in the Towne, and he was bold to deale plainely, sincerely, and friendly, That if any such thing should happen, the fault would bee imputed to the Bassa, as being of authoritie to perswade the King, whom his qualitie and youth would excuse, but all the furie would be discharged upon the greatest Minister; desiring him to consider the event, at least, to take his affection in the best part. The old Renard stayed a while from replie: at last, smiling to himselfe at the Ambassadour, who perswaded him against that which was his owne counsell, he gave him a finall answere, that there was no remedie, he durst not hazard himselfe to oppose the Kings resolution: but assured him, hee would so order the matter, as this journey should not proceed so farre as was expected. The Ambassador con-

cluded for himselfe, desiring then that he would leave him a particular recommendation to the Chimacham or Deputie as his friend. To which hee sodainly replied, Trouble not your selfe, nor feare; I will never remove so farre, but that I will leave one of my legs in this Citie to serve you: which the poore man fulfilled; for being murthered in few dayes after, one of his legs whole and entire, was hanged in the Hippodrome, the most publike place of the Citie. Lastly, in things yet to come, and so probably to be suspected, That the Souldiours in Asia, who have now lost their hopes, will not sit downe by this affront, but rather will attempt some revenge, for the death of that King who was their Martyr; or that some great Bassaes farre removed from Court, will apprehend this occasion, not to obey an Usurper, set up by treason; And upon this colour ground their owne ambitions, or that all every where will fall into combustion and intestine Warre; For I dare not hope, that God will open the eyes of Christian Princes to see the littlenesse of their owne uncivill quarrels, while this mightie Monarchie inviteth them to concord, and to divide it as a prostituted spoyle.

The continuation of the Storie, presented to the Kings Majestie from the same person.

On Saturday evening, the first of June following, the Capiaga or Major Domo of the Seraglio, having received a secret order to remove the brethren of Osman from their lodgings, and in the night to strangle them: as he was performing his command, ayded with a few of his Carnifices to carrie away the Princes, they cried out: the Pages running to the noise, and encouraged by the Casliaraga, who had some suspicion, without further examination kill the Capiaga, now almost every order having risen against their owne head. That night they sent secretly to the Janizaries and Spaheis, to informe them what they had done, and in the morning early hanged his bodie in the Hippodrome for a publike spectacle. The Souldiers returned in furie to Court, in favour of the Pages, and demanded justice against those that had consented to this wicked order; which had made an end of all the Ottoman race, onely this Mustafa, being left alive, who is so holy a

The Capiaga.

Saint, that he will not people the world with sinners, nor indure any women about him. The innocent King protests he knowes nothing of this purpose: and if his command were procured, it was gotten by subreption, and he is easily beleeved. But his mother another Livia, and the new Vizier, Daout Bassa, who had her daughter to wife, were vehemently suspected. It was a day of Divan or Councell: But these Souldiers would suffer none, untill they had an account of this Treason. The Vizier denies all; the mother is a woman, and hidden in the house: yet it is very likely, they both were guilty to uphold and secure their owne authoritie. It being rumoured, that the Vizier determined to place subdititiously, in the roome of the elder Prince, his owne Sonne, and very like him, and so [II. viii. 1376.] to governe Mustafa for a time, and by his remove, to establish himselfe and his Race for ever. But now somewhat must be done to appease the people; Therefore *Daout Bassa degraded.* Daout Bassa is degraded from his Office, and one Huzein Bassa newly arrived from the Government of Cairo, advanced to his place, with promise of further examination. Since, the furie once over, there hath beene no great search nor discovery made. I thinke the Sultans Chequines have *New Vizier severe.* quieted the matter. This new Vizier, a man here without friends, yet very rich, of a stubborne and obstinate nature, reported just in his wayes, but peremptorie and inflexible; Audax, ferox, & prout animum intendit pravus aut industrius eadem vi: one from whom all men may expect much good, or much ill; Begins his government roughly, undertakes to punish insolencies early, and professeth a reformation, or to bee a Sacrifice. A man fit for these times that are desperate: For the worst will be, that hee must at last endure their furie. In the meane time he procures a little awe, and hath restored the face of Justice: yet I am perswaded it cannot last long, the Ghost of Osman will not bee at rest, untill there are some Parentalia made unto him. The nature of this Vizier is unsupportable; But if he prevaile, and once settle, he will anew change the King, and lay an Obligation upon the Brethren of Osman; For

he will never thinke himselfe secure under a man governed by an insolent woman, Dominandi avida: And what assurance can he have in that Prince, Cui non judicium, non odium est nisi indita & jussa? And though I cannot foresee the particulars, and where the Sore will breake out, yet I am sure the whole body is sicke; and Princes of Christendome shall have breath three yeares, before they shall have cause to feare this State, whose present King is Mentis inops, and the next in expectation, a Child, unfit for action, and all the great men and Souldiers decayed, mutined and corrupted.

And now tyred with this Tragicall sight and contemplation, we will commend you to other Pilgrims, who shall guide you thorow the Desarts, to the tops of the holy Mountains, Oreb and Sinai, and after those Holies, recreate your eyes with an admirable Spectacle of the Mamalukes, fine feates of Activitie, that profit and pleasure may conclude this Booke.

Chap. XIII.

Mount Sinai, Oreb, and the adjoyning parts of Arabia, described out of the foure Journals of Breidenbach, Baumgarten, Bellonius, and Christopher Furer of Haimendors.

THe nine and twentieth of October, 1565. we * joyned our selves to the Caravan, having before obtained Letters commendatorie from the Patriarch of the Greekes, which dwelleth at Cairo to the Friers of Mount Sinai. They tell of this Patriarch, that he for proofe of his Religion in contention with a Jew, before the Bassa five and thirtie yeares before, drunke a draught of poyson without harme, which the Jew doing, dyed. At this time, he was one hundred and three yeares old. I had with me three Pilgrims. November the third, we departed from Cairo,

**Christop. Furer. Alexandrian Patriarch of the Greekes.*

and on the fift, came to the shoare of the Red Sea, two miles from which in times past Sues flourished. The next day, we saw at the right hand of the Red Sea, that ditch which lyeth betwixt it and Nilus, which Darius, and after Ptolomæus made thirtie foote deepe, one hundred foote broad, seven and thirtie miles in length, and there ceased, finding the Red Sea higher three cubits, then the Land of Ægypt. The Region is desart, and not inhabited, wherein they use Camels dung for want of Wood. The Water of the Red Sea, is of the colour that other Seas are of. But the Land adjoyning, is Red and Mountainous, whence it is called the Red Sea, or from the Sunbeames reflected on that Sea from those Mountaines, Curtius saith, from a King called Erythrus,* (which signifieth Red.) Here first we saw the place where the Israelites had passed thorow that Sea on dry Land. After that, we saw Mara, where Moses by casting in a piece of wood, made the water sweete, which still so continueth, saving that from the neighbour Sea, it is somewhat brackish: and here our Camels dranke, which in five daies they here first did, which is the more to be admired for their great burthens, some bearing sixe hundred pounds; others, foure hundred or five hundred pounds weight. Here washing in the Red Sea, I hurt my foot on a sharp Corall, whereof here is great store, both Red and White. On the seaventh of November, after midnight, was an Eclipse of the Sunne, and our Ethiopian Companions continued (as long as it continued) beating Basons. The next day, we went fortie Italian miles: and the day after forsooke the Red Sea, declining on the left hand towards the Mountaines. The tenth, we left the Caravan, which went the right-hand way toward Thoro. Wee went towards the left hand, and in a Valley saw that Tree which is called Spina Christi, or Gum Arabike, whereof they say Christs Crowne of Thornes was made. The eleventh, we saw the tops of Mount Sinai, and admired the height thereof. The twelfth, we saw a Viper or Aspe, whitish and skaly on the belly, on the backe white and spotted, with two little hornes on the fore-head.

Sues.

Darius Dike.

Red Sea.

**This Red king was Edom, or Esau, whose Land that Sea washeth (and from which Sal. set forth his Ophyrian Voyage) He is most likely Author of that name of Red Sea.*

Camels.

Corall.

Toro.

[II. viii. 1377.]

The thirteenth, we came to the Monasterie of Saint Katharine in a narrow Valley, at the foot of Mount Sinai, built of square stones, founded (as they say) by the Emperour Justinian, strong, high, and compassed with pleasant Gardens. The length of it, is one hundred twentie five paces. In it we saw the Sepulchre of Saint Katharine, after that wee saw a Chappell built on that place, where they say was the Bush in which first God appeared to Moses. It hath fifteene Temples, twenty five Chappels, and divers little Cels, in which Greeke Calogeri doe keepe. In the adjoyning Valley is a Hill of marvellous aspect, as if it were all burnt and covered with Ashes, where (they say) Moses kept Jethros sheepe. Neere the Monastery, before Mount Sinai, is the place in Mount Horeb, in which God commanded Moses to goe into Egypt to deliver the Israelites. *S. Katharines.*

The foureteenth of November, by a waylesse and broken way, (which the Monkes by steps or staires, such as they are, have indevoured to make better) wee ascended Mount Sinai. And when we had passed the two gates, which in old times were shut, we came to three Temples or Chappels; one of Saint Barbara, the second of Saint Marina, the third of Elias the Prophet. Round about are some houses, whilome the Monkes dwellings. In Elias his Temple, behind the Altar, is a Cave, in which (they say) the Prophet lay hid, when hee fled from Jesabel. On the left hand, beneath the top of the Mountaine, is the place where Moses desired to see God. On the top of Mount Sinai, towards the East is a little Temple; and on the left hand a Chappell. Heere entred, our Monke-guide said prayers in Greeke, and we sung the Decalogue, Lords Prayer and Creed in German Rithmes. And this is the place where God gave to Moses the Tables of the Law, written with the finger of God. There is a Chappell in which the Mahumetans doe their devotions. Eight paces thence is a Cave, in which Moses after his second fortie daies Fast, received the Tables of the Law. After these sights, wee descended the Hill, where comming to a

Mount Sinai. Bellonius calleth this Mount Horeb. So Baumgarten, and indeed all these hils are part of Sinai, which yet καπέξοχὴ is given to the highest top, which some for devotion to that Saint, now call Saint Katharines Mount.

certaine Cisterne, we refreshed our selves with meat. And
Rocke of John the Hermite. going a little lower, we saw a broken and hollow Rocke on the left hand, wherein John the Ægyptian Hermite lived with great austeritie, and writ the Booke, called Scala Paradisi. It cannot bee entred but creeping: within on the right hand, is a stone as it were a bed, and another against it like a seat: above, a hole whereby light descendeth, sufficient to reade by. Descending hence on the left hand, in a certaine Valley is the Temple of Saint John Baptist, with a Garden, Vineyard, and little house.
Βαβολὸπολις. Against it is another Temple of Saint Anne; and on the left hand, on the top of the Rocke, is a Cave covered with stone, in which two Brethren of a King comming to see the place, setled their abode till death.

Sinai. After this we ascended another Hill, whence besides many Regions the Red Sea may be seene. In the Valley thereof is Pantaleons Temple, & an Hermitage. Hence with great labour we descended into a Valley, by a broken and dangerous way, over against Saint Katharines Mount, wherein is the Monasterie of fortie Fathers and divers houses, sometimes the habitations of Hermits. There is a Church of Saint Onophrius, and a pleasant Garden, with various and excellent fruits. Having lien all night in this
Monastery of Saint Katharine higher then Sinai and Horeb: by Sinai understand some other rising of that hill, besides the highest of all: for all is Sinai, as the following Authors shew: and this of S. Katharine the highest top of them all. Monasterie, the next morning, with farre greater labour and danger then before, we climbed the high and inaccessible hill of Saint Katharine: on the top whereof is a sharpe Rocke, whereon toward the East is built a low Chappell, fifteene foote long, and ten broad, in the midst whereof is a Monument, in which sometime the body of Saint Katharine was kept. Heere our Monke said his prayers, and we sung Veni Sancti Spiritus in our vulgar tongue. This Mountaine of Saint Katharine is farre higher then the other two, Horeb and Sinai, which both seeme hillocks, not hils to this. In the top we looked to the Red Sea, and Thora. Descending neere the Nets of Horeb, we saw the Rocke which being stricken with Moses his Rod, powred forth water like a Fountaine. In the former part are yet seene twelve rifts or clefts, and as many

behind, but lesse perspicuous: but the former part doth still so lively represent the tokens of the miracle, as if water had but lately gushed thence. That former part is twelve cubits, the whole thicknesse fiftie two foot. On the left hand of the Valley, is the Temple of the Holy Apostle, with a notable Garden, and against it another of Saint George, with a flourishing Garden. Betwixt this Temple and the Monastery of Saint Katharines, is a round Cave cut into the Rocke, five and thirtie foote large, in which they say Aaron made the golden Calfe. The last night we abode in Saint Katharines Monasterie: and the sixteenth of November departing, passed by Raphidim, the eleventh Mansion of the Israelites, and thence by divers places of their two yeares Peregrination, where the Tabernacle and Arke were made.

The eighteenth we came to Thora, which Citie is on the shoare of the Red Sea of no lustre; the Haven small, in which ships laden with Spices out of Arabia, Abassia, and India, resort. In this Citie wee saw a Mermaids skinne taken there many yeares before, which in the lower part ends Fish-fashion: of the upper part, onely the Navill and Breasts remaine, the armes and head being lost. The Inhabitants are most Christians, live like the Greekes, and performe their Holies in the Arabicke tongue. No Jew may enter this Citie, nor goe to Mount Sinai, the Christians having priviledge (as we were told) to kill them. I saw there one Jew which farmed the Customes of the Christians. The twentieth of November, having the wonted testimonie of the chiefe of the Monasterie, and given him certaine Duckets of Gold, we departed from Thora, and in our departure to Cairo, not farre thence saw the twelve Fountaines, and seventie Palme-trees where the Israelites encamped: But the trees are now much more. The foure and twentieth we found the Caravan new arrived where we had left them. The nine and twentieth, wee passed the Valley against Pihahiroth, betwixt Magdalo and the Sea against Baalsephon. The thirtieth, we came safe to Cairo. At this time was no frost there, nor wet as

Tori.

Mermaid.

[II. viii. 1378.]

Exod. 14.

Egyptian seasons.

with us, but all fresh and flourishing, the Corne and Fruits ripe, as with us in Summer. The Grasse groweth not as with us, but is sowne by hand, &c.

For the better understanding of these Relations, and for addition of things heere omitted, I have thought good to give you Bellonius, which almost twentie yeares before had made the same Voyage, and Breidenbachius, then Chamberlaine, and after Deane of Mentz, which Anno 1483. had travelled out of the Holy Land to Sinai, and thence to Ægypt; and lastly, Martin Baumgarten, a German Knight, whose peregrination hapned Anno 1507. I have also here added for further Illustration, the Map of the Israelites peregrination in the Desart, here after mentioned.

Bellonius. Bellonius in company of the Lord of Fumet, attended with twentie Janizaries for his Guard, went from Cairo **So it seemeth by his Preface.* 1547.* Their provisions were water of Nilus, a Camels *Provision for food in the Desart.* load of Bisket, and many Muttons killed, and the flesh shred (the bones being taken out) into small gobbits, and boyled with Onions and Suet till all the liquor was consumed, then seasoned with Salt and Spices, and put up in Vessels: which continued so fresh, that fifteene daies after being heated with Onions, they seemed as fresh as if they [II. viii. had beene first dressed. It was in September when the 1379.] nights were very cold, and the day exceeding hot, for which cause they travelled much by night, and in three journeys came to the Well of Suez, in a Castle a mile and halfe from the Towne, the water of which is brackish. They have there a huge Cisterne for rayne-water, which seldome happeneth, but then with great vehemence, so *Deep Well of Suez.* that once or twice a yeere it is filled. The Well is deep, and the water is drawne by a wheele turned with Oxen; upon the wheele are two ropes with many Pitchers fastned, which emptie themselves into a Cisterne underneath; a thing usuall in Egyptian Gardens. By the way as we travelled grew Ambrosia, Sena, Rose of Jerico, Colocyn- **Spina Christi, or Gummi Arab.* this, Acacia,* a peculiar kind of Genista, and many other unknowne plants. Beyond Suez we entred a wide Plaine

all greene with Sena, growing of it selfe. Wee found Vipers, and Cameleons differing from the Egyptian, white and red: Capars as high as dwarfe Fig-trees, the Capars as big as Egges and the seed biting like Pepper; the leaves continue greene perpetually, the Wooll is finer then Silke, and whiter then Cotton. The first Village which after Suez we encountred in our way towards Sinai was called Pharagou, not having above three or foure houses builded, the people dwelling under Palme-trees, (for it seldome raineth) or under Rockes in Caves. Here were Pomgranats, Olives, Figs, Peares, and other Trees profitable by fruit and shade. The Cattell and Fowles are there much lesse then in Egypt.

Capars.

Pharagou.

Tree-cave-dwellers.

The ascent of the Mountaine is by hand-made steps for Camels; for Horses can very hardly passe: which when we had ascended, we had two miles to passe betwixt round hills, here and there dispersed, of differing quantitie, before wee came at the Monasterie of Saint Katharine; and although we began to ascend the Hill at breake of day, it was after-noone before wee came thither. The Monkes are Christian Maronites, which observe the Greeke Rites, of divers Nations, Syrians, Greekes, and Arabians. Pilgrims have no place of entertaynment but the Monasterie, which is situate at the foot of Mount Horeb, watered by a Spring thence flowing, cleere, sweet, coole, and excellent. It is walled with high walls against enemies, and hath also a Mosqued for Arabs and Turkes. In the vallies are pleasant Gardens, where Vines, Pulse, Herbs, and fruitfull Trees grow, especially Almonds. Mount Sinai when the Sunne riseth, over-shadoweth Horeb, which is from it a mile and halfe; and on the top of Sinai yee may view over Horeb the Region beyond full of Rockes and Hills, unto the Easterne Plaine where Jerusalem standeth: to the West, nothing but Arabia Desarta; and North-west, the Region washed by the Mediterranean Sea (but not the Sea it selfe) five dayes journey thence. Southward are easily discerned both the shoares of the Red Sea extended like an English Bow, and the Æthiopian Desarts and

Sinai.

Monkes or Caloieri.

Height of Sinai.

Mountaines, where stands the Monasterie of Saint Macarius, and Saint Antonie. When wee came to the top wee *Plants.* found it hard stone of Iron colour, yet not without plants: for Absinthium seriphium, which beareth the Worme-seed, Panax asclepium, Conyza, and Eupatorium Arabum groweth about the Mountaine. In height it excells Oeta and Ida, but seemes lower then Olympus. The Plaine on the top is not much greater then that of the greatest Pyramis, that is, foure paces, but a little lower much larger, and is ascended with great difficultie. It is not so cold as the Alpes, nor so hot as the low Plaines of Europe. **The Author doubted of the truth.* We lay all night in S. Katharines Monasterie, and the next day were shewed the pensile receptacle of S. Katharines bones,* hanging in the Church, which is adorned with goodly Pictures and Relicks. The Rock which Moses strucke with his Rod is a solid stone, right up, of colour and qualitie like Thebaick Stone, of which Obelisks and Pompey's Pillar in Alexandria were made, then which no Stone resists Iron.

Breidenbachs Journey. Anno 1483. But the Legend of Saint Katharine is better knowne by Deane Breidenbach, a man seeming more devout then Bellonius, who with the Earle of Solms, and Philip de Bichen a German Knight, first visited Jerusalem, and the holy places of Palæstina; and thence passed together to Sinai, above sixtie yeeres before. Their journey was by *Gaza.* Gazera, where they saw a huge Fig-tree which bare figs seven times in the yeere. Thence wee departed (sayth he) on the ninth of September. On the eleventh, wee passed a sandy Plaine, so large that we could see no end, but the Sea on the West. At last, wee came into Cawath or Cades, where wee had raine, which there is seldome. Now were wee come into a true Desart, utterly without all signe of habitation. We saw smokes sometimes, but they arose of sands moved with the wind. On the twelfth, we came to Gayon: on the thirteenth to the Brook Wadalar, where was store of Coloquintida. On the fourteenth, to Magare and Gebelhelel, where we saw nor man, nor beast, nor bird, but Ostriches. The fifteenth, into a very cold

Desart, the earth white like Chalke, and the sand like burnt Lime, called Mynschene. The sixteenth, wee could see no end toward the East, and it is said to reach without habitation two moneths journey, yea as some thinke, to the torrid Zone which continueth to the terrestriall Paradise: that day we came to Alherok. The seventeenth to Mesmar, to the foot of the Hill Caleb which seemeth made by hand. The eighteenth, we travelled the Salt Land, where the deaw, hills, vallies, stones, and sand, are like Salt. The nineteenth, we came to mountaynous places, and saw Mount Sinai and Horeb on the left hand, and the Red Sea on the right, foure dayes journey distant. The way was rockie and præcipitious. The twentieth, the Spinæ Christi with their sent refreshed us, but the Mountaines were rockie and barren, of colour betwixt blacke and red, and the stones in the Sun-shine seemed as if anoynted with Oyle. There we saw a great beast bigger then a Camell, and our Guide said it was an Unicorne: and there we saw a Shepheard with his flocke, which seemed to us a marvellous sight. At even, wee stayed at a place called Scholie. This comfort wee had from our Ladie and S. Katharine, that after mid-night we saw a Star brighter then the rest, to arise from the South, which we called S. Katharines Star, and directed us before day standing over Mount Sinai. On the one and twentieth, we saw Mount Sinai, higher then the other Mountayns, and came to Abalharoch, a Plain every way environed with hils, where Moses kept Jethroes sheep. The two and twentieth, wee came to another Plaine of the Red Sand, and the Hils were red, reaching to the Roots of Sinai. Wee had a very bad way, and entred the Monasterie of Saint Katharine, at the Root of Mount Sinai.

Dreames of a burning Zone, and earthly Paradise.

[II. viii. 1380.] *Note.*

Qui amant ipsi sibi somnia fingunt.

The foure and twentieth of September, taking victuals with us for two dayes, wee ascended Horeb, and there saw the Fountayne, which when the Monkes were once leaving the place for Todes, Serpents and noysome Creatures molesting them, they were by the blessed Virgin commanded to stay, and doubting whether it might be an

Miracle of our Ladie, or rather a Monkes Tale.

illusion, as they were praying, this Fountayne sprang up amongst them, and still continueth: and here is our Ladies Chappell. We passed higher to an Arch of stone, which they say, no Jew can passe. Then comming to the toppe of that Hill wee came to the Plaine whence Horeb riseth without conjunction of any other Hill, where are three Chappels within one wall, of Marina, Elizeus and Elias: in each of which is seven yeares Indulgence, and as many Lents. On the top of Horeb is a little faire Chappell shut with an Iron doore, where the Decalogue in two Tables was given; wee put off our shooes to enter, and prostrating our selves, kissed the place where Moses received the Law. Fifteene paces off is the Cave where he fasted fortie dayes. Over it a Moschee, where the Moores daily resort in honour of Moses. There is a great Cisterne, called Moses Well. This Mountayne riseth round, and is not coherent to other Mountaynes, and from the Monasterie to the top thereof are about seven thousand steps ascending, besides those which are gone on plaine ground. In the former Chappell is plenarie Remission of all sinnes.

Indulgences.

The specialties of Horeb.

Having refreshed our selves with food we descended towards the West, a dangerous way, and came to the Monastery of fortie Saints, and after a little rest ascended Sinai by a harder way, by Breaches, Rockes, Over-hanging Stones, Precipices, Steepes and exceeding heate of the Sun; refreshed in the way by two Springs. After much sweat wee came to the toppe on the five and twentieth of September, even to the holy place where the Angels had brought from Alexandria, the bodie of the glorious Virgin and Martyr Katharine, in which place it lay three hundred yeares guarded by Angels, till it was revealed to a certaine Abbot, that it should be thence translated to the Monasterie where now it is. We with much joy kissed the place, and measured our bodies in the place, which is a stonie Plaine, still having the Impression of a humane bodie, not made by Arte, but formed by the touch of that sacred bodie. The Red Sea seemed but three leagues distant,

S. Katharines Legend. See hereof in J. di Castro sup. pag. 1141.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE PEREGRINATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES
IN THE DESERT

being two dayes Journey. We might thence see the Deserts of Thebaida, where Anthonie and the old Heremites lived, and divers barren Ilands in the Red Sea, and the Deserts of Elim and Sin. Also a place in which they said was a Monastery, the Bels whereof might be heard at all Canonicall houres, but the house no man could find. In the descent we came to Saint Katharines Well, and cut twigs of that kind (they said) whereof Moses burning-not-burned-Bush was, good for the falling sicknesse: After much labour wee came to the Monasterie of fortie Saints which the Pagans had martyred, and now there are but two Monkes of Saint Katharines which keepe there. The Edifices are of Mudde and Reeds, except the Church and the Wall encompassing. In their Garden is a Chappell in the Cave where Onophrius lived an Anchorite. Here we did eate, and then compassed Oreb, to returne to Saint Katharines Monasterie. Wee found at the foot of the Mount, the Rocke of Oreb, where Moses smote twice and water flowed. On the sixteenth of September, we confessed our selves, and prepared to see the Relikes of Saint Katharine, and the Tombe being opened, kissed the same, and rubbed our Jewels. The Tombe was in the right side of the Quire, and therein the head, two hands and some other members, the rest dispersed thorow the World. Neare to it is the Chappell where the burning Bush grew. In both these places is plenary pardon, as also many Chappels thereabouts have great Indulgence. In the twelve Pillars of the Church are many Relikes, and their Pictures hanging by. There is also a Moskee.

The top of Sinai, now called S. Katharines Mountayne Monastery impossible to bee found. Friers, Lyers, this is true.

Plenary pardon.

The Monkes of Saint Katharines, are of Saint Basils Order: they use Brazen Rings in stead of Bels: they are Proprietaries, buy, sell, worke with their hands, contentions continually, abstinent in dyet, use rough Garments: in their Garden is the place where the Golden Calfe was made, the Stone against which Moses brake the Tables, the Water of Cursing which Moses made the people drinke, and we saw a Calfe of Stone standing on the toppe of a Hill therein, which they said (and what can bee

said which some Fooles will not beleeve?) that if any went up, hee could not find it, whereupon some say, that the Devill carryed the Molten Calfe thither. In this Valley and the others adjoyning to Sinai, is found Manna only in August and September, which the Monkes gather and sell to Strangers. It fals toward day like Dew or Frost on the grasse and leaves, and beeing gathered runnes together like Pitch, and at the heate of the Sunne or Fire is melted, tasteth like Honey, and cleaves to the Teeth. The Abbot of that Monasterie is constrained to give food to one hundred Arabs daily. All Nations may be received into their Order, but Jacobites and Armenians; but beeing received must observe the Greeke Rites. The seven and twentieth of September wee departed. The first of October, wee came to the common way which leades from Gazeia to Cairo, and by another way to Thor, where the Indian ships arrive without Iron-workes, because they passe by Mountaynes and Rockes of Load-stone which would attract them. Wee came to the place in the Red Sea, where the Israelites passed on dry Land. Next day going along by the shoare, we came to the imperfect workes, whereby the Red Sea should have beene conveyed to Nilus.

Manna.

[II. viii. 1381.]

Tale of Load stones.

Martinus à Baumgarten, the fift of October, 1507. departed from Cairo, and came on the tenth to the Ditch, and the other passage. There are seene still to this day;* as Orosius also testifieth the foot-prints of Chariots and Horsemen on the shoare, which howsoever by any confused, soone recover the like forme. On the seventeenth, we came to Saint Katharines. Thence in the night by Moone light, we ascended Horeb by almost seven thousand staires of stone, besides the greater part naturall. Neere to the Church where Moses received the Tables (the Mountayne and others adjoyning still shine like to molten Copper) is a Moschee of Saracens over the place where he fasted fortie dayes in a Cave, which Cave the Saracens still use to get Prophets, and account the issue there generated, holy. Descending from Horeb, by the West we came to a Valley twixt it and Sinai, in which was

**No late Writer hath mentioned this, and I doubt out of Orosius, it hath growne into the Authors Text.*

Prophane holies.

the Monastery of the forty Saints, where having fed we ascended Sinai with great danger, with wounded hands, sliding feete by the loosenesse of the stones, creeping knees, breathlesse brests; the Monkes our Guides scarsly able to discerne the true Mountayne amongst so many Hill-tops,* of like semblance. The way beeing marked out by certaine stones set by Pilgrimes, brought us at last to the top, where a fresh Spring refreshed us. Thence returned to the Monasterie of the fortie Monkes, and compassing Horeb we came to the Rocke in the Root of Horeb, which Moses smote twice: a square stone, with one sharp point fast to the earth, with twelve marks according to the number of the twelve Tribes. A little off is the place where Dathan and Abiron were swallowed: by night we got to S. Katharines, so wearie, that the next day we could scarsly stand on our feet. In our returne, we were often set on by Arabs, which live in subjection to no man, wearied with the Camels hard pace, and more with Famine (which made us sometime halfe asleepe, and dreaming of victuals, reaching to receive them, fall off our beasts) we got at last to Cairo. There wee saw a Ziraph, speckled white and higher then any beast I had ever seene, the necke so long, that it exceeds a mans armes twice stretched out, the head of a Cubit, the brest high, the backe low, eyes pleasing, eating any thing which was given it. We saw also an Indian Oxe of a shorter bodie and greater head then ours, with great blunt knottie Hornes. The Mamalukes are of such authoritie, that they doe what they list to any Saracen, turne him out of his house, and dwell in it as long as they please. No Saracen may ride or beare Armes in the Citie, but are slaves to these slaves, give way, rise, kisse their knees and feet, (their hands are a great great bountie.) Their mad Men and Penitents are esteemed Saints, and may goe into any house and eate, drinke, yea, lye with the women freely, and that Issue forgotten is esteemed holy: they are honoured whiles they live, and when they are dead have Monuments and Temples, and to touch or bury them is a

Sacra sacerrima.

**This sheweth the reason of Furrers, affirming Saint Katharines to bee a higher hill then Sinai, which is but the highest top of Sinai, whereof are many tops.*

Camelopardalis.

Mamalukes tyrannie. Egyptian slaverie.

Beastly Saint. matter of esteeme. One wee saw sitting as naked as hee was borne on the Sands, and heard him commended for that he medled not carnally with Women or Boyes, but Female Asses or Mules.

Tongobardinus his Wives. Of the Mamalukes hee reporteth, that Tongobardinus the Soldan entertayned him in his Palace, shewed him his house of women, whereof thirtie five were there present, dallying and talking, exceeding fragrant. The next day shewed him a great sight, where almost sixtie thousand Mamalukes were assembled, standing with great reverence and silence all in white and like habit. The Soldan also with a large blacke beard horned or mitred Diademe in a Summer open Roome and white Raiment: not farre from *Socienus the Calipha.* him his Pope (whom they call Calipha) Socienus sate, a browne man, and beneath him the Turkish Embassador. Beneath the Castle was a large Plaine prepared before to that purpose, in the middest whereof were three heapes of Sand, fiftie paces distant, and in each a Speare erected with a marke to shoote at, and the like over against them, with space betweene for sixe Horses to runne abreast. Heere *Mamalukes activitie.* did the yonger Mamalukes gallantly adorned, upon their Horses running a full careere, yeeld strange experiments of their skill, not one missing the marke, first, with casting Darts, and after with their Arrowes, as they ran: and lastly, trying their staves. Others after this, in the like Race of their running Horses, shot with like dexteritie divers Arrowes backwards and forward. Others in the midst of their Race alighted three times, and (their Horses still running) mounted againe, and hit the Marke nevertheless. Others did hit the same, standing on their Horses thus swiftly running. Others three times unbent their Bowes, and thrice againe bent them whiles their Horses ran, and missed not the Marke: neither did others, which amidst their Race, lighted downe on either side, and againe mounted themselves: no, nor they which in their swiftest course leaped and turned themselves backwards on their Horses, and then (their Horses still running) turned themselves forwards. There were which, whiles their

Horse ranne, ungirt their Saddles thrice, at each time shooting, and then againe girding their Saddles, and never missing the Marke. Some sitting in their Saddles, leaped backwards out of them, and turning over their heads, setled themselves againe in their Saddles and shot, as the former, three times. Others laid themselves backwards on their running Horses, and taking their tayles, put them into their mouthes, and yet forgot not their ayme in shooting. Some after every shot drew out their Swords, and flourished them about their heads, and againe sheathed them. Others sitting betwixt three Swords on the right side, and as many on the left, thinly clothed, that without great care every motion would make way for death, yet before and behind them touched the Marke. One stood upon two Horses running very swiftly, his feet loose, and shot also at once three Arrowes before, and againe three behind him. Another siting on a Horse neither bridled nor sadled, as hee came at every Marke arose and stood upon his feete, and on both hands hitting the Marke, sate downe againe three times. A third sitting on the bare Horse, when hee came to the Marke lay upon his backe and lifted up his legges, and yet missed not his shoot. After all this they ranne with like swiftnesse (for all these things, which, where is the Vaulter that can doe on his Imaginarie Horse standing still? these did running) and with their staves carryed away those Markes, as triumphing over their innocent Enemie. One of them was killed with a fall, and two sore wounded in these their Feats of Activitie. They had an old grave man which was their Teacher. If I have long detayned thee in this Spectacle, remember that the Race of Mamalukes should not bee forgotten, the rather, because their name is now razed out of the World; and this may seeme an Epitaph on their Sepulchre, after whom none perhaps are left able to doe the like, nor in all Franciscus Modius his Triumphall Pandects to be paralelled. [II. viii. 1382.]

The end of the eighth Booke.

Peregrinations, [II.ix.1383.]

and Discoveries by Land of Assyria, Armenia, Persia, India, Arabia, and other In-land Countries of Asia, by Englishmen and Others; Moderne and Ancient.

THE NINTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A briefe Compendium of the Historie of Sir Anthony Sherleys Travels into Persia: And employed thence Ambassadour to the Christian Princes; * penned by himselfe, and recommended to his Brother Sir Robert Sherley, since that sent on like Ambassage by the King of Persia.

**This Summarie is also in his own words, but many things which pertayne rather to his minde then bodies travels, in discourses of causes, &c. are left out not for want of worth, but of roome: this worke looking another way. The studious may reade the Author himselfe, the Historie we have extracted.*

§. I.

The Causes of his going to Persia, and strange Accidents in the way.

IN my first yeares, my friends bestowed on me those Learnings which were fit for a Gentlemans ornament, without directing them to an Occupation; and when they were fit for agible things, they bestowed them and me on my Princes Service, in which I ran many courses, of divers Fortunes, according to the conditions of the Warres, in which,

as I was most exercised, so was I most subject to accidents: With what opinion I carryed myselfe (since the causes of good or ill must be in my selfe, and that a thing without my selfe) I leave it to them to speake; my places yet in authoritie, in those occasions were ever of the best; in which, if I committed errour it was contrarie to my will, and a weaknesse in my judgement; which, notwithstanding, I ever industriated my selfe to make perfect, correcting my owne over-sights by the most vertuous Examples I could make choice of: Amongst which, as there was not a Subject of more worthinesse and vertue, for such Examples to grow from, then the ever-living in honour and condigne estimation, the Earle of Essex: as my reverence and regard to his rare Qualities was exceeding; so I desired (as much as my humilitie might answere, with such an eminencie) to make him the patterne of my civill life, and from him to draw a worthy modell of all my actions. And as my true love to him, did transforme mee from my many imperfections, to be, as it were, an imitator of his vertues; so his affection was such to mee, that hee was not onely contented, I should doe so; but in the true Noblenesse of his minde gave mee liberally the best Treasure of his mind in counselling me; his fortune to helpe me forward, and his verie care to beare me up in all those courses, which might give honour to my selfe, and inworthy the name of his friend: in so much, that after many actions, into which (peradventure) he provoked my owne slacknesse. The Duke of Ferrara dying, and leaving Don Cæsare d'Este Inheritor of that Principalitie, who by his birth could indeed challenge nothing justly being a Bastard; notwithstanding, in the worlds opinion, hee was most likely to have beene established in that succession, through the long continuance of the government in that name. The Earle holding opinion, that the Dukes greatest necessitie at the first must be of incouragement, and Captaines sent me presently (though the least amongst many) accompanied with divers Souldiers of approved valour, and procured the

Earle of Essex.

[II.ix.1384.]

Likelihood of wars betwixt the Pope and Cæsare, for the Dutchy of Ferrara.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF CANDIA

Count Maurice, Generall of the States Army, to write him Letters of as much comfort, as could be given from so brave a Prince, and so famous an Estate: and though my journey was under-taken in the dead of Winter, and I left no paines untaken to accelerate it; yet before I could arrive in Italy, I found the Duke given over to quieter resolutions, and Ferrara yeelded to the Pope; him selfe satisfying himselfe with Modena & Rhegium, of which he now beareth the Title. Which when I had advertised the Earle of, as he who never had his own thoughts limited, within any bounds of honorable and just ambition. So he also desired, that those whom he had chosen into a neerenesse of affection, should also answere both his owne conceit of them, and satisfie the world in his election of them: wherefore, not willing I should returne, and turne such a voyce as was raised of my going to nothing; as unwilling that I should by a vaine expence of Time, Money and Hope, be made a scorne to his, and (through him) to my enemies: He proposed unto me (after a small relation, which I made unto him from Venice) the Voyage of Persia. Having with these Advertisements received strength to my owne mind, large meanes, and Letters of favour and credit to the Company of Merchants at Aleppo.

I imbarked my selfe at Venice for Aleppo, in a Venetian ship, called the Morizell, the foure and twentieth of May, 1599. Five and twentie daies the ship was sayling betweene Malmocko the Port of Venice, and Zant; in which space one of the worst in the Ship, a Passenger to Cyprus, used most scandalous speeches of her Majestie, which being brought unto me, not onely moved with the dutifull zeale which a Subject oweth to his Prince; but even with that respect which every Gentleman oweth to a Lady, I commanded one of my people to give him a fit reward for so vile an abuse: which was no sooner done, but the Ship was all in an uprore. And though the cause of the act was just, and so understood by divers principall Merchants, which went to Zant, and that the punishment [II.ix.1385.]

was nothing proportionable to the sceleratnesse of the fact; yet through the instigation of one Hugo de Potso, a Portugall Factor, which was going to Ormus, (though they shewed all to be satisfied, because they durst doe no other, yet) when we were to have departed in the Ship from Zant, they would no more receive us, so that we were forced to hire a Carramosall to carrie us to Candy, where we received most honorable entertainment, (the comming of Strangers thither being a thing so unusuall, that the Duke desired to shew the Magnificence of the great Signiorie to us that came first, and peradventure should bee the last for a long time.)

Duke of Candy under the state of Venice.

From thence in the same Carramosall we departed to Cyprus and Paphos, where wee found nothing to answere the famous Relations given by ancient Histories of the excellency of that Iland, but the name onely, (the barbarousnesse of the Turke, and Time, having defaced all the Monuments of Antiquitie) no shew of splendor, no habitation of men in a fashion, nor possessors of the ground in a Principalitie; but rather Slaves to cruell Masters, or Prisoners shut up in divers prisons: so grievous is the burthen of that miserable people, and so deformed is the state of that Noble Realme. Notwithstanding, the Redemption of that place and people were most facile (being but foure thousand Turkes in the whole Iland.)

Cyprus.

From Paphos we went to the Salines in a little hired Barke, where we found the Morizell, in which wee came to Zant. The Portugall and his Complices presently went on shoare to the Subbassa of the place (for so is called the Governor there) and told him divers Pirats who had lost their ships, were come into the Harbour in a small Boat, amongst whom were some Boyes and Youths, worth much Money; besides, I know not what Jewels and Treasure we had amongst us, with the which he would give him a good present also, if he would send some of his Souldiers and take us. At this Oration of his, were present certaine Armenian Passengers, who had knowne us in the ship, which moved with the enormitie of so vile

A strange deliverance. Wickednesse of a Portugall.

an act (that Christians should sell and betray Christians to Turkes, and that upon no cause of offence, which they were witnesses of, we should be persecuted with such a kind of inhumane crueltie) with all speed possible hired a Boat themselves for Alexandretta, came with it unto us, provided in it victuals for us, and the Masters themselves to lose no time; and beseeching us, with teares in their eyes, to flie from thence with all speed possible, relating unto us the scelerat Treason conspired against us, and our imminent perill. Wherefore we instantly changed into that Boat, and perceiving a Frigat a farre off, rowing towards us for haste, left most of our things behind us, and yet could not make so much speed, but that the Janizaries which were in the Frigat, and chased us, bestowed some shot upon us, and had peradventure overtaken us, if the night had not ended their chasing us, and our dangers.

Another deliverance.

This Boat in which we were, was an ordinary Passenger betweene Cyprus and Alexandretta, a small way off, onely a night and a halfe sayling, and halfe a daies sayling: So that by reason the Master was unlike to mistake his way, much lesse so just contrary as hee did, towards two houres in the night, we met another passage-Boate, put off from Famagusta, holding the course which we intended. The night was faire, with the shining of the Moone and Starlight; yet, by reason of the differences in sayling, wee first lost sight of that Boate, then by our different course, the Master of ours, in stead of Alexandretta, going for Tripoly, which certainely was a great worke of God to preserve us. The other Boat, at breake of the day, being taken at the entrance of the Port of Alexandretta, by certaine Turkish Pirats, who put all to the sword that were in it, and hearing of us, we had rowed so farre into the River Orontes, before they could recover us, that they durst no further prosecute that prey. There we found a goodly Countrey, repleat even naturally with all the blessings the earth can give to man, for the most part uncultivated here and there (as it were) sprinkled with

miserable Inhabitors, which in their fashion shewed the necessitie they had to live, rather then any pleasure in their living.

From thence we sent our Interpreter to Antiochia, to provide us Horses to bring us thither, which he returned within two daies after, and with them wee proceeded thither, full of great care how we should escape from thence. The Turke having given certaine scales to trade in, out of which, as it was unlawfull for any to converse; so it must needs be an unevitable peril for so great a company, when the same great Providence, which at first defended us from the former hazards, gave us the good hap to meete with two Janizaries, Hungarish-runnagates, who understanding that we were Christians, compelled against our dispositions into that place, our intention to be a visitation of Jerusalem, and withall, our feare of some great prejudice by our being arrived out of the distinguished places for all Christians: having told us first, that they themselves had beene Christians, and though they had, for reasons best knowne to themselves, altered that condition; yet they wished well to those which still were so, and especially, to all of those parts: and afterwards cheerefully comforting us, invited us to lodge in their house, securing us, by a number of protestations, from al dangers; which as they courteously offered, so (if I may give so faire a terme, to such a people) they honorably performed: For being by the Cady of Antiochia required to present us unto him, they did not onely deny us, as bound unto it by the lawes of hospitalitie, in respect of their promise, as they themselves said; but called fiftie other Janizaries of Damasco, their friends to defend us, if the Cady should have offered violence.

[II.ix.1386.]

Those Janizaries of Damasco, amongst other Garrisons, were appointed as those of Cairo against the invasions of the Arabs, who are through all those Provinces, a people dispersed, living in Tents, without a certaine place of abode, removing their habitations according to the seasons, and their owne Commodities: part of which, who are

remooved on that side of Euphrates, which is of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbech, are peaceable to the Turke, and not much infestious to Travellers. Their King being a Saniacke of the Turkes, and by that Title holding Ana and Der, two Townes upon the River, which pay him his stipend. The other, upon the other side towards Ægypt, through all Arabia Petra, and Deserta, and spreading as farre as the limits of Arabia Felix; being in multitudes, and not possible bee brought to a quiet and well-formed manner of living, are dangerous to Strangers, and continuall spoylers of those parts of the Turkes Dominions, which every way border upon them: for the safetie of which (as I said) those two Garrisons of Cairo and Damasco were instituted; the first, of twelve thousand, the other of fifteene hundred Janizaries. Those Janizaries (which were appointed for the safetie of the Provinces, and had their first priviledges, not onely for a reward to their vertues; but to binde them by such rewards, to answere the Princes confidence in them) now obey no authoritie which calleth them to other Warres: but by combining themselves in a strength together, tyrannize the Countries committed to their charges: in such a sort, that they are not onely Princes (as it were) over the people, but doe also terrifie the greater Ministers, (a great weaknesse in the very Basis of so huge an estate) want of necessary provision for the warres in all those parts; not speaking of those for peace, sithence the ruine of the Provinces, for the most part, and the misery of those poore flocke of people, which doe live in the parts inhabited, are onely the meanes to give him peace. Yet the negligence of the Princes Christian, will not make use of these extreame defects of his to amplifie their Dominions, to eternize their Honours; and (that which is the greatest) to glorifie God, which hath made them Princes, onely to execute his judgements. I will leave them, and speake of my Janizaries rare disposition unto me, who did not onely performe their promise in defending me in Antiochia, but delivered me safely from them into

Insolence of Janizaries in those times of Mahomet, Father to the Mustapha.

English Consull at Aleppo. Merchants bounty.

our English Consuls hands in Aleppo: from whom, and from all the Merchants there abiding, I received such an entertainment, with so carefull, so kind, and so honourable a respect, as I must needs say, they were the onely Gentlemen, or the most benigne Gentlemen that ever I met withall. For my company being so great, that it was no light burthen unto them; besides, gave an occasion to the Turkes condition of getting to make quarrels for that end: so that they were not onely at expence by defraying me and mine, but at more by preserving us from oppression amongst them. I had not beene fully one moneth expecting a commoditie of passage by Caravan into Persia: but that the Morizell arrived, who presently had the advice of my being at Aleppo: And though that Hugo de Potso threatned us much as an ill mind, and great purse could make him hope to prevaile against me by; and questionlesse had raised some great trouble against me, if he had come safe to Aleppo. Yet ever the first providence which saved me before, determined so well also for me then, that foure miles from Aleppo he dyed: by which meanes I was preserved from perill, and those honest Merchants (my friends) from great trouble.

A happy deliverance from danger.

After sixe weekes staying in Aleppo (a wearisome time to my selfe, being drawne from thence continually by the instigation of my desire, which longed for the accomplishment of the end, that I proposed to my selfe, and as chargeable a time for my friends, which would needs make me a burthensome guest unto them) the Tafterdall, which is the Treasurer, and the great Cady, which is (as it were) the Lord Chiefe Justice of Babylon, arrived at Aleppo, from thence to goe by the River of Euphrates to the place of their Regiment. With those, as divers others went, so did I also, for the more securitie of my Voyage (their company being ever defended, besides with the respect of their persons, with a good company of Janizaries) to Birr, which is the place of imbarkment. Divers of our Merchants brought me, and left me not untill I was boated. Thirtie daies we were going upon the River to

Babylon, resting every night by the shoare side: In all which way we found few Townes; onely Racha, Ana, Derrit, and otherwise as little habitation, except heere and there a small Village: and one of better reputation, which is the landing place, thirtie miles from Babylon, called Phalugium. To tell wonders of things I saw, strange to us, that are borne in these parts, is for a Traveller of another profession then I am, who had my end to see, and make use of the best things; not to feed my selfe and the world with such trifles, as either by their strangenesse might have a suspition of untruth: or by their lightnesse [II. ix. 1387.] adde to the rest of my imperfections, the vanitie or smalnesse of my judgement. But because I was desirous to certifie my selfe truly of the estate of the Turke, in those parts through which I passed, understanding where we lodged one night, that the Campe of Aborisci, King of those Arabs, which inhabite the Desart of Messopotamia, was a mile off; I hazarded my selfe in that curiositie to goe into it, and saw a poore King with tenne or twelve thousand beggerly Subjects, living in Tents of blacke Haire-cloath: yet so well governed, that though our cloathes were much better then theirs, & their want might have made them apt enough to have borrowed them of us; we passed notwithstanding through them all in such peace, as we could not have done, being Strangers, amongst civiller bred people. That day, as it hapned, was the day of Justice amongst them, which was pretty and warlike. Certaine chiefe Officers of the Kings, mounting on horse-backe, armed after their manner, with their Staves, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes; and so giving judgement of all Cases, which the people brought before them. The King gave us good words, without any kind of barbarous wondring, or other distastfull fashion. But when we returned to our Boat, we found the Master of his house, Master of our Boat, with a sort of his Arabs: and in conclusion, we were forced to send his Master three Vestes of cloath of Gold, for beholding his person. This is that King of the Arabs, which I said before, was a

Aborisci King of the Arabs visited.

Manner of Justice.

Saniacke of the Turkes; and for that place held of the Turke, Ana and Dirr, two Townes upon the River.

As soone as we came to Babylon, having put the stocke which I had all into Jewels and Merchandize, to carry the fashion of a Merchant; at the Dogana, which is the Custome-house, all (whatsoever) was stayed for the Bassa: and (as I perceived) not so much for any great use which he meant to speake of those things; as for the suspition which hee had of me, and mine extraordinary company bearing much cause thereof with it; and because I gave out I had more goods comming with the Caravan by Land, to binde me not to start from thence. In the meane time, by very necessitie, having left me nothing in the world; what extreame affliction I was in, by that meanes, for the present: and in what just cause of feare for the future, every man may easily judge. I had my Brother with me, a young Gentleman, whose affection to me, had onely led him to that disaster, and the working of his owne vertue: desiring in the beginning of his best yeares, to inable himselfe to those things, which his good mind raised his thoughts unto. I had also five and twentie other Gentlemen, for the most part: the rest, such as had served me long, onely carried with their loves to mee, into the course of my fortune. I had no meanes to give them sustenance to live, and lesse hope to unwrap them from the horrible snare, into which I had brought them, being farre from all friends, and further from counsell, not understanding the language of the people, into whose hands I was falne, much lesse their proceedings: onely thus much I knew, they were Turkes, inhumane in their natures, and addicted to get by all meanes just and unjust.

Sir Robert Sherley, since Embassador from the King of Persia to His Majestie.

A hard distress.

The ruines of Babylon.

But I will leave my selfe a little in that great straight, and speake of Babylon; not to the intent to tell stories, either of the huge ruines of the first Towne, of the splendor of this second: but because nothing doth impresse any thing in mans nature more, then example, to shew the truth of Gods Word, whose vengeance, threatned by his Prophets, are truely succeeded in all those

parts. Ninive (that which God himselfe calleth, That great Citie) hath not one stone standing, which may give memorie of the being of a Towne: one English mile from it, is a place called Mosul, a small thing; rather to bee a witnesse of the others mightinesse, and Gods judgement, then of any fashion of Magnificencie in it selfe. All the ground on which Babylon was spred, is left now desolate, nothing standing in that Peninsula, betweene the Euphrates and the Tigris, but onely part, and that a small part of the great Tower. The Towne, which is now called Bagdat, and is on the other side of Tigris, towards Persia (onely a small Suburbe in the Peninsula) but removed from any stirpe of the first; to which men passe ordinarily by a Bridge of Boats, which every night is dissolved, for feare either of the Arabs, or some storme upon the River, which might carrie away the Boats, when there were no helpe readie. The buildings are after the Morisco fashion, low, without stories; and the Castle, where the Bassa is resident, is a great vast place, without beautie or strength, either by Art, or Nature; the people somewhat more abstinent from offending Christians, then in other parts, through the necessitie of the Trade of Ormus: upon which standeth both the particular and publike wealth of the State. Victuals are most abundant, and excellent good of all sorts, and very cheape; which was a mightie blessing for mee, which had nothing but a generall Wardrobe of clothes, not in our Coffers, but upon our backes; which we were forced to make money of by piece-meale, according to the falling of the Lot, and our necessitie; and with that lived: and if feeding-well had beene all, which we had cause to care for, we also lived well.

Ninive.

Bagdat.

A hard distresse.

But after one moneth was past, and time fastned every mans eyes more firmely upon us: One day a Florentine Merchant (whom I had onely knowne in the way betweene Aleppo and Babylon, by a riding acquaintance) came unto mee, and after a little other discourse, told mee, that there was a great muttering amongst divers great men there, what I was, and what my designes might bee; that he

A strange providence.

found me to be dangerously spied after: and wished mee
[II.ix.1388.] to have regard, (if not to my selfe) yet to so many, which he did imagine were impawned in that misfortune by my meanes. And though it were true, that hee came upon the motion of an honest, pious, and charitable heart; yet I was so fearefull of an Italian Merchant, that I did rather imagine him to be the spie, then lightly to have beene an instrument of his prevention. Therefore agreeing with him in the complement onely, I answered determinately in the rest; that I knew no just cause of perill, therefore I feared none; and if there were any curious eyes upon me, because of the number of my companie, the Caravan comming, they should see good use made of them all: and untill that time I would have patience with their looking and speaking. Him I thanked for his kindnesse, and offered my selfe largely unto him, as though I had least suspected him; though in truth I did most: and most unjustly. For, two dayes after he returned to me againe, and as a man moved in his very soule with anguish, told me, that within ten dayes the Caravan of Aleppo would arrive; in the meane time, beseeched me not to cover my selfe longer from him, who did so truely wish me well, not so much for my person (which he could know little) but because his conceit was, that I would not have hazarded my selfe in such a journey, but for some great end, which he did beleeve well of; and besides, in charitie to a Christian, and so many Christians with me: saying, that there was a Caravan of Persian Pilgrims, arrived two dayes since from Mecca without the Towne, who were forced to take that way (though the longest) by reason of the Plague, which raigned very exceedingly in those places, by which they should have passed. Hee was not ignorant of my wants, for which hee also had provided; and taking me by the hand, beseeched me againe to beleeve him, and to goe presently with him to the Caravan: which I did, not being able to answere, through admiration of so generous a part in him, and an amazement, with a thousand divers thoughts spred upon mee. When I came

A Caravan of Persian Pilgrimes.

A strange and extraordinary kindnesse of a Florentine Merchant, called Victorio Speciero.

there, hee brought me to a Vittorin, of whom hee had alreadie hired Horses, Camels, and Mules for mee; and I found a Tent pitched by his servants: and then opening his Gowne, hee delivered mee a bag of Chequins, with these very words: The God of Heaven blesse you, and your whole companie, and your enterprise, which I will no further desire to know, then in my hope, which perswadeth me that it is good; My selfe am going to China, whence if I returne, I shall little need the repayment of this courtesie, which I have done you with a most free heart; if I die by the way, I shall lesse need it: but if it please God so to direct both our safeties with good providence, that we may meet againe, I assure my selfe, that you will remember mee to be your friend; which is enough, for all that I can say to a man of your sort. And almost, without giving me leasure to yeeld him condigne thankes (if any thankes could bee condigne) for so great and so noble a benefit, he departed from mee. And as I heard afterward from him by Letters from Ormus, he received much trouble after my departure, through his honourable desire to perfect the kindnesse which he had begun. For, imagining that by the continuall spies, which clave to my house, that my flight could not be secret: hee had no sooner left mee in the Caravan, but that he changed his lodging to mine, saying that I had done the like to his; and went to the Cady, telling him that I was sicke, desiring his Physician to visite mee, knowing well enough that the Cady had none, but onely to give colour to my not appearing in the Towne. The Cady answered, he was sorrie for my sicknesse, and would send to the Bassa for his Physician, which Signior Victorio Speciera (for so was this honourable Florentine called) would by no meanes; hoping, as hee said, that my sicknesse would not bee so great, as would require the trouble of his Highnesse. By this meanes five dayes passed before I was missed; and when I was once discovered to be gone, fiftie Janizaries were sent after me, to bring mee backe againe: the Caravan having divided it selfe by the way, whereof one part

went a visitation of a Santon in the Desarts of Samarone; and the other passed the right way for Persia by the Mountaines, governed by a Prince of the Courdines, called Cobatbeague. The Janizaries hearing of them to be past, and thinking that all had beene so, they returned: and that noble-minded Florentine was forced to pay five hundred Crownes, to make his peace with the Bassa.

Santon Pilgrimage.

Courdines.

My frailtie gave mee a continuall terrour, during those thirtie dayes, in which wee wandred with that companie of blinde Pilgrims through the Desarts; not knowing what God had wrought for my securitie, and those which were with mee, by that good man, Signior Victorio. At the end of which wee arrived in the King of Persia's Dominions, having first passed a great tract of good and ill Countries, the Desart places of which being onely sand, gave no meanes for Inhabitants to live: the fruitfuller parts were used by certaine people, called Courdines, living in Tents, knowing no other fruit of the earth, but what belonged to the sustenance of their Cattell, upon the Milke, Butter, and Flesh, of which they live, ruled by certaine particular Princes of their owne, which give partly an obedience to the Turke, and part to the Persian, as they are neerest the Confines of the one or the other. Yet in that simplicitie of living (not being without that contagion of all Mankind, of all Provinces, and of all States, ambition of getting superioritie, and larger Dominion) some Warres daily grow in amongst them, even to the extirpation of a whole Nation: as we found freshly, when we passed by one of those Princes, called Hiderbeague, all whose people were devoured by the sword, or carried away captive by Cobatbeague; and himselfe remayned onely with some twentie soules, in certaine poore Holds in a Rocke.

[II.ix.1389.] The precise summe, which I received of the Florentine, I set not downe, to prevent the scandales of divers, who measuring every mans mind by the straightnesse of theirs, will beleeve no act, which doth not symbolize with themselves: but so much it was, that being thirtie dayes upon

the way to the Confines; then fifteene from the Confines to Casbine, where wee attended one moneth the Kings arrivall; it was not onely sufficient to give us aboundant meanes for that time, but to clothe us all in rich apparell, fit to present our selves before the presence of any Prince, and to send extraordinarily in gifts, by which wee insinuated farre into the favour of those, which had the authoritie of that Province, during our abode, and expectation of the Kings comming: in which time we were well used, more by the opinion, which they had, that the King would take satisfaction by us, then by their owne humours; being an ill people in themselves: and onely good by the example of their King, and their exceeding obedience unto him. The Governour visited mee once; Marganabeague, Master of the Kings house, (whom I had won unto me by Presents) came oftentimes to see mee: besides (as it seemed) being more inwardly acquainted with the Kings inclination, fitted himselfe more to that, then others did, which knew it lesse.

§. II.

Of Abas King of Persia, his Person, Vertues, Perils, Escapes, Advancement, Government, and Conquests.

AND now that I am in Persia, and speake of the Kings absence; since hee is both one of the mightiest Princes that are, and one of the excellentest, for the true vertues of a Prince, that is, or hath beene; and having come to this greatnesse, though by right; yet through the circumstances of the time, and the occasions, which then were, solely his owne worthinesse, and vertue, made way to his right: besides, the fashion of his government differing so much from that which wee call barbarousnesse, that it may justly serve for as great an Idea for a Principalitie, as Platoes Commonwealth did for a Government, of that sort. I hold it not amisse, to speake amply

first of his Person, the nature of his People, the distribution of his Government, the administration of his Justice, the condition of the bordering Princes, and the causes of those Warres, in which hee was then occupied; that by the true expression of those, this discourse may passe with a more lively, and a more sensible feeling.

His Person then is such, as well-understanding Nature would fit for the end proposed for his being, excellently well shaped, of a most well proportioned stature, strong, and active; his colour somewhat inclined to a man-like blacknesse, is also more blacke by the Sunnes burning: his furniture of his mind infinitely royall, wise, valiant, liberall, temperate, mercifull, and an exceeding lover of Justice, embracing royally others vertues, as farre from pride and vanitie, as from all unprincely signes, or acts; knowing his power justly what it is; and the like acknowledgement will also have from others, without any gentilitious adoration; but with those respects, which are fit for the majestie of a Prince; which foundeth it selfe upon the power of his State, generall love, and awfull terrour. His fortunes determining to make proofe of his vertue, drave him (in his first yeeres) into many dangerous extremities; which hee overcomming by his vertue, hath made great use of, both in the excellent encrease of his particular understanding, and generall tranquillitie, strength of his Countrey, and propagation of his Empire. For the Lawes, and Customes, or both, of that Kingdome, being such, that though the King have a large encrease of Issue, the first-borne onely ruleth; and to avoide all kind of cause of civill dissention, the rest are not inhumanely murthered, according to the use of the Turkish government, but made blind with burning Basons: and have otherwise all sort of contentment and regard fit for Princes children. Xa-Tamas King of Persia dying without Issue, Xa-Codabent, his brother was called blind to the Kingdome; who had Issue, Sultan Hamzire Mirza the eldest, who succeeded him, and this present King called Abas.

The eldest Sonne of the King remayned at the Court of his Father, administring all that, which his Fathers defect of light unabled him to doe. Abas the second Sonne, twelve yeares of age under the government of Tutors, held the Province of Yasde; and (as Courts are full of Rumours, and suspition never wanteth in Princes, especially which have such imperfections, as they are compelled to take knowledge of) the vertues of Abas, by which hee bound to him the hearts of his Provincials, spred themselves further, and so to the Court; where they were increased to such a condition, as altered the Father, and Brothers rejoycing in them, to an opinion that his winning of the affections of the people, proceeded not from any other worthinesse, but artifice; which had the intent of it stretching to the Crowne: which tooke such hold in the Fathers minde, worne with age and griefe, and sore with his late misfortunes, that hee resolved secretly his death: The newes of which being brought to Abas, speedily by the meanes of secret friends, not onely to himselfe, but to his Governours (which as they were the greatest of the state, so they were not unfriended in the Court) being so farre from any such designe, that he had no sort of provision at hand to defend himselfe; hee fled to the King of Corasan, a Countrey of the Tartars, limiting upon the East of Persia, ever infestuous to that State, not more in their owne disposition (being a people given to spoyle, unquiet, and which cannot live in rest) then through their dependance upon the Turke, whose Religion they professe (which the Persians do not, but much altered) and whose Pensionaries they were, by which they were bound in all seasons, when the Turke was tyed to the Christians wars, to divert the Persian from looking to the commoditie of such a time; besides, on occasions, the Turke used to transport great forces of them over the Caspian Sea into Sirvana; and from thence passed them into Hungarie; eyther the longer way by Land, or the shorter by Sea, over Negropont. To this King Abas was exceeding welcome, and cherished, and honoured like his owne Sonne. Shortly [II.ix.1390.]

Abas his flight to the King of Corasan.

after the flight, the Father dyed, and Sultan Hamzire Mirza, his Sonne, succeeded him, who renewed the Truce with the Turke, through the necessitie which hee had to use the most, which his strength and power could yeeld him, to suppresse a great Rebellion of the Turcomans: whom, at the last, he so brake with divers Battels, and all other sort of afflictions, that they delivered him up their Princes, and then themselves. Their Princes he beheaded, and of them, slue twentie thousand of the ablest for the warres, assuring his peace with them by their extremest ruine; and as he was, by all reports, a most brave, and warlike Prince, having pacified his owne State, and desirous to recover, not onely what was freshly lost; but all which was formerly taken from the Sophies Kingdome, by the power of the Ottomans; united all his thoughts, and all his Councels to that one great end; which all finished with his life, ending it selfe by Treason of his Princes (not without perswasion of the Turke) when hee had fit yeares, minde, and courage; and meanes joyned with occasion, to have made himselfe the greatest Prince of many Ages: all which though they made his death miserable, yet the manner was more miserable; beeing vilely slaine by his Barber retyring halfe drunke from a Banquet, to which hee was provoked by the Conspirators, which presently parted the State betweene them; every man making himselfe absolute Prince of those Provinces, which they had in government; and parting the Royall Treasure amongst them for their reciprocall mayntenance, disposed themselves unitely to resist the comming in of Abas; whom notwithstanding they did not much feare, having promise of the Turke, that hee should be detayned in Corassan where he was refuged: and knowing that he had neither Men nor Money, nor yeares to give him any incouragement to attempt against them, who had soone confirmed themselves, both with giving good satisfaction to the people, and with liberalitie to the Souldioury; and their entrance into the State being without opposition, and so,

The King murthered.

without offence, made the foundation both more sure and more facile.

Abas in the meane time, whose just Title made him King, assured himselfe that both the murder of his Brother, and this parting of the State, had the Turkes counsell concurring with those Princes Impietie: and not doubting but the King of Corassan was also perswaded to detayne him resolved notwithstanding by his necessitie, began to deale boldly with him for his assistance against his Rebels, the King of Corassan, though pre-occupyed by the Turke, yet desirous to bee his Friend afarre off, and also doubting the successe of Abas, neither having yeares, nor experience, nor Friends; In fine, being destitute of all reasonable hope, not to moove the Turkes displeasure upon such a disadvantagious condition, was notwithstanding contented to see whether some thing might be mooved by such a helpe as should not appeare to be given by him, but rather voluntarie followers of Abas his fortune: he gave him three thousand Horse onely to put him in possession of that State, which by his vertue, and fortune, is growne now so great, that it hath devoured all the States of the Tartars, extended it selfe so farre as Cabull to the East; the Arabian gulfe downe to Balsaracke on the South; within three dayes Journey of Babylon on the West; and to Tauris on the North; embracing the whole Circumference of the Caspian Sea unto Astracan, which is the uttermost of the Moscovites Dominion, and Servane of the Turkes, which lyeth upon that Sea: an Empire so great, so populous, and so abundant; that as it may compare with most of the greatest that ever were, so is it terrible to the Turkes which is the greatest that now is; though I doe thinke verily, That in Asia the Persian hath as great an extent of Territories, as the Turke, and better inhabited, better governed, and in better obedience and affection, I am sure he hath. With this small troupe, the King of Persia, guided by his infinite Royall courage, entred Persia. But as those which are wicked, are ever so well instructed in the Art of their possession, that they never

The Persian Greatnesse.

want Instruments in themselves to devise, and in others to act those counsels which must ever be waking, to maintayne what they have gotten by their sceleratenesse. So their Spyes hastened, with such diligence, to give those Rebels notice, of their Kings being on foot, that the next of them to him, had time to arme great forces, and *Sistane.* encountred him in a Province, called Sistane: and though his invincible spirit, without any sparke of feare, made him adventure to fight upon so unequall termes, as was three thousand against twentie thousand; he found by his experience, that Majestie and right, is nothing without power to beare them up: and that no exquisite vigour of the minde, can resist the violence of sinister fortune, nor oppression of many hands. Yet did Fortune so much care (for so great vertue) that she gave him way to escape [II.ix.1391.] to the Mountaynes, all the rest of the small troupe beeing cut in pieces. This victory assured the Rebels (as they thought) from all further danger; the King of Persia, whose owne minde ever comforted him, with a stedfast assurance of his greatnesse, to which hee is now growne, having recovered the Mountaynes, lived amongst the Heardes-men for three monethes unknowne, changing continually from place to place, without any certaine abode, accompanied onely with ten or twelve followers, which were of his first Governours, and other young Gentlemen brought up with him from his child-hood. But being now no longer able to temporize with his great desire, resolving to prove the last, and the uttermost of his fortune, and remembring how much love and affection those of Ysad had shewed towards him in the time of his governing them, and how much he had truly deserved of them, determined to shew himselfe in that Province; and proove what effect the Majestie of his person, the justice of his cause, and former obligation would worke in them: which, though it were a foundation prooved ever false, almost by all experiences, The peoples affections ever raising mens hopes, and ruining their persons: Yet it prooved otherwise with this King; who was no sooner certainly knowne

in those parts, but numbers of people came flocking to him, armed and appointed for the warres: in such sort, that before any provision could be made against him (this being an accident so farre removed from all sort of suspition) he had a power together, too strong to bee easily suppressed; which was no sooner heard by Ferrat Can, a great Prince, and discontented with the alteration of the government (to whose share none of that partition had falne, his fortune being such, that at the time of the other Kings death, he had none of the Provinces to administer, and they were parted onely betweene them, which held them) hee I say, with his Brother, and a company of some ten thousand, came and joyned themselves to the forces of the King. Neither were the men so welcome, as that Ferrat Can (being a wise Prince, and a great Souldier) grew a partie, and such as the King also stood in need of Neither did the King lose any sort of opportunitie, but hearing of the Assembly which certaine of the Princes were making in the neerest Provinces unto him, with all speed fell upon them, and overthrowing them followed them as farre as Casbin. *Ferrat Can.*

In the meane time, those of Shyras, Asphaan, Cassan assisted by the Kings of Gheylan, and Mazandran, gather mightie forces; the Turkes armed at Tauris, and the Prince of Hamadan, having called in a strength of the Courdines, to his assistance, was marching also towards Casbin: So that the King was likely to bee so inclosed with all these Armies, that his first victory would rather have proved a snare to his intrapment; then important, as he hoped, to the summe of his affaires: Whence he resolved to helpe, with Art, that which hee was much too weake to accomplish by strength. Wherefore he leaveth Ferrat Can in Casbin with some five thousand men, accompanied with Zulpher his Brother; and himselfe, with the rest of his power marched towards the Can of Hamadane. Ferrat Can, according to the deliberation taken betweene the King and him, shewed himselfe altered from the Kings part, writeth to the Rebels, which were all, in a *Slie stratagem.*

grosse, advanced as farre as the mid-way betweene Cassan and Casbin, and offereth not onely to joyne that strength which he had with them, but to mutinie the Kings Armie, which was lodged in the Mountaynes towards Hamadane, in a shew to keepe those straights, to give impeachment to the passage of that other Army; but indeed to protract time onely, and to expect the event of his other counsels. The other Cans rebelled easily, and desirously imbraced Ferrat Cans proposition, hasted the Army towards Casbin, which they entred without difficultie, both by the nature of the place, which is not of any strength, and conveyance of Ferrat. There were many dayes spent in Counsell, and at last it was concluded, since the suppression of the King was certaine, being abandoned by him which was his onely Captaine and Counsellour; by so great a part of his strength; and upon the confidence which Ferrat gave them to mutine the rest; that it would proove too dangerous to call in those forces of the Turkes, which were in readinesse for their succour. Not knowing whether they should so easily free themselves of them againe, if they were once entred: They feared the Turkes purposes, and as much feared to know them; therefore to avoid the danger of being compelled to experience them, they determined to write to the Bassa of Tauris, that the warre was so certaine to bee finished by themselves, that they would reserve favour till a more urgent opportunitie: and with that deliberation a principall man was dispatched with a Present for the Bassa. Of this, the King had present advice, by a confident Messenger, and also that few nights after, the principals of the Army were to meete together at Ferrats house, invited to a great Banquet; which being understood by him, electing five thousand of his best men, and best horsing, with great and close Journeyes, hee came to Casbin; where having secretly disposed his people in the Mountayne, covered with the quarter of Ferrats Troupe, he expected the signe which was to be given him. The Prince (as it was appointed) failed not of comming, nor he of his signe to the King,

nor the King to accomplish his resolution. For Ferrat having protracted the Banquet the most part of the night, when the whole companie was heavie with Wine and sleepe, the King was received into the house with three hundred men, where without any uproare, hee slue all those which were invited, to the number of threescore and ten; the Servants and Pages being so suddenly taken hold of, and with such dexteritie, that without any moving of other Rumours, the same fashion of Feast of Singing and of Dancing, continued all the night; and in that space [II.ix.1392.] all the rest of those people, which the King had with him, were appointed, in the breaking of the day, to make the greatest shew, and the greatest noyse that they could under the foote, of the Mountayne, as though all the Army had beene there, marching to the Towne. When the Alarme beganne to bee hot in the Towne, and every man fell to his Armes, and repaired to Ferrats Lodging, where they supposed their Princes to have beene; the King having disposed his three hundred men which were shut fitly in the house, and Zulpher having his five thousand all in a troope, in the great place, the threescore and ten Cans heads were shewed, all laced upon a string, and hung out of a Tarras; upon which the King presently shewed himselfe, accompanied with Ferrat Can; whereas the Majestie of the King, the terrour of the sight represented before them, the feare of the Armie, which they saw (as they thought) at hand, Zulpher and Ferrat Cans power amongst them, which they perceived turned against them; their being destitute of Commanders, and the guiltinesse of their owne consciences, for their rebellion, strooke them into so dead an amazement, that they stood readie, rather to receive all mischiefe, then that they had either courage, or minds, or counsell to avoide it.

But upon offer of pardon, they cryed out, Let the King live, let the King live; we are all King Abas his slaves, and will not suffer to live any of his Enemies: and there was more trouble to defend the poore people of Casbin from sacking by

them (their Towne ever having beene a well disposed Harbour for the Rebels) then to turne their hearts and armes to the Kings part. Besides, the succours which the Gheylan and Mazandran had sent the Rebels, were with great difficultie saved, and returned to their Countries by the King of Persia, with commandement to tell their Masters, that as the poore men were not culpable, which obeyed their Princes authoritie, by whom they were sent against him, and for that innocencie, hee had given them their lives; so that he would not be long from seeking his revenge upon their Masters, which had more justly deserved it, by his never provoking them to any offence. And when hee came with his Armie thither, he would prove, by those mens acknowledgement unto him, whether they could discerne by the benefits they had already received of him in the gift of their lives, which they had forfeited unto him, by bearing Armes with Rebels against him, what better hopes they might conceive of him, if they would dispose themselves to deserve good of him. In this meane time, the fame of this great successe, flew to both the Armies about the Mountaynes of Hamadan: which, as it comforted the Kings with exceeding joyfulnesse; so it entred into the others with such a terrour, that they presently vanished, every man retyring to his best knowne safe-guard, that part of the Warre ending with the blast onely of the fortune of the other, with little expence of time, labour and bloud: which beeing understood by the King, hee raised Oliver-Dibeague to the title of a Can, and sent him, with those forces which he had to Hamadan, to settle the Countrey in a good forme of government, and to ease it from the oppression of the other dispersed Troupes. Zulpher he also called Can, and sent him to Ardovile, which frontireth upon Tauris, with an Army consisting of foure and twentie thousand men, in shew to quiet the Countrey, but indeed, to prevent any moving of the Turkes. And because hee knew, that as his State stood then weake, raysed (as it were) freshly from a deadly sicknesse, it was

not fit for him (at that time) to bind himselfe to wrastle with such an Enemie, by taking knowledge of his ill disposition towards him; he dispatched Embassadours to Constantinople, to Tauris, and to the Bassa of Babylon, to congratulate with them, as with his friends, for the felicitie of his fortune; and to strengthen himselfe, by Alliance, also, the more firmely, against the proceeding of any thing which the Turk might designe against him, either then or in future time; he required the Daughter of Simon Can, one of the Princes of the Georgians, to wife, which was, with as readie an affection performed, as demanded.

Whiles that Lady was comming from her Father, the King understanding that the Cans Son of Hisphaan held yet strong the Castle, and whether he gave it out to amaze his Armie, which now began to looke for satisfaction, for the great travels and dangers which they had passed, or whether he had heard so indeed; true it is, that he gave out, that the most part of the Treasure of the former Kings of Persia, was by the consent of the Rebels, for securitie, kept together in that Castle: to receive the which, and to chastise that Rebell, the King marched thither with a part onely of his Armie, leaving the rest at Casbin, which was Frontier to Gheylan against which his purpose carryed him. Without much trouble hee expugned the Fort at Hisphaan, beeing a large Circumference onely of Mud-wals, somewhat thicke, with Towers, and certaine ill Battlements, and suppressed that Rebell; but Treasure he found none, for the indignation whereof, he made the World beleeve, dismantled the Castle. His owne necessitie to content the Army, and his Armies necessitie to aske contentment, drew him suddenly backe from thence to Casbin, where hee had not stayed many dayes (for daily satisfaction with hope having no reall meanes) but that the Queene arrived, honourably accompanied with two thousand Horse, and Byraicke Myrza her Brother. The Marriage was soone dispatched, those Countries using few Ceremonies in such cases: and God

blessed them both so happily, that within the tearme of lesse then one yeare, she brought him a gallant yong Prince who is now living, called Sophir Mirza.

[II.ix.1393.] *Cheylan and Mazandran.*

The King unwilling to oppresse his Countrey, and desiring to revenge himselfe upon the Kings of Gheylan, and Mazamdran, to enlarge his Empire, and to content his Souldiers; having a flourishing Armie, both in men, and the reputation of his present victory; resolved all under one, to increase his State, honour himselfe, ease his Countrey, and satisfie his Souldiers with the Enemies spoyles. Gheylan is a Countrey cut off from Persia, with great Mountaynes hard to passe, full of Woods (which Persia wanteth, being here and there onely sprinkled with Hils, and very penurious of fuell, onely their Gardens give them Wood to burne, and those Hils, which are some Faggots of Pistachios, of which they are well replenished) betweene those Hils there are certaine breaches, rather then Valleyes; which in the Spring, when the Snow dissolveth, and the great abundance of Raine falleth, are full of Torrents; the Caspian Sea includeth this Countrey on the East: betweene which and the Hils, is a continuing Valley, so abounding in Silke, in Rice, and in Corne, and so infinitely peopled, that Nature seemeth to contend with the peoples industry; the one in sowing of men, the other in cultivating the Land; in which you shall see no piece of ground which is not fitted to one use or other: their Hils also (which are Rockes towards Casbin) are so fruitfull of Herbage, shadowed by the Trees, as they shew, turned towards the Sea, that they are ever full of Cattell, which yeeldeth Commoditie to the Countrey, by furnishing divers other parts. In this then lay the difficultie most of the Kings Enterprize, how to enter the Countrey.

Populous and fertile.

The meanes by which King Abas setled the quiet of Persia.

Yet before the King would enter into this Action, hee called unto him to Casbin, all Governours, and all Administratours of Justice, whosoever had occupyed those Functions, during the usurped Rule of the Cans, through all his Provinces; with the Kinsmen, Friends and

Children of the said Cans: besides, that all men of power, as Mirzaes, Cans, Sultans, and Beagues, which are principall Titles of Dukes, Princes, and Lords, should repayre thither, without excuse of Age, Sicknesse, or any other pretence whatsoever: which beeing done, hee appointed new Governours and Officers of all sorts; hee cleered all his Provinces for three yeares, for paying any Tribute-Custome, or any other ordinary or extraordinary Exaction whatsoever. His Chiefe Vizier he made one Haldenbeague a Wise man, excellently seene in all Affaires, of great Experience; but such a one as was onely his Creature, without Friends or Power: him hee commanded to passe through all his Provinces, accompanied with the Xa-Hammadaga, who is, as it were, Knight Marshall, to cleere them from Vagabonds, Robbers, and seditious Persons. Ologonlie, which had followed him in all his Adversitie (a man of great Worthinesse) hee made Bearer of his Great Seale, which is an Office there, liker the Lord Privie Seale, then Chancellour. (The place of the Vizier comprehending in it, the Office of Chancellour, and High Treasurer) him hee also advanced to the dignitie of a Can. Bastana, an Ancient approoved man, both for Fidelitie and other Worthinesse, hee made principall Aga of his House; which is as great Chamberlaine. Curtchibasschie Captaine of his Guard, which is a General-ship of twelve thousand shot, who attend at the Port by turnes, two hundred and fiftie every quarter, except when the King goeth to the Warres, that they are all bound to be present. Ferrat Can he made his Generall.

Thus having wisely and providently placed through all his Estates, those who must be most assured to him, their Fortunes depending onely upon him, having no more strength, nor authoritie in themselves, then they received from him: and having all the great ones in his Armie with him, or such of them as could not bee able to follow him, eyther by their few, or many yeares, or sicknesse, so securely left at Casbin, that they could not by themselves, or any other, move any Innovation. And moreover,

having dispatched all those, and keeping their persons with him which had any Obligation to the former Cans, secured by that meanes (as much as the counsell of any man could secure him) from perill at home: having called Oliver di Can from Hamadan, and appointed him a Successor for that Government with ten thousand new men; he set himselfe forward to his Enterprize, with his old Troupes, and great part of his rebelled Army, with no greater courage and counsell then Fortune: for those men which were remitted by him to Gheylan, and Mazandran, (as those which had bin some-what exercised in the wars) having, with some more, adjoyned unto them the guard of the Streights, from which the mayne Armie of the Kings was some foure leagues removed (remembring the benefit of the King, better then their faith to their Princes) at the very sight of the first Troupes, retyred themselves from the places left to their confidence in charge; which advantage beeing followed by Ferrat, with the Alarme given, fell so justly upon that Army, that what with the unexpected terrour of the Streights abandoning, and their being surprized in disorder, the Army was facily broken, with the death of two of the Kings, and an infinite slaughter of people, which had beene much greater if the Woods had not covered them from the furie of their Enemies. The greatest of those Kings having escaped with much difficultie (accompanied ever with the terrour of the perill from which hee had escaped) never ended his flight, untill hee came into Servane; and from thence went to Constantinople, to desire succour from the Turke, where hee yet liveth. The other which remayned, beeing but one, without any great difficultie or alteration of Fortune, was suppressed.

[II.ix.1394.] The Countrey beeing first spoyled, and ransomed at a great rate, which they might well beare, by reason of their great Riches, which they had gathered together through a long peace, and the Kings Armie excellently well satisfied; hee dispatched instantly Embassadors to the Turke, the Georgians, and his old Friend, the King of

Corassan, to give them an account of this new victorie: not doubting, but as it would bee exceeding pleasant to some; so it would be as bitter to others: and leaving Ferrat Can to governe the Countrey, and Oliver Dibeague, as his assistant, but to be commanded by him, hee returned himselfe full of glorie, and great victorie into Persia, disposing himselfe to reduce his State to that excellent forme of government which now it hath.

First then, after his arrivall in Casbin, having heard by his Vizier, and the Relation of Xa-Hammadaga, who had not onely spoyled the Subjects in their substances; but also of all Orders, and just forme of government, which it now hath; and given them, by that meanes, more matter of dis-union, then union; insomuch, that they were full of Theeves, of Vagabonds, of Factions, and such like Insolencies: hee judged it fit, to reduce it to the more peaceable and obedient, to give it in those cases, a good condition of government: Whereupon, hee presently dispatched that Xa-Hammadaga, a terrible, and resolute person, with full power and authoritie, for the Reformation of those Disorders; who in short time, though with more terrible Examples, reduced all the Provinces to a unite Tranquilitie, with mightie reputation.

Whilest hee was busied in that Administration; the King, to shew that it was necessitie, that counselled to give him that excessive authoritie, and to preserve it from beeing odious to himselfe, appointed in the chiefe Citie of everie Province, a Governour elected of those of most valour: to him he joyned two Judges of Criminall and Civill Causes, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, with an excellent President, and two Advocates generall, for the causes both particular and generall of the whole Province; Besides the particular Advocate of every Citie, which should bee resident in that Metropolis. These determined all Causes within themselves of those Provinces in which they had the Administration; and because they should neither bee burthensome to the Provinces, nor corrupted in partializing; the King paid them their

stipend, enjoyning them upon paine of life to take no other sort of reward. And because such things, and Causes might fall out, as by reason of the importance of them, or appellations of the parties might bee brought before himselfe, because hee would ever know what hee did, and bee continually informed, not onely of the generall State of the Provinces, but of their particular Administration; he ordayned Posts once every Weeke from all parts, to bring all sort of Relations to the Court; for which cause also he willed that one of the two generall Advocates should ever bee Resident there, who receiving those Relations presenteth them to the Vizier, and hee to the King. The Vizier, sitteth every morning in counsell about the generall State of all the Kings Provinces, accompanied with the Kings Councell, Advocates Resident, and the Secretaries of State; there are all Matters heard, and the Opinions of the Councell written by the Secretaries of State; then after Dinner, the Councell, or such a part of them as the King will admit, present those Papers, of which the King pricketh those hee will have proceed; the rest are cancelled; which being done: the Councell retyre them againe to the Viziers, and then determine of the particular businesse of the Kings House. The King himselfe every Wednesday, sitteth in the Councell publikely, accompanied with all those of his Councell, and the foresaid Advocates: thither come a floud of all sorts of people, rich and poore, and of all Nations without distinction, and speake freely to the King in their owne Cases, and deliver every one his owne severall Bill, which the King receiveth; pricketh some, and rejecteth other, to bee better informed of. The Secretaries of State presently record in the Kings Booke those which hee hath pricked, with all other Acts, then by him enacted; the which Booke is carryed by a Gentleman of the Chamber, into his Chamber, where it ever remayneth: and woe be to his Vizier, if after the King hath pricked Bill or Supplication, it be againe brought the second time.

When hee goeth abroad to take the Ayre, or to passe

the time in any exercise, the poorest creature in the World may give him his Supplication: which hee receiveth, readeth, and causeth to bee registred; and one request, or complaint, is not ordinarily brought him twice: and though these bee great wayes, wise wayes, and just wayes, to tye unto him the hearts of any people; yet the nature of those is so vile in themselves, that they are no more, nor longer good, then they are by a strong and wisely tempered hand made so: The Countrey not beeing inhabited by those nobly disposed Persians, of which there *The people.* are but a few, and those few are as they ever were: But being mightily wasted by the Inundation of Tamberlaine, and Ismael afterward making himselfe the head of a Faction, against the Ottomans, and by that reason, forced to re-people his Countrey to give himselfe strength of men against so potent an Adversary, calling in Tartars, Turcomans, Courdines, and of all scumme of Nations; which though they now live in a better Countrey, yet have not changed their bad natures: though as I said, so carefull and true Princely a regard of the King for the establishment of good and just Orders, for the government of this Countrey, in equitie, generall securitie, and tranquilitie; had beene of sufficient abilitie to have bound the hearts [II.ix.1395.] of people unto him: Yet knowing what his were, and to leave no meanes unacted which might both assure them more, and himselfe with them; because he knew, that their owne dispositions, which were evill, would never rightly judge of the Cause of many rigorous Examples that had passed: which by that fault in them, had ingendred him hatred amongst them; to purge their mindes from that sicknesse, and gaine them the more confidently, hee determined to shew, that if there were any cruell Act brought forth, it did not grow from himselfe, but from necessitie, wherefore he displaced, by little, finding particular occasions daily against some or other, all the whole Tymarri of his Estate; as though from them had growne all such Disorders, as had corrupted the whole government, sending new ones, and a great part of them Gheylaners to

Colonies. their Possessions, with more limited authoritie, and more favourable to the people; the old ones part he cashiered, part he distributed in Gheylan and Mazandran, which hee had new conquered, so that by that Arte, the people beganne to rest exceeding well satisfied, and himselfe the more secured; those which succeeded them beeing bound to his Fortune; and those which were remooved also, beeing disposed in the new conquered Provinces, which they were bound to maintayne in securitie, for their owne Fortunes, which depended onely upon their preserving them for the King.

When all these things were done, and the King beganne to thinke himselfe throughly established, for a long time, both from intrinsicke and extrinsicke dangers. The Turkes forces being so occupyed in the Warres of Hungarie, that hee had no leisure to looke to his increasing the Tartars of Corrasan his Friends, by the old Hospitality which he had received from their King: and if not his Friends, yet cold Enemies, such as would be long resolving, before they would attempt any thing to his prejudice. There fell out a new occasion to trouble both the peace of his minde and Countrey, if it had not beene prevented with great dexteritie, celeritie, and fortune. For Ferrat Can, not regarding his benefits downe to the King, knowing too well his owne worthinesse, and attributing unto that, the successes of all the Kings Fortunes, and for so great causes, not being able to limit his mind within any compasse of satisfaction, not resting contented with the place of Generall, nor government of Gheylan, nor with the honour to be called the Kings Father, but despising that Haldenbeague should be Vizier, and not himselfe all, which had given the King all; began to take counsell to innovate, and alter the things with the Bassa of Servan, and Tauris. So dangerous are too great benefits from a Subject to a Prince, both for themselves and the Prince, when they have their minds only capable of merit, and nothing of dutie.

These practises of his were most dangerous, for which

hee did more assure himselfe, to have laid a strong foundation for the discontentment of those Timari, which the King had sent into his government, and so had they beene, questionlesse, if Oliver di-Can, through his true zeale to his Masters service; and, perhaps, a little envy at the others greatnesse, had not made him so watchfully diligent, that having gathered his intentions by very momentall circumstances, hee gave the King from time to time notice of them, which at the first were negligently received, and rather taken as matter of emulation, then truth. But when those very same advertisements ever continued, and Oliver di-Can, was not at all terrified from sending of them; neither by the Kings neglecting them, nor rebuke, and that Mahomet Shefia was also secretly arrived in the Court, with more particular and certaine advice, that the Bassa of Servan had sent a great summe of money to Ferrat, which was received on a certayne day, and in a certaine place. The King hereupon presently sent Xa-Tamascoolibeague, his chiefe Favourite, to will Ferrat Can, for very important affaires, for the determining of which his presence was requisite, to repaire to the Court; which he excused, through his indisposition, which he said to be such, that he could not possibly travell: so that persisting in that denial, when Xa-Tamas Coolibeague perceived that he would not be perswaded, he returned with all expedition to the King; who assuring himselfe the more by the deniall, of the former related accusations, instantly commanded his guard of twelve thousand Courtchies to be in a readinesse; with which, and a thousand of the Xa-Hammagaes he used such celeritie, that he prevented the newes of his comming, and was sooner arrived at Ferrats house then he had almost opinion that his Messenger had beene returned: yet, although amazed with his owne guiltinesse, and the Kings sudden comming, he made shift to make great shew of the indisposition which he had so long counterfeited.

The King, as soone as he came unto him, said: That he had taken a great journey to visite him in his sicknesse,

and to bring him the Cure thereof; and having commanded all out of the Chamber, but themselves onely alone (as the King himselfe told me) he used such like speeches unto him: Father, I doe acknowledge, that first from God, then from you, these Fortunes which now I have, have received their being. And I know, that as a man, I may both erre in my merit to God, and in my well deserving of your service. But my intention (I can assure you) is most perfect in both: the time of my establishment in my estate, hath beene so small, that I could scarce use it sufficiently to performe my generall dutie towards my people, over whom (by Gods permission) I am appointed: much lesse to provide for every particular satisfaction, as I mind and will doe; which you principally, as a Father to me, both in your yeares, and my election should have borne withall. But since some ill spirit hath had power to misleade your wisedome so farre, as to make you forget your great vertue; you shall once receive wholesome counsell from me, as I have done often from you, &c. Ferrat neither excused nor confessed, but indifferently answered the King, as sory to have given cause of offence, and infinitely rejoycing (as he seemed) that the King had so royally pacified himselfe with him: and not daring to refuse to goe with the King, desiring him to use some few daies in the visiting of the Country: in which time he hoped that God, and the comfort of his presence, would raise him from his infirmitie. The King having staid some eight or ten daies in the Countrey, was sooner hastned thence then he thought, by the newes of the Queenes death, who was deceased by a sudden and violent sicknesse after his departure: so that with great speed taking Ferrat with him, and leaving Lieutenant in the Countrey, for Ferrat, Mahomet Shefia, he returned to Hisphaan, where after some dayes spent in sorrow, (for his great losse) he sent to Alexander, the other Can of the Georgians, to demand his Daughter, by that meanes to binde againe that league, which might have beene dissolved by the death of the other Queen: In that

The Kings gracious speech to Ferrat.

[II.ix.1396.]

Embassage went Xa-Tamas Coolibeague, who returned with the Lady within few moneths.

In the meane time, the Brother to that King of Corasan, who had so royally and carefully brought up the King of Persia, when he fled from the wrath of his Father, rebelled against his Brother, slue him, and all his Children, but onely one; whose Tutors fled with him into the Mountaines, and so escaped the present danger, and persecution of that Tyrant. Divers other also, as they had beene in estimation or favour with the old King, fearing for that the violence of the present authoritie, and others onely discontented with the alteration, and the wicked meanes of it, fled into Persia, by whom the King having largely and perfectly understood the state of things, having so faire a way both to shew an infinite royall point of gratitude, to that one poore posteritie of the murdered King, for great obligations to the Father, and withall, to assure himselfe in future times and occasions, from that certaine enemy, which had ever hung like a dangerous Cloud over his State, usually breaking into terrible Tempests, as it was, or should be carried against him by the breath of the Turke: though he knew those Tartars so obstinate enemies to his Government and Religion, that if they had the most odious reasons of disunion amongst themselves, yet that they would combine against him, without reposing himselfe upon any hope to bee holpen by those partialities, which the refuged unto him seemed to promise: but confident onely in the Justice of the Cause which he intended, in his owne force, vertue, wisedome and fortune; he resolved to gather his Armie, and to goe for those parts, to which he was, besides his owne disposition mightily instigated by Ferrat Can, whose feare and ambition being without meanes of end, gave him assurance by place of Generall which he held, to have some faire opportunitie given him to end them, with the Kings ruine, and without his owne danger.

Thirtie thousand men the King tooke with him for that warre, twelve thousand Harquebusiers which bare long

pieces, halfe a foote longer then our Muskets, sleightly made: the Bullet of the height of Caliver, which they use well and certainely: and eighteene thousand Horse, which may seeme a small troope in these places, where the warres are carried with innumerable multitudes. But the King of Persiaes judgement agreeth with that of the best experienced Captaines, that multitudes are confusers of Orders, and devourers of Time, and of those meanes which nourish the Warres; and are good for no other use, but to make a warre soone breake off, and to consume the world. This Army being chosen out from all his Forces, of elected good men, hee carried into Corasan with wonderfull expedition, and had taken it utterly unprovided, if Ferrat Cans advertisement had not prevented his celeritie, who had not onely given notice to them, but to the Bassa of Tauris of the Kings purpose, and his owne resolution, promising them a certaine victorie, and the delivery of the Kings owne person. A daies journey the King passed peaceably into the Countrey, without the sight onely of an enemy: himselfe with five thousand of the best men, accompanied with divers of the principallest, was a kind of Vaunt-guard to the rest, which followed with Ferrat Can, Zulphir Can, and Oliver di Can, which marched softly. The King by that meanes was farre advanced; and being almost assured in himselfe, that through the celeritie of his comming, he should find yet no enemy sufficiently able to resist him, and more confidently by the perswasion of Ferrat Can: some sixe hundred Horse under the leading of Useph-Aga (which were sent to discover before the Kings troope) fell upon fiftie thousand of the enemy; upon which sight he would faine have retired: but being so farre ingaged that hee could not, and unable to resist so great a force, with the losse of almost all his company, hee was beaten backe to the Kings Grosse: who by the dust arising a farre off, and the great noyse following, imagining what it was indeed, with a great and ready courage provided himselfe ready to fight, and dispatched Messenger upon Messenger, to command Ferrat Can to

advance unto him. To the first Ferrat answered, that it was but a troope of some few Rascals, and desired the King to march on, and not trouble himselfe nor his Army, and to divers the like. At the last, when young Hassan-Can came from the King, and told him the Kings danger, and that certainely the whole Force of the enemy had charged him; hee began to shew feare, and to call a Councell of the Commanders, then to know what they were best to resolve of for the saving of the Army, since the King had so rashly lost himselfe. Which when Oliver di-Can heard, upbraiding him of Treason, called upon all those which loved the King to follow him; and putting Spurs to his Horse, being followed by Courtchibassa, and most of the Kings Guard, and many other, with all possible haste speeded to the King, who by this time was forced to sustaine and retire as well as he could, without disorder or shew of feare. But when this Troope of Oliver di-Can was seene, his men received new courage; and the enemy which dependeth more upon Ferrats treason, then their owne valour, beganne to be exceeding amazed, doubting that it had beene the whole Army, and that Ferrat had exchanged his Treason from his Master to them: Wherefore slacking their first fury, and rather standing at a gaze then fighting, the King commanded Useph-Aga to charge them throughly afresh, and not to give them time to take new courage: which he did with so good fortune, that lighting upon the Usurper of Corazan and his Sonne, he slue them both with owne hands; from which grew the first maine flight of the enemy, and the beginning of the victorie for the King. The chase was desperatly followed, so that in that battell and the chase, were slaine thirtie thousand men, with the Usurper King and his Sonne; and divers of the principall of the Countrey taken. That night the King pitched his Tents in the place of the battell, and being informed by Oliver di-Can and the whole Army, which cryed out with open mouth of Ferrats Treason, tempered the outward shew of his indignation with a compassionate feeling of mans errors and frailtie;

Ferrats treason.

[II.ix.1397.]

The Usurper slaine.

excused the constraint and necessitie, of the Justice which he was forced to doe: protesting, that though for his States and owne preservation, he was at last compelled to give his Justice place, above the power of his love and Obligation: yet what the Father had rent from himselfe by the violence of his owne misdeeds, his Sonne should find ripened for him, who should be heire of what his Father had well merited by his former services, as he hoped he would be of his vertue; praying God, that his Fathers vices onely might dye with himselfe. Which when he had said, he gave Oliver di-Can the Generalship of his Army, and appointed him to doe execution upon Ferrat, who being resolved of that judgement which his double offence had brought upon him, attended ready in his Tent without feare to dye, or desire to live, and there received that punishment, which was unworthy of his excellent parts, if he had made that true use of them which he should.

Zulpher Can his Brother fled to the Port of the Kings Tent, and there prostrated himselfe on the ground, and obtained pardon. Next day, the King marched farther into the Countrey, and so daily advanced on without obstacle, the Keyes of all their Townes meeting him by the way; and at the last, an Embassage from the whole State, with a generall submission: which when he had received, having spent some time in the setling of such a Government as was securest for himselfe, and having received the young Prince, Sonne to the first King, and divers others of the principall of the Countrey having left order with Xa-Endibeague, whom hee left there with the best part of his Army, which he increased afterwards to thirtie thousand men, to extirpate all those which were likeliest, either through their Obligation to the Usurper, or through their owne particular interest, to make innovation, hee returned with that young Prince, and those Prisoners into Persia.

§. III.

The Kings triumphant entry into Casbin, entertainment of the Authour and his Company. Other remarkable observations of the Kings Justice, Bountie, treatie of Warre, and Mustaphas Embassage.

THe most part of this time I was at Casbin, courteously used by Marganobeague, the Master of the Kings house, and not amisse by any. When the King was come within sixe miles of Casbin, hee stayed there some three daies, to the intent to make his entry with such an estimation of his victorie, as was fit for so great and happy a successe of Fortune: and in truth, I thinke that hee did it most to declare the greatnesse of it to us that were Strangers, by such a strange demonstration. The night before hee entred, there were thirtie thousand men sent out of the Towne on foote with Horse-mens staves, upon which were fastned Vizards of so many heads: All those in the morning, when we were commanded to meete him, (the Governour having provided us Horses) wee found marching in battell array towards the Towne; and before the two heads of the King and his Sonne, foure Officers of Armes, such as they use, bearing in their hands great Axes of shining Steele, with long helves; after those Battalions, followed the Xa-Hammadagaes Horse-men; after those, a number of Gentlemen of the Kings Court; after those, one hundred Spare-horses, with as many of the Kings Pages; after those the Prisoners, accompanied with Bastan-Aga, then a great ranke of his chiefe Princes; amongst whom were all the Embassadors, which used to be resident in his Court; then followed the young Prince of Corazan, accompanied with Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague, the Kings principall Favorite, and then the King himselfe alone; and after him, some five hundred Courtiers of his Guard. [II.ix.1398.]

The Kings Triumphant entry into Casbin after his victory.

Marganobeague was with us, and making us large passage through all those Troops.

Sir Anthony Sherleis first salutation, and speech to the King.

When we came to the King wee alighted, and kissed his Stirrop: my speech was short unto him, the time being fit for no other: That the fame of his Royall vertues had brought me from a far Countrey, to be a present spectator of them, as I had beene a wonderer at the report of them a farre off: if there were any thing of worth in me, I presented it with my selfe to his Majesties service. Of what I was, I submitted the consideration to his Majesties judgement, which he should make upon the length, the danger, and the expence of my Voyage onely to see him, of whom I had received such magnificent and glorious Relations.

The Kings answere.

The Kings answere unto me was infinite affable: That his Countrey whilst I should stay there, should be freely commanded by me, as a Gentleman, that I had done him infinite honour, to make such a journey for his sake, onely bid me beware that I were not deceived by rumours, which had peradventure, made him other then I should finde him: It was true, that God had given him both power and mind to answere to the largest reports which might be made good of him; which if he erred in the use of, hee would aske counsell of me, who must needs have much vertue in my selfe that could move me to undergoe so much, and so many perils to know that of another. And that he spake smiling, willing me to get on horse-backe: which when I had done, he called Haldenbeague, his Viseire, and Oliver di-Can his Generall, and commanded them to take my Brother and me betwixt them, and my company was disposed by Marganobeague, amongst the rest of the Kings Gentlemen of his Court: and in that order, the King entred Casbin, and passing to the great place, he alighted with the chiefest of his Princes and Officers, whom he caused to bring us with them, and went into a kind of banquetting house, in which there were staires to ascend by into a Tarras, where the King sate downe, and the greatest of those Princes, and

wee among them. This Tarras looked upon the place, where after we had beene a little, and beheld some of the Court exercising themselves at Givoco-di-canna, that great troope was suddenly vanished, so without all sort of rumour, that it bred infinite wonder in me, considering how much tumult we made in these parts, in the disposing of a farre lesse company. Whilst wee sate there, the King called me againe unto him, and when I had confirmed in more words the very same I had before said unto him: Then said hee, You must have the proofe of time to shew you, either the errors or the truth of these rumours, since you can make no judgement of what you have yet seene, which is but the person of a man, and this eminence which God hath given me, for any thing you know, may be more through my fortune then my vertue. But since your paines and travell hath had no other aspect but to know me, we must have a more intrinsicke acquaintance to perfect that knowledge; and how you will indure the fashions of my Countrey, you can judge best your selfe which are Master of your owne humor: This I will assure you of, you shall want no respect from my people, nor honour from my selfe; and therewith bid mee fare-well for that present, committing me and my company to Bastan-Aga, to be conducted to my lodging.

Sir Anthony Sherleis present to the King of Persia.

Next morning I sent the King a Present, of sixe paire of Pendants of exceeding faire Emeralds, and marvellous artificially cut; and two other Jewels of Topasses, excellent well cut also; one Cup of three pieces set together with gold inameled; the other a Salt, and a very faire Ewer of Crystall, covered with a kind of cut-worke of silver and gilt, the shape of a Dragon; (all which, I had of that Noble Florentine) which his Majestie accepted very graciously, and that night I was with my brother invited by him to a Banquet, where there was onely Byraicke Myrza, and Sultan Alye, with Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague, his chiefe Minion; there hee had divers discourses with mee, not of our apparell, building, beautie

of our women, or such vanities; but of our proceeding in our Warres, of our usuall Armes, of the commoditie and discommoditie of Fortresses, of the use of Artillerie, and of the orders of our government: in which, though my unskilfulnesse were such, that I knew my errours were greater then my judgement, yet I had that felicitie of a good time, that I gave him good satisfaction, as it seemed. For in my discourse, having mentioned the having of certaine Models of Fortification in some Bookes at my Lodging, which were onely left mee in the spoyle which was made of mee at Babylon: Next day after dinner he came thither with all the principallest of the Court, where he spent, at least, three houres in perusing them, and not unproperly speaking of the reasons of those things himselfe. Next night he sent for me againe, into a place which they call Bazar, like our Burse; the shops and the roofe of which were so full of lights, that it seemed all of a fire. There was a little Scaffold made where hee sate, and as every man presented him with divers sorts of fruits, so hee parted them some to one, some to another, and there hee continued some foure houres; in which time he tooke mee aside, with my Interpreter, and asked me very sadly, Whether I would content my selfe to stay with him; not for ever, for that were too a great wrong to my friends, who should lose me from their comfort, being divided so farre from them; for my owne fortune he would not speake of, but onely thus much; since I had told him I was a Subject to a Prince, he knew, that then my fortune also must depend upon the will and favour of that Prince; and he assured himselfe, that he was as able, and more desirous to doe mee good then any: therefore if I would resolve to give him that little satisfaction; he should perswade himselfe the more confidently, that the cause of my comming was such as I told him, the love of his person and nothing else. I answered him, I could say no more to his Majestie then I had alreadie done; that a 'report onely of his excellent vertues had brought me thither, that a better experience had bound me so fast to

Models of fortification.

The Bazar.

[II.ix.1399.]

him and them, that as he was Master of my mind, so he should be of my person and time, which were both subject to his command. For those things of fortune, they were the least things that I regarded, as His Majestie well saw by my great expence thither, onely to satisfie my sight: but as I knew my selfe infinitely honoured by His Majestie, vouchsafing to serve himselfe of me; so that was to mee above all other fortunes and satisfactions. His Majestie seemed wonderfully well content with my answere, and that night began to shew mee extraordinarie publicke favour, and so continued all the time of his being in Casbin, daily encreasing by some or other great demonstration.

Sixe weekes he stayed there, giving his accustomed audience to the people: In which time I saw the notablest example of true unpartiall royall Justice, that I thinke any Prince in the world could produce. The Governour of Casbin was appointed to that administration, in the maine service of the Kings State when the Rebels were first suppressed; a man exceedingly and particularly favoured of the King: he taking the advantage of the time, which being troubled, gave him lively colour, to make great profit upon the people, and confident in the Kings favour, abused both the one and the other by extreme extortions; his judgement was, That all his goods, and lands, should be sold, for the satisfaction of those men whom he had spoyled: and if any thing wanted, since the King, by giving him that authoritie, was partly the cause of those excesses, hee condemned himselfe to pay the residue out of his Treasurie. That if any thing advanced, it should be given to his Children, with a grievous Edict, that no succour should bee ministred unto himselfe. For that, since death was a concluder of his offence, shame, and the memorie of it, hee should not die; but goe, during his life, with a great yoke, like a Hogs-yoke, about his necke, have his nose and eares cut off, and have no charitable reliefe from any, but what he gayned with his hands: that he might feele in himselfe the miserie which poore men

A memorable punishment of extortion.

The King of Persiaes judgement upon an Extortioner.

have to get, and what a sinne it is to rent from them by violent extortion, the birth of their sweat and labour.

This Judgement strooke a mightie amazement into all the Great men present, and gave an infinite joy and comfort to the people. The Turkes Embassador, which was there, after he had stood silent a great while, as a man halfe distracted, sware publikely, that he saw before his eyes, his Masters ruine: being impossible that such fortune and vertue, as the King was accompanied with, could receive any obstacle. That night he made Marganobeague Governour of Casbin, being well admonished by that great example of his dutie. Constantino, a brave young Gentleman, being a Christian of Georgia, he called Mirza, and gave him the governement of Hisphaan; and me also he called Mirza; telling me, that he would provide condignely for mee. And because he had an urgent occasion to goe post to Cassan, I should receive his pleasure by Marganobeague; who brought me, the next morning, a thousand Tomanas, which is sixteene thousand Duckets of our money: fortie Horses all furnished; two with exceeding rich Saddles, plated with Gold, and set with Rubies and Turkesses, the rest either plated with Silver, or Velvet embroidered, and gilt; sixteene Mules; twelve Camels laden with Tents, and all furniture, both for my House and Voyage; telling me withall, that this was but a small demonstration of the Kings favour, by which I might (notwithstanding) conceive what better hopes I might gather: and that it was his Majesties pleasure I should follow him to Cassan: in the house where I was, I should leave a keeper, being his Majesties pleasure to bestow it on mee: and that there were ten Courtchies which should attend mee the next morning, to serve me in my Journey.

Sir Anthonie made a Mirza.

The rich Present sent him by the King.

All this while I moved nothing to the King of that which was the mayne purpose of my comming: I tooke time to deeme by the proceeding of other deliberations, of the way which I should take; and to make my selfe learned in the purpose of his actions, by his nature, and

inclination; besides, not onely to get, first a kind of possession in his owne affection, but of all his Great men; especially of those whom I did imagine would be best and strongest assisters of my purpose: the King knowing how potent a uniter of mens minds the selfe-same Religion is for tranquillitie of an Estate: and the like dis-uniter severall Religions are for the disturbance of the peace of an Estate, hee is exceeding curious and vigilant to suppresse, through all his Dominions, that Religion of Mahomet, which followeth the interpretation of Ussen and Omar, and to make his people cleave to that of Aly: not (as I Judge) through any conscience which carrieth him more to the one then the other; but first to extirpate intrinsicke factions, then to secure himselfe the more firmely against the Turke, who being head of that part which followeth Omar and Ussen, should have too powerfull sway in his Countrey, if his peoples hearts were inclined unto him by the force of Religion. Therefore he doth not onely strive to roote it out, but to defile it, and make it odious; having in use, once a yeere, with great solemnitie, to burne publickly, as maine Heretiques, the Images of Ussen and Omar: then doth hee cause his Great men publikely (in scorne of their institution) to goe with a Flagon of Wine, carried by a Footman, and at every Village, or where they see any assemblie of people, to drinke; which himselfe also useth, not for the love of the Wine, but to scandalize so much more the contrarie Religion: that by such a kind of profaning of it, they may weare the respect of it out of the peoples hearts: which when it fayleth with reverence in Religion, the Pillars thereof are utterly broken. Yet there are of the very greatest, exceeding precise Turkes, if they durst doe other for their owne fortunes sake, then cover, with all artifice, that infection.

King's care of Religion for Policie.

[II.ix.1400.]

Ten dayes I was betweene Casbin and Cassan, where arrived, I received more gracious demonstrations from the King, then I could hope for, or wish: being farre beyond my present merit, and my Judgement how to

deserve it at all. Foure dayes his Majestie stayed there, after my comming; in which time there passed many Triumphs at Givoco-di-canna in the day, and good Fire-workes in the night: at which I was ever present with himselfe, with no lesse respect, then if I had been his brother, as he also called me, and continued that name afterward all the time of my being in Persia. The second day of his Journey, from thence, towards Hisphaan, hee called me unto him, my brother and my Interpreter; and (after some few discourses) hee began to tell us the whole historie of those his fortunes which I have discoursed: and joyned that hee understood, the Turke had sent him a faire sword (hee did beleeve) to cut off his head withall, if Ferrat Cans treason had well succeeded: for after the Messenger arrived at Tauris, understanding how God his great providence, had not onely mightily preserved, but given him that famous victorie over his enemies, hee had sent for new order to Constantinople, which came to no other end, but to call him backe againe. But the best was, the more the Prince hated him, the more his Subjects loved him, having received newes at Cassan, of ten thousand soules of Courdines which had abandoned their possessions under the Turke, and required some waste land of him to inhabite in; which he had given them.

The particulars of his generall answer, yee may see in his owne booke: as also the Kings answer.

And though this discourse opened somewhat largely the Kings heart unto mee, I durst bee no bolder, at that time, then to say, It was ever, almost impossible to preserve a quiet amitie betweene two so great Potentates, as himselfe, and the Turke, &c. At Hisphaan, said the King, we shall have leasure enough both to deliberate and resolve of some good things; and with that called some other, who entertayned him with discourses of Hunting, and Hawking, in which he is much delighted, and useth them with great magnificence; never going to any of those sports, but that he carrieth forth above five hundred Dogs, and as many Hawkes, nothing rising before him but it is game. For Flies, he hath Sparrows; for Birds, Hobbies

and Marlins; for the greatest sort, some Hawke or other; and for Roe-deare Eagles; he hath particular Agaes for his Hawkes and Dogs, and other Officers to them a great number.

The King of Persia his hawking and hunting.

The next day, I singled out Oliver Di-Can, with whom, (after a few complements) I communicated the Kings discourse with me, of his first troubles, and latter fortunes; extolling His Majestie as it was fit; and besides, giving the greatest honour to himselfe, without flatterie, that I could devise; then I told him of my answere to the King, and on purpose I said, I feared, that it might turne to my harme, being newly planted in the Kings favour, subject to the envie of the Court, and wanting a tongue to speake for my selfe: and that to intermeddle in so great and perillous matters, it could not chuse but awake some covered malice, to take occasion to worke me some damage. But my confidence was such, first in the Heroicke mind of the King himselfe, then in the generous disposition of his Excellencie, that I should be protected from perill for this fault, as I would preserve my selfe with more cautell hereafter. Hee answered mee, that the Kings affection unto me was such, that no man durst lift up a thought against mee: which the Court knew well. For himselfe, as he knew not the conditions of our Courts, so I might mistake those of theirs: if envie bare so great a sway with us, we had lighter Princes, and men of more presumption. In this Court there was not a Gentleman but the King: the rest were shadowes which moved with his bodie. But in this which I had said to the King, if I had intended it, to move him to warre in so fit a time against the Turke, I had done well: and assured me, that both hee, and Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague, would with all their powers concurre with me to bring it to an essential deliberation; though, said hee, there bee three Dogs, Haldenbeague, Bastan-Aga, and Courtchy Bassa, that will mainly oppose themselves against it: yet in the conscience of my dutie, which I owe to his Majestie, I assure my selfe, that there is no secure way, either for the preservation

of his person, or estate, but that. Therefore, since you have begunne in so happie an houre to breake the Ice of so great and so good an enterprise, follow it without feare, since God will prosper your good intention in it, and wee will second you, with all the strength and industrie which wee have. This was all which I desired, to bee assured of some friend; especially such a one, as might have both opinion and credit of wisedome and favour with the King.

Kings entrance into Hisphaan.

The Kings entrance into Hisphaan was there of the same fashion that it was at Cassan; differing onely in this, that for some two English miles, the wayes were covered all with Velvet, Sattin, and cloth of Gold, where his Horse should passe. After he had beene setled there fourteene dayes, remembring what Oliver Di-Can had said unto mee, I determined to lose no more time. Therefore taking the opportunitie of the Kings being alone with mee, and my brother in a Garden, with my Interpreter onely and Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague, I spake unto him to this effect: That my affection, growne onely upon the fame of his Majestie, had guided me from a farre Countrey into his presence; by which I found his Royall vertues, so farre exceeding the relation which I had heard, that as I did admire them, so I had a kind of forceable moving in my nature to desire condigne fortunes to accompanie them: Besides, my particular obligation to his Majestie was so great, that I was bound, not onely to say what I thought fit for his service, but to doe as much as my life might accomplish for the same. There could no deliberation be grounded upon a greater foundation of equitie, then that which had his end onely directed to the recovery of that, which was by force and violence usurped from his State: nor nothing more honourable for a Prince then to bee able without hazard, not onely to revenge private and publike wrongs, but to recover their members againe to his seate, by his wisedome and vertue, which have beene separate either by the defect or fortune of his Predecessors; All this, both publike and private profit,

Sir Anthonie Sherleys perswasive to the Persian, to make warre against the Turke.

[II.ix.1401.]

followed so great an increase of State, (increasing in all points the force of his State) and his poore Subjects, which were throwne out of their possessions, either through their true devotion to his Majestie, which could give them no peace under another government, or through the extreame tyranny of the Turke, should be recovered againe to their owne, with his infinite glorie and utility. The facilitie shewed it selfe divers waies, principally in his owne fortune, wisedome, and vertue; against which, there was no likely resistance, especially when there was no equall obstacle, then the reputation of his late victories joyned with the other, would finde or make a way through all difficulties; then his Militia which was fresh and uncorrupted, then the incapacitie of the Turke, his corruptions of government, want of obedience, sundry rebellions, and distractions from any possibilitie, of being able to make any potent resistance against his Majesties proceedings, by his warres in Hungarie, which his Majestie might assure the continuance of, if it pleased him to invite the Princes Christian to his amitie, which he should offer upon that condition: by which also, he should receive one other worthy benefite fit for such excellent parts, as hee most richly aboundant in, not to conclude the true knowledge of them in that one corner of the world: but with making these great Princes knowne unto himselfe, he should make his owne worthinesse likewise knowne unto them. Neither (as I said at the first to his Majestie) though these were great points to move so great a spirit, intending to glory and great things, as his was, that they were so important as other were. For these might either be deferred, or not at all acted, being bound unto them by no greater necessitie then his owne will, counselled by good reason. But his case was such, that hee must resolve, both for the securitie of his estate and person, to make or endure a warre.

As I was proceeding, Haldenbeague the Vizeire, Bastan-Aga, and Oliver di-Can came in: the King presently called them, and told them what I was pro-

pounding unto him; upon which the Vizier swelling against me, answered instantly. Your Majestie may now perceive that true, which some of your Servants have beene bold to tell you, at the first comming of these Christians, and many times since, that they were sent to disquiet your Majesties tranquilitie of your State, and to embarke you in dangerous enterprizes for other interresses, &c.

The Vizeirs disswasive opposition, is long, and here omitted.

Oliver di-Can answered, that there was difference betweene a proposition, which was onely mooved to be counsailed of, and a perswasion. That hee thought I counsailed nothing, (much lesse perswaded) but onely propounded that to the King, which if it were not then fit to be executed, for reasons that I knew not in the present condition of the Kings affaires; yet I deserved not so bitter a censure, since Princes ought to heare all, and elect the best, &c. The King then commanded Bastan-Aga to speake freely also what he thought, who after a reverence unto him, having repeated the Arguments past, commended them all (as it is his fashion apparantly to offend no body: but what he doth in that qualitie is secretly) and then as though hee meant no such matter, dividing what he would speake into two points, the warre, and my person, he proceeded, &c. When he had ended, I beseeched his Majestie to vouchsafe to heare me once more, which he said was needlesse, and the day farre spent; therefore since every man had already spoken their opinion, he would also say somewhat of his owne, and referre the farther deliberation of things untill another time. The proposition which Mirza Antonio (saith he) made unto me, is questionlesse in it selfe such an one, as I must not onely thanke him for propounding it, by which it hath received life, but I must also provide for the execution of it, that the life which it hath may bee used to good purpose. (His long answeres to their reasons are omitted) For the Tartars which I have as subjected, if I were Oliver di-Chan, Haldenbeague, or Bastan-Aga, I could thinke of few better meanes to assure my selfe of

The Persian Generall his answere to the Vizeirs disswasive, is for like cause omitted.

The Kings censure and conclusion of the consultation.

their rebellions, then those which they have propounded: except one addition of suffering them to enjoy their ancient Order, Lawes, and their particular course of Justice. But as I am borne with a mind of another constitution, I can secure them better by giving them to their owne naturall Prince, and him to them. For to whose Father I was so much bound, that through the royaltie of his disposition, I hold my life, and had the beginning of what I am, I can doe little for the Sonne, and no gratefull act at all for the memory of the Father, if I cannot give him a Kingdome which is the least part of what I am. To conclude as good deliberations in their many points, must be grounded upon the example of the past, the experience of the present, and the judgement of the future: and the Turke hath beene ever heavy to my State in long passed, and late passed times, and is now by some accidents partly proceeding from himselfe, partly from others (in all likelihood) easie to be perpetually assured: which point of time that giveth so good an occasion if it be let passe, may give him power (for a mind he can nor will never want) to be untollerable againe hereafter; or if not untolerable, at the least dangerous. We have two great powers of our minds, the one a wise power of understanding, by which we penetrate into the knowledge of things; the other a strong power of resolving; by which we execute things well understood: and now that we have judged of all, we must resolve of somewhat; and of that which is probabliest best. Therefore our necessitie, our honour, and our justice calling us against the Turke, and since with all these concurreth so good an opportunitie: he must be the maine end of which wee will determine: and because to prepare us to that end amongst many other circumstances, the sending to the Princes Christian hath beene intimated as one of the most necessarie: wee shall doe well in the generall good use which wee must make of this interposition of time, to doe also that. For though it bee true, that their interesses will ever make such a proposition acceptable: yet where

The Kings conclusion of the consultation.

[II.ix.1402.]

there is a proffer of such a condition, as beareth with it a kind of Obligation, as it is of more honourable fashion for us, so it addeth grace and reputation and more strength to it, or any such like purpose. For neither will I relie so much upon my owne power, or fortune, or the present benefit which I meane to bestow upon these of Corasan, that I will forget I have offended them, and to arme my selfe with all the best advice I can, against the sinister working of any fortune. Neither will I so much prejudicate the opinion, which I desire the world (without vaine ostentation) should hold me, and my Ministers, as that my enterprises should not have a way given them by the wisest and best weighed counsell, and perfect concurrence made betweene my fortune well judging of my counsell, and all proper occasions. As for Mirza Antonio (for so hee ever called mee) what hee is to me you all must know, and my estimation of him: which I assure my selfe to be grounded upon a good and true judgement, since he hath beene the first and onely propounder of the manifest point of all other, which doth or may concerne me most. So for that matter of sending, in which there is more diversitie of opinions about the forme of circumstance, then essentiall matter of substance, I will remit it to his fidelitie and true affection to me, to dispose as he shall in those two great workes in a noble minde, find meetest for my honour, and convenient, and certainest for the effecting. Yet this must I tell you and him, which hath not yet been thought of, that a great Prince, as I am, must receive a deniall for an injurie: and I had rather not know them at all, then with knowing them to be also offended by them, though (this I say also) that he cannot be judged to have authoritie to command their wills, therefore must be blamelesse in all, except in the lightnesse of his imagination, upon which slender occasion hee ought not, for the credite of his owne judgement, to have formed a Counsell. Before I could frame one word of replie, he rose, and having talked a little while alone with Xa-Thamas Colibeague, he called my Inter-

preter, and held him some quarter of an houre in a very earnest speech: which was, to command him (as he afterwards told mee) not to let mee know what his Vizier had said against mee, but charged him to animate mee to love his People, and also to confirme (in all hee could) my affection and well-hearted intention to his owne service. And wee parted with a mutuall shew of great satisfaction. Many dayes after, when I would begin to enter into a new discourse of those deliberations, he would presently turne himselfe to speake of other matters. In this fashion more then one moneth passed, in which I had no comfort of my desire, but onely that which Xa-Thamas Colibeague and Oliver Di-Chan gave me, and the Kings exceeding favour which rather encreased then decreased towards me.

In this time (as though all the strength of that ill spirit, who ever rayseth the uttermost of his skill and power to prevent all good purposes had conspired to overthrow the well proceeding of this good businesse) there came newes to the Court, that Mahomet-Aga Generall of the Janizaries of Bagdat was entred into the Kings Confines, as Ambassadour from the Turke, with a rich Present, and marvellous honourable traine: And that those of Ormus had stayed by force sixteene slaves which were sent by the Great Mogore to the King; with nine other which Oliver Di-Chan had bought in those parts, and the Merchants for their more securitie had sent them with those of the kings. This raised the courages of those which opposed themselves to the mayne businesse, alienated mightily the hearts of Oliver-Chan, & Xa-Thamas Colibeague from all, and exasperated the King himselfe so much against them, that his ordinarie speech was no other, but that he would shortly learne to have a respect unto him, which did so exceedingly fill my very soule with perplexitie and anxietie, that I fell into a very dangerous sicknesse, in which the King never fayled daily to visite mee himselfe; and finding that the recordation of those things did aggravate both the griefe of my

Sir Anthonies sicknesse.

mind, and unquiet of my bodie, he forbad that any in my presence should speake more of it, but onely comfort me with all sort of discourse of recreation, with so royall and so gracious a regard, that hee shewed apparantly enough, that few accidents could dispose his mind from any reasonable contentment which hee might give mee. In the meane time Mahomet-Aga arrived at the Court, whom the King sent his Vizier and Courtchibassa to meet, accompanied with a thousand Horse of the principall of the Court, and of the Citie. These (no question) gave him large instructions, and as large hopes; which if he had guided also rightly, he might have done his Master great service, and himselfe infinit honour: but through his owne too hastie greedinesse, assurance, and desire, he prevented himselfe whilest he strived first beyond that which was indifferently good, then beyond that which was better, and at the last beyond all reasonable (and I thinke his owne) hopes. For first being proudly confident upon the greatnesse of his Master; then upon the difficultie of the King of Persians present estate, to be moved to offend so potent a Neighbour; then upon so great and strong a faction in the Court; besides, having heard by them that the Kings minde was altered from those of Ormus, and that Oliver-Chan also was then likewise alienated from his first censure through the particular wrong done unto himselfe. Hee left the right way of moving by degrees [II.ix.1403.] so great a businesse to carrie it even without agitation or danger: And as though with knowing the circumstances he had attayned the end, he overthrew his Masters intention, his owne honour, and almost lost his life, if the Kings infinite clemencie had not either despised or pittied his errour.

The day of his audience was honoured with all the Princes of the Kings Court, and my selfe being too weake through my long sicknesse, the King commanded that my brother should be present also; where after a magnificent oration of his Masters potencie in all conditions of force, he told the King, That he was sent to

admonish him to remayne constant in the truce with his Master; to require restitution of those Courdines which without licence had abandoned their possessions in his Masters Provinces, and contrarie to the termes of amitie were entertayned by him. That his Master also demanded the restitution of Corassan to the former government, in the alteration of which, though he knew his Greatnesse and Majestie violated, yet he could yeeld so much from what hee ought to doe to the King of Persias yeeres and heat of valour; that he would content himselfe with that satisfaction. Then he advised him to force his nature, and cover this vaine glimmering of fortune with judgement and good counsell; which ever would advise him to maintayne and preserve his estate, rather with warie then violent counsels. This his Master demanded of him to obliterate (by the facile granting of it) all greater injuries; wished his Majestie to consider well of the Demand, the condition of the Demander and his owne: Denials ever to such Potentates being received for mayne offences; that it was ever a wise determination to yeeld to the authoritie of Time, and necessitie, and to avoide by that good judgement, urgent perils, and sinister conditions: nothing being a more secure repaire, then to strike sayle against insupportable tempests, it many times hapning, that the too great valour of men used with too great confidence is bitterly persecuted, and sometimes oppressed with an unhappie course of fortune: against the current of which, when once through errour it breaketh forth, no humane force or wit can make any resistance. And because all men for the most part are blind in discerning the judgement of good or ill counsels, from their end, celebrating them when they prosper with a false argument from the successe: His Majestie should give a great example of true wisedome, not to be so much overborne with the present delight, or future hopes, extracted from those first prosperous successes, as not to bee able to lift up his eyes to see the clouds which hee had raised by some of them: which if they were not prevented, would

The proud message delivered by the Turkes Ambassadour to the King of Persia.

breake forth into extreame Tempests. To conclude, he said that his Majestie must bee so farre from thinking to weaken his Master by cunning and by artifice, and so to keepe his Armes farre from him; that hee must resolve such courses to be servile: and to execute apparantly and presently onely, Princely, and like himselfe; so that eyther hee must proove himselfe a Friend, or declare himselfe an Enemy. The first would merit any private grace, which should be no sooner deserved then attayned; the other would give glorie and honour to the Victor, ever deare and honest to the winner, precipitious and shamefull to the loser. And not speaking of the invinciblenesse of his Master, God himselfe would judge the first unjust Infringer of an Amitie sworne to his great Name.

The King of Persias his Answere to the Turkes Ambassadour.

The King without any thing moving from his accustomed gravitie, tempering the Justice of his indignation with the true magnanimitie of his minde, answered him to this effect. That as the greatnesse of riches and Treasure were often pernicious to Princes; so were abundance of men, and largenesse of Dominions, to such as were too weake to governe them: therefore that extolling the Magnificencie of his Master (which might breed wonder and terrour in those who were not capable of greatnesse, was no moover of him to decline from any part of that which belonged to his owne greatnesse. He had received the Courdines (oppressed by the tyrannie of cruell Ministers) into his protection; and as their comming to him proceeded of their owne will, so their returne from him should bee voluntarie, and not through his constraint. Corassan he had justly taken from an Usurper, and would restore the lawfull Prince, who should receive the benefit from his munificence: and not from any point of the Turkes instance. But wherefore should hee bee bound to give a stricter account of his actions to the Turke, then became equall Princes to aske the one of the other; as though the Lawes of ruling had but one Moderator, before whose Tribunall they should be all presented? Tauris belonged to his Predecessors; so did

Siervan, so did Dierbech; and what Justice had his King to detayne them? If none other but by the potencie of his Armes; the same point of Justice he had also to preserve what hee had alreadie gotten: and to vindicate also those unjustly detayned from him. If hee will breake the Truce made betweene my Father and him, and continued by my Brother and mee, upon so manifest unjust Causes; as the Warre was never prosperously provoked against our State by his Predecessors nor himselfe, but through some strange accident, errour, or our disunion: so beleeve that it will now breake forth to his owne destruction. Yet I doe not denie but that I had rather, both to preserve what I have, and to recover what my Ancestors have lost, by equitie then bloud; and by force of Reason, rather then of Armes: which if I cannot, I will certainly amend by vertue what I have erred in by cunctation. My power and glory is yet soundly whole, and more increased through the merit of Modestie, which was never yet despised by the greatest which have beene among men: and is esteemed by God himselfe. Wresting of Acts could not deceive Oaths; which as they were made to God; so the judgement of their breaking or abusing would ever be in God, and his memory, care and power. For Mahomet-Aga himselfe; though hee had forfeited the Privileges of an Ambassadour, by executing under that Title a contrarie Office; if I should (said hee) presently and condignely punish you, both the memory of your present Fortune (into which pride and folly hath [II.ix.1404.] throwne you) and my glorie would be darkned; and the punishment would bee followed with a sudden forgetfulnesse; but if I free you (as I will) from your punishment, though I cannot from the fault, I shall be an eternall memory to the World of Clemencie, and leave you a great precept either of more judgement, or lesse employment: untill you can make your selfe fitter for such a one as this, to which you have beene unworthily elected.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The Kings condescending to Sir Anthonies Motion, employing and furnishing him in Ambassage to Christian Princes. Two Friers.

THe next morning the King came unto me, and after some other Discourses, hee told me he had well considered of my Proposition, which though otherwise hee had no great inclination unto, both, because of the great separation by distance, and difficult meanes of correspondencie, which could bee made betweene the Princes Christian and himselfe, besides the small necessitie he had of them (God having given him so ample, so rich, and so warlike a Dominion) and if he had, their owne dis-union amongst themselves gave him small hope of any great good effect in what he should propound unto them: Besides the derogation from his owne greatnesse to a demander of their Amitie, whose Predecessors had sought it of his by divers meanes, and upon great conditions. Yet to shew me how deare an estimation hee held of me, hee was contented not to see what belonged to himselfe, but onely to regard my satisfaction: which he willed me to determine of, and assured me of the effecting of it whatsoever it was.

Sir Anthony Sherley confirmeth the King in his purpose of sending to the Princes of Christendome.

And after I had given his Majestie thankes which were convenient for so high a favour, I told him that I had propounded nothing but that which the future experience, and present reason of things would prove not onely infinitely availeable, but also necessary for his honour, profit and securitie: to which counsell I was readie and desirous to adde my owne perill, which could by no other meanes bring an answerable benefit to the greatnesse of it selfe, but onely in the true estimation which I made of the merit of his Majesties vertue, and my infinite affection to his service. The necessitie of his State, I knew either counselled him to provide for a Warre; or to make a Warre: Private cogitations having their progresse of such

a condition, that they may take (as themselves will) either more or lesse of fortune; but those which had raised their thoughts to the sublimitie of Dominion are no more in their owne power: having no meane to step upon betweene the highest of all, and precipitation. For his Majestie to sleepe longer, called upon by so mayne Reasons which did evidently demonstrate unto him the inevitable danger (if not ruine) of his State, and contrariwise, the certaine addition which his Majestie might make to his Glorie and State, would seeme to those that did not rightly understand the excellencie of his Majesties heart, such a weaknesse in him, as is incident to those which have not power to temper felicitie, from glutting themselves with the abundant fruits of present prosperitie; though they have a patient forced vigour to withstand adversitie. That the Turke was to be vanquished, his owne Rebels had shewed, which have overcome with small forces his great power in sundry Encounters. If his Militia hath had heretofore more vigour and valour, it is now changed through pleasure, ease, and surfeitings (by their Princes Example) with great corruptions; which a more vertuous Prince may reduce to their soundnesse: his Majesties wisdome should worke immediately upon the present generall defect and errour. Neither should hee make a proportionable concurrence betweene his facts and wisedome, if hee did lose time in doubtfull deliberations, in such a case which did evidently shew him that if he might securely continue in peace, yet that peace was more pernicious unto him then Warre: leesing so many faire occasions of propagating his Empire, and making his Estate eternally invincible, & too dangerous to be attempted againe by the Turke: when there should be so equall a ballance of potencie, as would bee betweene them, but by the recoverie of his owne, if his desire and fortune, and vertue disposed no more unto him then that which was justly his owne, and was unjustly detayned from him. For those Rebellions of the Turkes they were likely rather to increase then diminish: such manner of

people evermore easily consenting in unitie in Warre, then in peace to be commanded, or yeeld obedience: And the greatest powers which are, have beene, or may be, which united beare all before them, the violence of their strength, once divided either by time, by patience, or by diversitie of Fortune (which cannot be at all times, and in all places alike) may be and are subverted. The Warre it selfe will open and disclose many hidden and swelling wounds, which are now onely covered by ignorance, and others detracting of their determination. And though it be true that the Princes Christian bee farre devided; and some of them incumbred with particular Designes amongst themselves, through the passions of their private interests; [H.ix.1405.] yet the Emperour (who is the greatest in Title, and by his Alliance of the most power) is already ingaged against the Turke: which Warre hee wil more or lesse prosecute according as he shal have more or lesse hopes. And what greater (almost assurance of prosperous successe) can he have then the conjunction with your Majestie, whose power and vertues he shall know? And the moving of both your ends being the same, can lose no propertie in their working, by the large separation or distinction of places. The Pope also (who carryeth a Supreme Authoritie among Princes, to moove them to those things which shall best preserve, or augment the limits of his Church) animated by your Majesties great name and offer; will assuredly use the uttermost of the strength, of his authoritie and industrie, to reconcile all particular enmities, and to combine all hearts to that Generall Warre, in which every particular is truly much interessed; if they consider their conscience to their profession, and the danger wherewith they all have beene threatned, by that great Enemies potencie: divers Princes having alreadie by it suffered the uttermost of ruine.

Neither shall your Majesty despaire, but that all may bee perswaded to so honourable and pious an action, being a propertie in mans nature to follow, that which hath beene contrarie to their disposition to begin: And if they

all should not; yet the Emperour, Pope, and King of Spaine, absolutely will imbrace the Amitie, honour the name of your Majestie, and unite themselves in any termes of Princely Alliance: and your Majestie shall have an eternall glory amongst all; for inviting them all to so Noble, Generous, and Royall an Action: and at the least, draw great Intercourse of Merchants of all those parts; which will give an entrance to a kind of sociablenesse, and that will proceed to a common respect, And so to a mutuall friendship, which will give the communication and knowledge of many things hidden (both in the knowledge, use and profit of them) for want of such an Intercourse. Your Majestie also wisely desireth to take away all reputation from the Turkish Religion, through your Dominions, both by scandalizing it publikly, and punishing it in particular persons: Sithence, Heresie in all Religion causeth Division, and the corrupted part becommeth a pernicious Enemy to the Prince who supporteth the contrarie; From it arise as from a mayne turbulent Spring, Treasons, Conspiracies, secret Conventicles, and Seditions.

Besides, the greatest and largest way, which the Turke hath into your Dominions, is the faction of his Sect; as Ismael your Predecessor had, of that which your Majestie professeth, to devide your State from him: Hee is an absolute and Tyrannous Enemy to the Christians; Your Majesties Religion, hath a charitable opinion of them: and if drinking of Wine, burning of their Prophets Images, and such lesse apparances be in your Majesties opinion effectuall things to estrange the people's hearts from that Religion, by a contrary use, with those Opprobries, to the other; a greater meanes your Majestie may worke by: in giving libertie of Christian Religion, so much abhorred of their part and securitie of Trade, goods and person to Christians, by which you shall bind their Princes, expresse the charitie of your Law, serve your selfe in divers things of them which have beene hidden unto you, both for your utilitie, strength and

pleasure: and more inure your people to despise the other Religion, by so contrary, so apparant and so great effect. Neither can they ever be dangerous to your Majesty, their increase being alwayes to be limited by your will. This also will give your Majestie great fame, since by their meanes you shall recover availeable Instruments both to preserve and augment your Estate by: as Founders of Ordnance, Makers of all sorts of Armes, and Munition. So that though it may seeme a strange Act in your Majestie to bee contented to inlarge Christians, so new and so great a favour, yet since all great Examples ever have in them some thing of an extraordinarie qualitie, those are to bee made use of that repaire by publike profit, those particular disgusts which private men may receive of them: I know that it is for the most part a fallacious ambition which imbraceth greedily new and dangerous things, but to determine and execute fit and convenient things, is the proper effect of wisdome and courage. Your Majestie knoweth your present Estate, remembreth the courses of times past; and the excellencie of your judgement weigheth, that which may succeed hereafter. No man receiveth harme but from himselfe, nor your Majestie can suffer none but from that which your selfe will determine of your selfe: you are invited to no act depending upon fortune, but such a one as shall have his foundation upon Counsell, Reason, and Judgement. My satisfaction shall be above all other greatest if your Majestie resolve of that which wil be most secure, honourable and commodious for your Person, State, and particular Subjects.

The King of Persiaes resolution to employ Sir A. Sherley as his Ambassadour.

Well said the King, you would then have mee to write to as many of the Christian Princes as are greatest amongst them, who if they will apply themselves to our purpose may draw all other lesser unto it, by the example of their authoritie; or at the least (if they will not consent in that point) will command their Merchants to repaire to our Dominions: so that wee and they may have some good friendly use the one of the other. The Letters you shall

appoint to be written to as many, and to whom you will, with priviledge for Merchants, and the secure profession of their Religion and peaceable possession of their goods, and persons, in as ample sort as your selfe will devise; and not onely for them but for all Christians whatsoever, which for curiositie to see, or love to mee, will take paines to come hither; or for any purpose soever: beeing impossible their purpose can at any time be ill towards us, which wish them in all things so wel. And because you have bin the Mover and Perswader of this businesse, you also shall be the Actor of it, assuring my selfe that my [II.ix.1406.] Honour cannot be more securely reposed in any mans hands, then your owne: both in that I judge of your owne disposition; and more, in that which I know of your Obligation to me; besides, There is none so proper an Executor of any Enterprize, as hee which is the first deviser of it: I humbly thanked his Majestie for his confidence; and excused my inabilitie to performe so great a charge; Many men being more fitter to propound then to execute: That requiring a particular valour and experience, which I had not. Notwithstanding, since I would not give his Majestie cause to suspect, that I had intimated such a thing unto him; as eyther was so dangerous to carrie, or impossible to effect, that I durst not for those causes undertake it: I would onely beseech of his Majestie one of his Princes, eyther to be my Superiour or Equall in the Ambassage, or such a one as might be absolutely my Inferiour, for a Testimonie, onely of my assured comming from his Majestie. All which hee promised: commended my Reason and Providence in that point; and offering also Presents of great value, and worth to accompany his Letters, which should bee goodly Carpets, Swords and Daggers covered with Gold, and Jewels, Plumes according to their Countrey fashion, and other things worthy to bee esteemed, both for the price and rarenesse. Then he told me I must recover my selfe, strengthen my minde and come abroad, that he might feast me before my departure.

Sir Anthonie Sherley his acceptance of the employment.

The Persian magnificence in their solemne Feasts.

For thirtie dayes continually, the King made that Feast in a great Garden of more then two miles compasse under Tents, pitched by certaine small courses of running water, like divers Rivers, where every man that would come, was placed according to his degree, eyther under one or other Tent, provided for abundantly with Meate, Fruit, and Wine, drinking as they would, some largely, some moderately without compulsion. A Royaltie and Splendor which I have not seene, nor shall see againe but by the same King: ever to bee praysed for the constant Antiquite, if not for the reason of the expence. The joy of the Feast was much augmented by two great Fortunes, which gave themselves at that time to the King; which were these: The Tartars of Buckehawrd (which have ever beene of greatest reputation amongst all those of the Orient, both for their valour in Armes and Wealth) moved unto it through their own divisions; the Captaines of which being of validitie and proper industry, to enflame the Civill dissentions, and unfit to temper their alternate good successes, by the fame of the King of Persiaes Justice in Government, and the felicitie which followed all his Enterprizes, were brought to consent unitely in one to send, and deliver themselves and their Countrey under his subjection. And the Great Mogor King of Lahor mooved by the like fame, sent a great Ambassador to desire a Marriage betweene his eldest Sonnes Daughter, and Cephir Micza eldest Sonne to the King of Persia, with a mightie Present, and as mightie offers both of readie money, and to pay thirtie thousand men in any Warre, which the King of Persia should undertake for seven yeares.

Two great fortunes which befell the King during his Feast. First, The submission of the Tartars to his Crowne.

Secondly, The rich Present with the Alliance of the great Mogor offered to the Persian.

The comming of two Friers to insinuate with Sir Anthonie Sherley.

In this time came unto me a Portugall Frier, named Alphonso Cordero, of the Order of the Franciscans Secular, and an other Armenian Frier of Jerusalem, with a Message from an other Frier of better estimation, called Nichola Di-Meto: the effect of which was this, that hee had beene Inquisitor generall of the Indies, and his time being finished, as also having received commandement from the Pope and King of Spaine to returne, and for some other

important causes to the Christianitie of these parts, not beeing willing to attend the tedious Voyage of the Portugall Fleet by Sea, chose rather the hazard to goe over Land.

But when hee came, though this insinuation of his were like a good meane; and shewed to proceed from the best condition of spirits; Yet he did much degenerate from the name of a Christian, much more of a Religious man, of a true Subject to his Prince, and of a Pious wisher to those things which tended to the generall good of the whole Common-wealth of Christendome.

For I used him with all those duties and reverences which I could possibly devise, or any ambitious heart could desire: which gave (as it fell out) but a freer passage to the iniquitie of his soule; to my great griefe, prejudice of the estimation in those parts of Religious men, and to the most infinite affliction of the other Franciscan, that can bee expressed; hee beeing certainly a good man, and as farre as his understanding guided him, zealous to perswade others to bee so, helping to expresse by a sincere and holy Example of life what he wanted in Discourse. But ubi Dei numen prætenditur sceleribus, subit animum timor, ne fraudibus humanis vindicandis, divini juris aliquid immixtum violemus. For which reason I will say only this: that to free my selfe from the unexpected crosses which daily rose against my businesse, I pressed the King as hotly (as civilly I could) for my dispatch: which hee granted mee at the thirtie dayes end: having appointed Assan Chan a gallant young Prince to goe with mee: when it was concluded that Assan Chan should goe, and his provisions were all ready, my Commission and Patent (for the principall points of my businesse) sealed; the King marryed him to an Aunt of his, much against his Princes will and more to my griefe; none other of the great Ones having a spirit to apprehend only such a Voyage, much lesse a heart to performe it.

Sir Anthonies Enterprize hindred by his owne instrument.

So that beeing instantly sued to by Cuchin-Allibi a Courtchie of sixe Thomans Stipend by the Yeare, and in

disgrace also, for some ill part that hee had played, I (pressed thereunto by the Vizier and Bastan Aga) spake
[II.ix.1407.] unto the King that hee might goe with mee, in the forme onely of a Testimonie, though honoured with some good words in the Letters, for the better reputation of the Businesse: which the King was exceeding backward in consenting unto, desiring mee eyther to goe alone, or better accompanied.

At the last, I was urged to take that fellow, and the King content to let him goe: But would bestow on him no more then fiftie Tomans for the whole expence: which hee called also cast away. Him I left to bring the appointed Present after mee; and the Letters to the particular Princes; which were then readie at my departure not sealed, and the Present not throughly provided: my selfe desiring to free my selfe from the Court, where every occasion was received by those, which were contrary to the Enterprize, to hinder it.

The causes for which the King of Persia detained Sir Robert Sherley.

After I had taken my leave of the King, the morning before my departure he came to find me againe at my House: and after a little other speech he said unto mee. That my absence from him would exceedingly grieve him, his affection to me being true, and his hopes of me many. If hee had bin furnished of any fit to have undergone the management of this Affaire, hee would never have enjoyned me to so much travaile, and so many perils, but that I knew his Court to bee ignorant of the Language and properties of our parts, and since he was provoked by mee to send thither, hee knew that I would bee contented with my labour to keepe him and his, from all sorts of scorne. That my Brother was young, and therefore the more to be tendered, and not every day to be exposed to new labours; his love to us both made him carefull in that point, but more particularly his infinite desire of my returne; which he thought would be more assured by so deare a pawne: And by daily Relation which I should receive of his Royall usage, I should also be daily invited to returne howsoever. If I met with such Fortunes as

would bee worthy to make me stay from him; or such accidents as had power to hinder me by their necessitie; the company of my Brother should give him great satisfaction in my absence. And if the worst should happen unto me, he did desire ever to have a Subject so neere unto me, upon whom he might make a declaration unto the World, both of what qualitie his owne minde was; and of what condition his true and Royall affection towards me was.

Before I could answere this infinite favourable and gracious speech of his: my Brother, whose minde, apprehending that this staying with the King, might bee of wonderfull effect, to keepe his minde constant in the resolution which he had taken: and ghessing at many occasions which might happen in my absence, answered the King presently thus. That our two soules were so unitely conjoyned, that our wils were divided in nothing, our affections to his Majesty, and our desires to serve him were the same, and such as they could not bee separated from his Commandements. But because hee did desire to have one of us, which was himselfe, to remaine with him, he would doe it, &c. *Sir Robert Sherleys Answere to the King of Persia.*

These words of his were graciously and tenderly received of the King, and after some teares on all parts, the King and himselfe having brought mee some sixe miles, wee all parted, they for the Court, my selfe for my Journey, having first left with my Brother, my heart certainly, not onely for the conjunction which Nature had made betweene us, but also for those worthy sparkes, which I found in him likely to bee brought to great perfection by his Vertue, which cannot leave working in any, which will give them way, much more in him, who will make way for them.

[Chap. II.

Chap. II.

Sir Anthonie Sherley his Voyage over the Caspian Sea and thorow Russia: taken out of W. Parry his Discourse of the whole Voyage of Sir Anthonie, in which he accompanied him; published 1601.

Pon the Caspian Sea (which wee were to Crosse) wee were two monethes before we landed: which time we endured with much paine, and no lesse feare, having (besides the naturall roughnesse of the Sea) very much foule and stormy weather: by reason whereof we had beene like to have suffered shipwracke, which twice strooke on ground, so that we were constrayned to disburden the same of a great part of our substance. Howbeit in the end God so blessed us, that in two moneths wee came to our wished Harbour. Where beeing arrived, the Governour having Intelligence of our Landing, sent a Captaine with a Guard to receive us, and to conduct us to the Castle of Haster-
**Astracan.* caune,* where was landed but the day before, an Ambassadour that the King of Persia had sent a moneth before, onely to make our passage through the Emperour of Russia his Countrey. From which Castle to Musco Towne, we were by River and by Land, ten weekes passing. All which time Sir Anthonie and his Company,
[II.ix.1408.] with the other Ambassadours and their Attendants, were all at the charge of the Russian Emperour (for so is the custome of that Countrey, to all Travellers of that nature, as long as they are passing through his Dominions) who eats such meate as is brought before them gratis, having withall, a Guard set over them, so that they are little better then Prisoners, as long as they are within the limits of his Territories.

From Haster-caune wee past by Boate along the
Volga. mightie River of Volgo, untill wee came to a Towne

named Negson, which was seven weekes passage. In which time, we saw nothing worthy the noting, but three or foure woodden Castles or Block-houses to guard that River, which River doth bring marvellous great Commodities to the Emperour, and to the whole Countrey. Divers Tartars passing from place to place about that River, living in little Houses made upon Wheeles, and are carryed too and fro, having abundance of Cattell, live so in subjection to the Emperour, paying him Tribute, &c. One onely faire Citie wee saw all that while called Cassane, wherein we were: from whence we passed to Negson aforesaid, where by the way fell out a Jarre betweene Sir Anthonie and the other Ambassadour, because Sir Anthonie presumed to reprehend him for divers misdemeanors which he committed, to the dishonour of his King and Countrey: Insomuch, that had we not had guard in our Company, one of us had killed another. Leaving here a while, I will turne againe to the Frier,* who was by this time growne into mortall hatred with his fellow Frier, of whom before I spake, whose name was Alfonso, a Frier of the Order of Saint Francis. Which Frier had acquainted Sir Anthonie, that Frier Nicolao had spent his life most lewdly in the Indies, the particularities whereof he at large related. Moreover, hee told him, that by reason of his licentious life, the King of Spaine had sent for him, because hee did much more hurt then good in those parts, but never would come untill now that he was going thither-ward. He also told Sir Anthonie, that that Present which he delivered the King of Persia in his owne name, was sent by a Friend of the Kings from Ormus, by another, who had withall, a Letter to the King. Which Bearer, (being of his Acquaintance) hee inveigled and inticed by the gift of fiftie Crownes, and faire words, to deliver him the Present, together with the Letter to carry to the King, who finally prevailed with him. And when he came to Persia, hee suppressed the Letter, but delivered the Present in his owne name, as before is declared.

Cassan.

**He hath told in the former part of his story, of the Friers Whoredomes, Adulteries, Sodomies, &c. to lothsome to blot our paper.*

Upon discovery of which villanies, Sir Anthonie tooke him Prisoner, and carryed him along with him, as one deprived of former libertie. And being come to Negson, we stayed there neere hand a moneth. Towards the end whereof the Emperour sent a great man of his Court thither, for to accompany and conduct us to Musco, who gave the preheminence to the Persian Ambassador, in that he was Ambassadour to the Emperour from the Persian, and Sir Anthonie but a Passenger through his Countrey, as he esteemed him, and so did use him at his pleasure, to Sir Anthonies small contentment, until we came to Musco, where we were entertayned in the best sort they could, with a crue of Aquavitæ-bellyed Fellowes, clad in Coates of Cloth of Gold: which shew being ended, for the first encounter, those Coates were put up againe into the Treasurie or Wardrobe, and we shut up in Prison for ten dayes, yea all accesse of others to us, or we to them was thereby utterly barred. In which time wee sent to entreate, that either our English Merchants might bee permitted to come to us, or that wee might goe or send to them for necessaries, because we were not fitted with Clothes (as we thought) convenient for the Emperours presence. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor sent for the Merchants, enquiring of them what Sir Anthonie was, and whether they durst give him any credit. To whom they replyed, that hee was nobly descended, and allyed even to the best men of England: yea, and that they would give him credit for as much as they were worth. Hereupon they had libertie to send us such necessaries as we sent for, but no libertie to come to us, much lesse we to them. The tenth day we were sent for to come before the Emperour after their order, which was, to lay downe in a note, how every man should be marshalled in comming (being all on Horsebacke) wherein the Persian Ambassadour was appointed by the Emperour to have the first and chiefe place, the next, that Persian that was sent but to accompany Sir Anthonie, and the last of the three should be Sir Anthonie himselfe. Which when Sir Anthonie

perceived, he utterly refused to goe in that Order, because that he, to whose trust and charge the whole businesse had beene committed, and by whom the same was solely procured: by which Persia likewise should be infinitely benefited (specially hee beeing a Christian, and they Pagans) should bee put hindermost in the march, that was the foremost in the matter. *Sir. Anthonies refusall to goe.*

By the meanes of which refusall, he purchased the Emperors displeasure: and to manifest the same, first, he took the Frier from Sir Antonie, and gave him his libertie to go whither he thought good. Next, he daily sent his great Dukes to examine Sir Anthonie upon divers frivolous particularities, to prove if they thereby might grope out some matter of advantage against him. Thus daily he was extremely vexed and molested by the Emperour, the Persian Embassadour withall setting on the Frier under-hand, to devise all the villanie hee could against him, as to say, he knew Sir Anthonie to be but a man of meane parentage, and also, that he was come but as a Spie through the Countrey for purposes tending to his owne good, and not of Persia and Christendome, as he pretended. Whereupon they tooke all the Kings Letters from him, and opened them, to know the purport thereof. *Frier a Lyer*

Soone after, Sir Anthonie and the Frier were brought before the Commissioners to be further examined: where Sir Anthonie (being inflamed with Choler, by reason of his exceeding ill usage, notwithstanding the goodnesse of the cause of his comming) demanded whether the Emperour did ever purpose to send any Embassadours to any other Countries; Protesting, that if ever he met with them in any parts of the world, besides their owne, he would indevour to let them know he was not halfe so well intreated in Russia, as the cause of his comming of right deserved, and the Emperour, by the lawes Divine and Civill ought to have performed, and the rather, because he was a Christian, such as he pretends himselfe to bee, and came (as became a Christian) for the generall good of all [II.ix.1409.]

Christendome, the Persian being stirred up thereunto by his onely meanes. Whereupon the Frier in termes thwarted Sir Anthonie, whose bloud already boyled, with the excesse of his cholers heat, which as then abounded. And being by that gracelesse and ungratefull Frier further provoked, he (not able, though instantly hee should have died for it) to suppresse his heat, gave the fat Frier such a sound box on the face (his double cause of choler redoubling his might, desire of revenge withall augmenting the same) that downe falls the Frier, as if he had beene strucke with a Thunder-bolt. Which being done, (with that courage and high resolution which well appeared in his lookes, words, and deeds) they forthwith gave over examination, because they had too farre examined Sir Anthonies patience, which well they with feare (as I thinke) saw, and the Frier (almost past feare) did farre better feele. Whereupon they went instantly to the Emperour, and informed him of all that had hapned, and how Sir Anthonie was resolved. For which (as by the event it appeared) he was used the better. For from thence forward we had libertie to goe to the Englishmen, of whom wee were very honourably entertayned, and royally feasted. Howbeit wee were constrayned to remayne there sixe monethes, expecting every day (for all this) some mischiefe to be done unto us, or to be sent into some part of his Countrey to bee kept, where wee should not have heard from our friends in haste, which we feared worse then death. Yet, in the end, wee were eftsoones sent for before the Privie Councell, where Sir Anthonie had his charge to bee gone, which was no small joy to us all.

S. A. striketh the Frier.

Offering of a Bell and an Image to a Friery.

But the day before we left Muscovia, it was my fortune to see the King, and his Queene, in ceremonious and triumphant manner passing out of the Citie, with a great Image, and a huge Bell, to offer to a certaine Friery some thirtie miles off, which was performed in this sort. First, all the morning divers troops of Horse passed out of the Citie, to stand readie to receive him at his comming out of the gate. About midday the King setting forwards,

his Guard formost, all on horse-backe, to the number of five hundred, all clad in stammell Coats, riding in ranke, three and three, with Bowes and Arrowes, and Swords girt to them, as also Hatchets under the one thigh. After the Guard, were led by twentie men, twentie goodly Horses, with very rich and curious Saddles, and ten more for his Sonne and Heire apparent, being a child of twelve yeeres of age. After which was led in like sort, twentie beautifull white Horses, for the Queenes Chariots, having onely upon them a fine sheet, and on their heads a crimson velvet Bridle. After them came a great number of Friers in their rich Coapes, singing, carrying many Pictures, and Lights. After them followed the greatest part of the Merchants of the Citie. Next them was led the Kings Horse, for that day, together with his sonnes: the Kings Saddle and furniture most richly beset with Stones of great price and beautie. Then followed the Patriarch, with all the Archbishops, Bishops, and great Prelates singing in their Coapes, very rich and glorious, having huge Images borne before them, being very richly inlayed with precious Gemmes of divers colours, and Lights about them. Then followed the King himselfe, who had in his left hand his Sonne above mentioned, and in his right hand his Cap. Next him came the Queene, supported on either side by two old Ladies, her face even thickely plaistered with painting, as were the other Ladies (according to the custome of the Countrey) her bodie very grosse, her eyes hollow and farre into her head, attended with some threescore very faire women (if painting (which they hold a matter religious) deceived not the judgement of mine eye.) All whose apparell was very rich, beset with Pearle curiously wrought, having white Hats on their heads, with great round Bands laden with Pearle. Wee never saw Hats worne by any woman in the Countrey, but by them onely. Next unto them were drawne three huge Chariots; the first, with ten faire white Horses, two and two; the second, with eight; and the third, with sixe in like order: which Chariots were all very rich and gorgeous within and

Procession.

Painting.

without. After which all the Noblemen passed in Coaches.

Image. Then was carried, in a great Chist, the forenamed Image, guarded by a Great man and State of the Countrey, with some five hundred under his command, for the guard and convoy of that Image. And last of all came that huge Bell, being of twentie tunne weight, drawne by three thousand and five hundred men (not being possible to be drawne by Oxen or Horses) in manner following. They fastned sixe exceding long hawsers, or mightie great Cable-ropes in sixe lengths to the frame whereon the Bell was placed. In this ranke of ropes were placed those three thousand five hundred men, with little cords over their shoulders, fastned to the great hawsers, drawing after the manner of our Westerne Barge-men here in England.

Huge Bell drawne by 3500. men.

[II.ix.1410.] The poise of the Bell was so great, that passing along the streets of Musco (being paved with great square pieces of Timber set close one by another) the wood of the frame or carriage whereon the Bell was drawne, set the timber of the streets on fire, through both the woods chafing together, so that some were faine to follow hard after, to throw on water, as the timber began to smoke. And thus was this Bell and the Image conveyed to the Friery, as hath afore beene said.

The next day following wee tooke our journey (that is to say in mid May) towards Saint Nicolas, to take shipping, which was some sixe weekes passage by land and river. During all which time, we saw nothing in a manner, but Woods and water. But being come to the Sea side, being the place where we were to take ship, we stayed there one moneth for provision for our journey. In which time we were divers times invited aboord English ships, where wee were royally banquetted at the Agents charges and the Merchants. To the solemnization of which Banquets wee had three hundred great shot. And as wee stayed there, one Master Megricke a Merchant came from Musco, and brought the Friers two Letters with him, reporting that the Lord Chancellour, in satisfaction of the wrong and ill usage hee extended to Sir

Anthonie, sent after the Frier to the borders, who tooke both his Letters and all his substance that he had deceitfully and lewdly gotten in many yeeres before in the Indiaes from him, leaving him not so much as his Friers Weede: and whether hee caused his throat to bee cut, it was uncertaine, but not unlike. *Frier punished.*

From hence we tooke ship for Stode, being sixe weekes upon the Sea ere wee could recover it. In which time wee were continually tossed and tumbled with contrarie Winds: and once had beene like to have beene utterly cast away, so that wee all were overwhelmed in despaire, as we were at point to be in the Sea, but that (by Gods protection and direction) we (past all expectation) fell upon the Flie. Where, (having divers Letters of Sir Anthonies to his friends in England) I parted from him (he holding his course toward the Emperour of Germanie:) from thence I came to the Tessell, then to the Firme: so to the Hage: from the Hage to Ulissing: and finally, from thence to Dover, where I landed in the midst of the moneth of September, in the three and fortieth yeere of the Queenes Majesties Raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord God 1601. *Stode.*

Chap. III.

Two Voyages of Master John Newberie, One, into the Holy Land; The other to Balsara, Ormus, Persia, and backe thorow Turkie.

John Newberie Citizen and Merchant of London, desirous to see the World, the eighth of March, 1578. according to the computation of the Church of England, began a Voyage from the Citie of London to Tripolie in Syria, and thence to Joppe and Hierusalem, and the Countrey round about adjoyning, which I performed in passing through France to Marceils, where I embarqued my selfe, and passing through the Levant or Mediterrane Sea, arrived in Tripolie

the thirteenth day of May; and within few dayes after at Joppe, and thence at Hierusalem, and the chiefe places thereabout: And spending a moneth in visiting the Monuments of those Countries, I returned to Joppe the tenth of June, 1579. And the fifteenth of the said moneth arrived againe in Tripolie; from whence shortly after I visited Mount Libanus, and returning speedily to the said Port of Tripolie, I embarqued my selfe in a ship of Marceils, the first of Julie, and the three and twentieth of the said moneth, I put in at Candia; and the seventh day of September, arrived safely in Marceils, and passing through France, by Lions, Paris, Roan, and Diepe. The tenth of November of the aforesaid yeere 1579. by Gods helpe arrived safely in London.

**This Voyage (as the former) for Time, is before that of Sir Anthonie Sherley; but that in honour of the Person and employment hath and deserveth precedence.*

I the said John Newbery * being incouraged by the prosperous successe of my former Voyage to Tripoly, Hierusalem, and Mount Lybanus, undertooke a farre more long and dangerous voyage, by the Straights of Gibraltar, the Mediterranean Sea, the aforesaid Tripoly, and downe the River of Euphrates, as farre as the Citie of Ormus in the Gulfe of Persia, and from thence through the Countrey of Lar, and the most Easterne parts of Persia, to Media, Armenia, Georgia, Carmania, Natolia, and so to Constantinople, and from thence by the Blacke Sea, called in old time Pontus Euxinus, into the Mouth of the River Danubius by shipping, and so a great way up the said River, passing by the parts of Bugdania and Valachia, at length landing, I came to Caminetz, the first Frontier Towne of Poland; and passing through that Kingdome, arrived in Prussia, and came to Elbing, and Dantzk, and Quinsborow, where imbarquing my selfe, I passed through the Sound of Denmark, and arrived at Hull in England, and so over land travelled to London, whither I came the last day of August, 1582. making my voyage in the space of two yeeres, lacking nineteene dayes. This voyage at large I performed in this manner.

[II.ix.1411.] The nineteenth day of September, 1580. accompanied with Master William Barret an English Merchant, I

departed from London in a good ship, called the White Hinde, and the fifteenth of November came to Southie in Candie. The one and twentieth we arrived at the Citie of Candia. The sixt day of December wee set sayle with our ship from Fraschia on our voyage: and the eight at night, we had like to have runne upon the Ile of the Rhodes, setting our course East from the Ile of Scarpanto. The eighteenth day we had sight of Cyprus.

The Citie of Candia.

The Ile of Scarpanto.

The first day of Januarie we arrived in Tripoli. And the third and fourth dayes, our ship called the White Hinde, discharged all her goods. The French-men brought fortie Barrels of Tinne on Shoare in their Boat. The fifth day of Januarie at night, there was such a storme, that in the Roade of Tripoli there were two ships cast away, and the French-mans Boat.

They arrive at Tripoli in Syria the first of Januarie.

The fourteenth of Januarie, 1580. after the account of the Church of England, Master William Barret and I departed from Tripoli, and lodged the same day at an house called a Cane; and the next day after, we passed by a Castle to the Sea-ward, called Draa. The sixteenth day, we passed by a strong Castle, called Ewsen. The seventeenth, wee lay at Mowaa. The eighteenth day in the morning about nine of the clocke, wee came to Metteni: and within halfe an houre after, Master William Barret rode with our Janizarie to Aman, which is within three leagues of Metteni. The nineteenth day in the morning, wee came to Sihi a Casal: and the same day about noone I came to Aman; and stayed there some sixe dayes. The five and twentieth, wee came from Aman, and the same night slept at a Village, called Det. The six and twentieth, at Marra. The seven and twentieth from thence, and the same day we came to Ledeghe, where great store of Soape is made: that night we lay at a Village, called Sarraket, neere to Syrmin: and the eight and twentieth day came to the Citie of Aleppo. The Castle standeth to the Southward off the Towne. The one and thirtieth of Januarie, wee had a great banquet made us in the house of the French Consul. The one and twen-

Draa.
Ewsen.
Mowaa.
Metteni.
Sihi.
Aman.
Det.
Marra.
Sarraket.
Aleppo.

tieth of Februarie about nine of the clocke in the morning, was seene in Aleppo an extraordinarie Starre or Comet, which ascended from the North, and descended toward the North-west.

This Master William Barret, was the first English Consul in Aleppo, as appeareth by Master Eldreds Relation.

The nineteenth of March in the morning, I departed from Aleppo with a hyred servant of mine, called Jacomo de Francisco, to proceed on mine intended voyage to Ormuz, lying in the Mouth of the Persian Gulfe. And about two of the clocke in the afternoone I passed by Boab, where is an high Tower upon an Hill: and the same night I came to a Village, called Halse. And the twentieth day we departed from thence, and the same day came to Bir. The Towne of Bir standeth upon the East side of the River Frat or Euphrates: and the water commeth directly from the North, and descendeth to the South. Here is great store of Linnen cloth made, and great store of Waxe: here is also great store of Corne and Fish, and Cordovan skins, and Hony. At Bir the Merchants doe pay for every summe or packe of all commodities, one Sehid or Madin, for Toll. After we had hyred us a Barke and furniture for our voyage, wee set forward; and the six and twentieth day, wee passed by a Village to the East of the River, called Raick; and the same day in the evening by a Mountaine to the West of the Water, where is one house with one Tower on the top of it. And there the Arabians offered to shoote at us. The next day in the morning, we passed by a Castle, called Ballesse, which is ruinated, and standeth on the West side of the River. And about noone the same day by a Towne, called Gabbar, which standeth upon a Mountaine to the East of the River. The eight and twentieth day, we passed by an old Towne where is a Castle all ruinated, and lyeth close upon the Water to the Eastward, which is called Racca: and it standeth North North-east of the Water. The thirtieth day in the morning, we passed by a Towne and a Castle all ruinate, which lyeth to the West of the Water, and is called Balladac; which in times past was the Christians. The same night wee came to a Towne, called Dier,

Boab.
Halse.
Bir.
Raick.
Ballesse.
Gabbar.
Racca.
Balladac.
Dier.

which lyeth also to the West of the River, and is invironed with the Water round about. Here the Patron of our Barke sold his Hony, for nine Aspers the Rotila: and one Rotila of Bir maketh two Rotilas there.

The first day of April, 1581. from Dier, and the same night we lay neere unto a Castle, called Rab, which lyeth to the West of the Water. The second day in the morning, wee passed by Ashar a small Towne, which lyeth to the West of the Water. The third day in the morning, we passed by Subercan, which lyeth to the East of the Water, and is all ruinate, and in times past was the Christians. The fourth day we passed by a Village, called Manalle, to the West of the River. And the same night to Anna, which lyeth upon both sides of the Water, but to the West is the greatest part: But the East side reacheth farther then the other, as may bee perceived by the Date Trees and Houses. This Towne of Anna is very long, and there is about the middle of it a Castle, which is invironed with Water, as also divers Ilands to the number of fourteene or fifteene, which lye all to the Northward of the Castle, except two or three. Here are great store of Dates, Oranges, Pomgranats, Figs, Limons, Corne, and Muttons. The eight day we departed from thence, and went but very little way, by reason of very great winde and stormie weather: which began the fifth, and continued untill the eleventh day: and the winde was most commonly at North-east. The tenth day, wee came to Addetta, and the same night to Gebbar, which lyeth to the East of the Water; and there we were at a wedding. The eleventh day we departed from Gebbar, and the same day came to Heit, where is a Castle to the West of the River: and a little from the Castle to the South-west, is a place, where Pitch boyleth out of the Ground continually; so that all the sandie ground toward the Rivers side is over-flowed therewith. Divers Camels have fallen into these Springs, but none of them could be saved. All the way betweene Anna and Heit are continually on both sides the River Houses, and Date Trees, with Corne and divers Fruits.

Aprill, 1581.
Rab.
Ashar.
Subercan.
Manalle.
Anna.
Addetta.
Gebbar.
[II.ix.1412.]
Heit.
Pitch boyling out of the ground continually.

The twelfth day wee departed from Heit. The thirteenth
Ambar. day we came to Ambar, which is a village, and lyeth on the East side of the River. The fourteenth we went from
Feluge. thence, and the same morning arrived at Feluge; where the goods are landed that come from Bir. There I was
Searching for money. searched for money, and the Searcher found all that I had: but in consideration that he should keepe it secret, I gave him two Sehids, and to him that writeth up the goods two Sehids more; which they received, and yet wrote unto Bagdet, that I had foure bags of money. So that about three or foure miles from Bagdet met with us an Officer to accompanie us to the Towne, because they would be sure of the money. Notwithstanding, by the meanes of one Mustafa a Turke, I gave this Officer three and thirtie Madins, wherewithall he was content, and kept it secret. So, shortly after we came to the Market-place, where I was searched, but no money could bee found. There wee remayned about two houres, and then went into a Can. The next day in the morning wee went over the Water, and were no sooner out of the Boat, but we were searched, but nothing found. From thence we went into the Hamman, and so returned to our lodging. The fourteenth day about eight of the clocke at night, we went from Feluge by land, in the companie of an hundred Asses. The fifteenth day about one of the clocke in the
Bagdet. afternoone, we came to Bagdet. The sixteenth day of Aprill, I did see Barley that was ripe and cut downe, neere
**Babylon.* to Bagdet. Old * Bagdet standeth to the North of Bagdet, about twentie or five and twentie miles. The seventeenth day, we passed through Bagdet. One Castle standeth to the South-east of the Towne, upon the South side of the Water, and another to the North-west of the Water upon the North side, where the Bassa doth keepe his Court, whose name is Hassan Bassa. The twentieth day, there was a Christian which came into the Can to call us forth: but because wee did not understand him, wee remayned still in the Magasin. So, presently came foure for to search us, and they found our money. The two and twentieth day,

I wrote Letters to Master William Hareborne, and Master William Barret, by a Merchant of Aleppo, and directed my Letters to Master John Blanch, Consul of the French Merchants in Aleppo. The foure and twentieth day in the evening, I went from Bagdet. The six and twentieth day at night, we passed by a Towne, called Bourac, which lyeth to the West of the Water, and is all ruinated. And a little below that standeth a Tower in the middle of the River. The seven and twentieth, we passed by a Towne, called Menil, which lyeth to the East of the Water: and there is but one Tower standing. The same day, by a place called Amor, which lyeth close upon the Water to the Eastward, and is a small Casal. The thirtieth day in the morning, wee passed by a Towne, called Sekia, which lyeth to the East of the Water: and the same day by a very long Village, named Kendege, to the East of the Water, and it is all ruinated. Also the same day in the evening, we came to Gurna, which is a Castle, and standeth upon the Point where the River of Furro and the River of Bagdet doe meet. And upon the South side of Furro, right over against this Castle is another Castle, about the greatnesse of this. And about three miles farther in the River, toward Balsara, to the South of the Water, is another.

Master William Hareborne, and Master William Barret.

Bourac.

Menil.

Amor.

Sekia.

Kendege.

Gurna standeth on the Point, where the Rivers of Furro and Bagdet doe meet.

The first day of May, 1581. I arrived at Balsara. At the Waters side at Balsara, the merchandise that enter within the Can, pay upon every Summe or Camels burden three Madins and three quarters; sixteene Vessennes of Balsara make one Kintall of Aleppo. The carriage of every summe of goods from Bagdet to Balsara, costeth by water sixe Shehides. And for the carriage from Balsara to Bagdet, upon every Vessene two Madins. And the carriage of one hundred Vessenes from Balsara to Ormuz, costeth twentie Larins, and from Ormuz to Balsara twentie Larins. The Custome in Balsara is upon every fourteene Shehides one. And for Glasse, and such like commodities, accordingly. Clothes, Kersies, and all kinde of Silkes, pay upon every twentie one. And upon every ten Vessenes

May 1581. *Balsara.*

Custome.

or ten Rotilas, there are three to be allowed for Tarr or Waste: and upon all Spicerie accordingly. The Towne of Balsara standeth to the East South-east of the River: and without the Towne are divers Basars or Market places, and their Houses are made of Canes or great Reedes. And their Corne lyeth all on heapes without the Towne upon the ground covered with Mats, and is sold by the weight. There are about Balsara foure Gates; and a little from the North Gate lye ten peeces of Ordnance great and small, besides two Basiliscoes, that lye under the wall at the entring of the Gate. Their building is of Brick, which is made of a certaine kind of stuffe, that may be cut with a knife. There is without the Towne a very high Pole set up, which is of three pieces; and upon the top of it a Cup of Tinne or Lead; and there they runne with their Horses, and shoote at the Cup; and he that hitteth the Cup gayneth a Shasse. At Balsara the Water doth ebbe and flow, as it doth in England, and in no other places adjoyning upon the Ocean Sea. The Turke won Balsara about the yeere 1550. The Vessene of Maces is worth in Balsara thirteene Duckats, and Nut-megs five or sixe Duckats: Soape is worth fifteene Shehids the Vessene, and Almonds foure and twentie Shehids the Vessene: Galles are worth ten Larins the Vessene.

[II.ix.1413.] The thirteenth day of May, 1581. I embarked my selfe at Balsara: and the sixteenth wee valed downe about three flight shot. Halfe a dayes journey from the Towne, to the East of the River lye eight or ten Bulwarks, and beyond them all is a Castle upon the Point of a Land. The two and twentieth day in the afternoone, wee came to an Anchor, because it was too much winde. The three and twentieth in the morning, we sayled untill ten of the clocke, and then came to an Anchor, because they were afraid to put to Sea toward night. The Mariners are all beasts. The foure and twentieth day in the morning, we put to Sea with a faire winde: and the same day by noone, we were at the Sea. And all that morning, wee kept our course South, and when wee were at the Sea, South or

They enter into the Persian Gulfe.

South South-east. The five and twentieth day in the morning, we had sight of a Mountaine of Aggemy, a day short of Abosha: and then we kept our course East South-east. And the same day, we arrived at an Iland, called Carreghe, which belongeth to the Countrey of Haggemy, and left it to the South of us. The sixe and twentieth day, we landed in the Iland of Carege: and there is great store of Onions, and Wells of fresh water; and in the middle of the Iland is a Casal. The Iland is about two miles broad and two miles long. And to the North-west of it lyeth a small Iland very low in the water. The seven and twentieth day in the morning, wee set sayle from Careghe; and the same day passed by the low Land of Persia, which lyeth under the high Mountaines. And in divers places are certaine Gulfs like Rivers. The same day in the evening, wee were at Abousher, which is a Castle. And from thence wee kept our course South South-east to goe cleere of the Land: it is very high Land. The nine and twentieth day in the morning, the Boat went on shoare for water; and I went also on shoare with the Boat: and the water which we tooke did stinke, and was full of mud and vermine. And in this order is all their water in the Countrey of Cassel-Bash. The last day of May, we passed by a very high Cliffe, and upon it is a Rocke like unto a Barne, which lyeth East and West, and to the West end of it lyeth a round Rocke, which is like an Hay-cocke, about two yards high. And this Cliffe is within three dayes sailing of Ormuz. And there the ships put off from the Land that goe for the Ile of Baharem: and there we kept our course North-east. The West end of this Cliffe is white like Chalke or Snow. This day, one of our Mariners being sick, another of his fellowes came with an hot Iron and burnt him in the sole of the foote. Another they would have left in an Iland because he was sicke, who answered, That hee trusted they did not take him for a Hen.

The Isle of Carreghe, or Carge.

Abousher a Castle.

A very high Cliffe.

The Ile of Baharem, where the excellent pearles are gotten.

The second day of June came a Boat aboard of us, which came from Ormuz, and was bound for the Ile of

June.

Baharem. The same day, wee passed by a Mountaine which is like a Castle, and upon the top of it is a Rocke like unto a little watch house. The fourth day of June we tooke in fresh water. The seventh day, we departed from the place where wee tooke in water; and the same day we arrived at an Iland, called Shie, which is under the Portugals: and upon the West end of it are two companies of Date Trees, and two round Knobs like two Hay-cocks, and it is a plaine Iland. The aforesaid seventh day at night, wee came to an Anchor at Shie: and to the South of it lyeth a small Iland, where they fish for Pearles. The eight day wee went on shoare there. The ninth day, we departed from Shiche, and the same day we landed at Necchel, which is about foure leagues distant. I paid for carrying of my things on shoare at Necchel two Larins, and for landing of them five Larins. The women here weare long Mantles, which they draw after them like a traine: and farther in the Countrey they weare their Garments with three slits, one before, and one on either side; and their sleeves are like the sleeves of Morris-dancers. And they have round about their eares pack-threed sewed. Also they weare great Rings in their Noses; and about their Legs, Armes, and Necks, Iron hoopes.

Shie or Seche, an Iland under the Portugals.

A small Iland to the South of Shie or Seche.

Necchel. They land here.

The eleventh day, we departed from Necchel. The twelfth day in the morning, we came to a great Casal, called Melgor, where lyeth a Captaine called Shiagh: and here we remayned three dayes, and were in great danger of being taken slaves, but God kept us. This Casal lyeth betweene the Mountaines. The fourteenth day in the evening, wee left this wicked place, where I paid ten Larins for my part. The women here may throw their Dugs over their shoulders. The eighteenth day, we came to a Casal, called Gesser, and the same day from thence. The nineteenth day, wee lodged at Bender. The twentieth, wee departed from Bender, and the same evening came at an Iland, called Left. And right over against Bender, lyeth an Iland, called Bassedor; and these two Ilands are under the Portugals. And Gesser and Bender, which

Melgor, a great Casal.

Gesser, a Casal. Bender.

Left, an Iland. Bassedor, an Iland.

are on the mayne Land, are under Abrehem Can, and sometimes were under the King of Ormuz. The one and twentieth day, I went on Land on the Ile of Left: and here the women weare Iron hoopes, and a number of other things about their Necks, Legs, and Armes. The two and twentieth day of June, 1581. I arrived at Ormuz, and presently was carried before the Captaine, whose name was Don Gonsalvo. The same day I hyred an house for sixe Larins. The Castle of Ormuz standeth to the North of the Towne, and some thing to the Eastward. Divers both men and women here used to slit the lower part of their eares more then two inches, which hangeth downe to their chin. There were in my companie from Necchel to Ormuz one Turke, and one Moore of Lahor, and one Moore of Fez in Barbarie, and five Persians, and twelve Moores of Aleppo, Aman, and other places, and one Nostrane, a Christian, and my man, who was a Greeke: and all these at Melgor sware upon a Booke that I was a Christian of Aleppo, and had wife and children, and an house there.

He came to Ormuz the two and twentieth of June, 1581.

[II.ix.1414.] *Improbus extremos currit Mercator ad Indos.*

It was a great miracle to see the Mountaines of Ormus, all of Salt, and as hard as a Flint stone: and this Salt is very good for divers diseases. All the Iland is salt, and the very ground where the Towne doth stand is salt: which is the cause of the excessive heat that is there. From eight of the clocke in the morning untill the Sunne goe downe, it is not possible for any body, that is not used to the Countrey, to passe either with shooes or bare-foot, where the Sunne doth lie, it is so extreme hot. The Swine in Ormus have clawes of a quarter of an ell long, and some longer. The Portugals doe hold a Castle over against Ormus, in the Countrey of the King of Lar, where they keepe ten or twelve Souldiers: the name of which Castle is called, The great Mastango. The seventh day of Julie, my man Jacomo, which was a Greeke, went from mee to one Michael Stropene a Venetian, being, as I suspect, entised thereunto by him, to understand my secret purposes: and in very deed, in my last Voyage into these

The cause of the excessive heat in Ormus.

Long clawed Swine.

A Castle called, The great Mastango.

Julie.

Michael Stropene.

Of his and Fitches imprisonment at Goa, see Linschoten.

parts, in the yeere 1583. this Michael Stropene betrayed me and my companie to the Governour of Ormus.

After I had spent sixe weekes in this Citie, and informed my selfe the best I could, of the Trade and Customes of the place, I departed from Ormus the first day of August at night, and left Signior Victorio, a friend of mine, with his goods behind. The second of August about midnight, I arrived at Bender gomrow, where the Portugals keepe a Castle with seven or eight Souldiers, within it. And this Bender gomrow, which is on the mayne land, was sometimes the Kings of Lar, and after that Abreham Cans, and so it came to the King of Ormus. The fift day at night we departed from Bender gomrow: and the eighth day we lodged at a Casal, called Cowrstan. The tenth day at Ourmangel: there is a Spring of fresh water, which runneth through the middle of it. The fourteenth day in the morning we came to the Citie of Lar. Two Mauns of Ormus, make three Mauns of Lar: two hundred seventie and two Mauns of Ormus merchandise, which are eight hundred and sixteene Lerra of Bountaki, cost the carriage from Bender gomrow to Lar, twentie Larins and an halfe. And one Asnillo will carrie one hundred Maun of Lar, which are two hundred Lerra of Bountaki. The fifteenth day, I hired one Mousa a Jew, for sixe moneths to be my servant, for thirtie Larins the moneth. At Bender gomrow all goods that goe for Persia pay unto the Portugals upon every summe or load one Sadan.

He departeth from Ormus, the first of August, 1581.
Bender gomrow.
Cowrstan a Casal.
Ourmangel.
Lar.

The foure and twentieth day of August, 1581. about noone I departed from Lar. And at Lar every summe of merchandise payeth at the passing out of the gate one Tanger, which is twelve Pull. And the five and twentieth day wee passed downe a very high Mountaine; and the same day passed by a Casal, called Dehaccow. And this five and twentieth day at night lodged at a Casal, called Berre. And to the South of the Towne is an old Castle upon an high Mountaine. The sixe and twentieth day we came to a place, where I bought three Hendomies for one Tanger, and they are as sweet as Sugar. The seven

Dehaccow a Casal.
Berre a Casal.

and twentieth day we lodged at Olous. The nine and twentieth, we departed from Olous: and neere unto it is a very great Casal, called Goven, which hath Angour and Corma plentie. And this night we payed at our Baite upon every summe Pull: And at Goven endeth the Countrey of Lar. The last day of August, I passed over the greatest Mountaine that ever I saw, and left it to the Southward of us. *Olous.* *Goven.*

The first of September in the morning, wee came to a Citie, called Gaarrom: and the same day, to a Casal, called Demonder, where standeth an high Columne alone. About Gaarrom is great store of Rice and Cotton wooll growing. And here the Sheepe have Lambs twice every yeere. The second day of September, we came to Mecocal, where we had stinking water: and the same day payed a dutie of two Tanger upon every Bar. The third day we came to Cawger, and the same day at night we payed a Best upon every Bar. The fourth day we came to a faire Can, called Chesimon moddafar: and the same day wee had raine. The fift day wee came to Cowel, which is a Casal neere to Shiras: this night we payed a dutie upon our goods. The sixth day in the morning, we came to the Citie of Shiras. Betweene Lar and Shiras is great store of Wolves, Partridges, and Pheasants. There are in Shiras five high Towers, and the highest is in the middle of the Towne. To the North of the Towne is a Gate of very faire coloured stone, which is a little beyond the Horse-mart: and without this Gate are all the Sheepe and Goats sold, that serve for the Towne. The highest and furthest Tower in Shiras is neere to the Can that I lay in, and is builded with yellow, greene, white, and purple stone. The women ride here upon Horses like men. It is a Towne that hath great store of victuals and fruits. Iron, Lead, Casder, Cochonillio, Brasill, Linnen cloth, Foutas, and all wares that come out of India, are very well sold here. Brasill is worth sixe Mamodies the Maun, and Cochonillio one hundred and fiftie Mamodies. Certaine small Laton that commeth from Sindi are sold in Shiras for *September.* *Gaarrom.* *Demonder.* *Mecocal.* *Cawger.* *Chesimon.* *Cowel a Casal.* *Shiras.*

twelve Shehides the piece. In this Towne is made great store of Mauward and Gebib, which are carried for India. The Maun of Cloves is worth in Shiras fiftie Shehides, Nutmegs, thirtie, Pepper, seven and twentie. From Lar to Shiras we went the most part North-west and to the North, we stayed in this Towne from the sixth day till the two and twentieth. The two and twentieth of September, we departed from Shiras, and the same day came to *Sargon.* Sargon, a Towne under a Mountaine in a pleasant Valley. [II.ix.1415.] The three and twentieth in the morning, wee passed under a great Mountaine, and neere unto the East of it is a small River: and the same day in the forenoone, we came *Auglamor.* to a Village, called Auglamor: and neere unto that is *Augalm.* another, called Augalm. The foure and twentieth in the morning, wee passed over a narrow Bridge, and the water runneth to the South: and the same day we lodged at a *Moysse.* Village called Moysse; where we payed upon every summe of goods, one Gasbi. And while wee lay here there passed through the Towne a number of Sheepe, Goats, and Camels, with poore people, and their houshold-stuffe. The five and twentieth day from Moysse, and the same *Sesmon Dermal.* day came to a Village, called Sesmon Dermal. The sixe and twentieth in the morning, wee passed over a very high Mountaine, upon the top whereof are two Springs of very *Augow.* good water, and the same day we came to Augow: and to the North-east of the Village is a stony Bridge, and very good water passeth under it: And here we found a man hurt with Theeves. The seven and twentieth we went from Augow, and the same day we rested at Hausapaus, which standeth under a Mountaine, and hath to the West of it upon a little Hill, a small round white Castle: And here is Bread, Cheese, Hens, Raisins, and Milke. The eight and twentieth day we went from *Hausapaus. Cuskesar.* Hausapaus, and the same day we rested at Cuskesar, where is nothing but a round house upon a Hill: but there is a new Can a building. The nine and twentieth day we went *Gerdoun.* from Cuskesar, and the same day rested at Gerdoun. And this day we saw many Theeves upon the Mountaines.

The thirtieth day we departed from Gerdoun, and the same day came to Yestacas, which standeth upon a Rocke in a deepe Valley: and here wee found Bread, Ennap, and Battegh. Here I payed twice as much Toll as in any other paid. *Testacas.*

The first day of October we departed from Yestacas: and the second day in the morning wee came to Boial, which is a Village of great store of fruit. And here wee met with the Bassa of Shiras, which had in his companie about a thousand Camels, besides Horses, and Asnillios. And here are many Villages and Houses together. The second of October at night wee left Boial, and the third day lodged at Moydar. The fourth day we departed from Moydar, and the same day I came to the Citie of Hispahan, where the King of Persia sometimes keepeth his Court. At the entring in of the gate of Hispahan, groweth on either side of the gate a Chest-nut tree, one to the East, and another to the West, then we passed over many waters: and at the entring into the principall Towne is a Castle to the South-west of the gate. And here they have in their Hamam a certaine Ointment to anoint their bodies withall, which is called Dowa, which taketh away all the haire of a mans bodie. To the East of Hispahan is a very long and great Valley, where are many Villages and Houses. The carriage of one hundred Mauns of Merchandise from Shiras to Hispahan, costeth seventie Shehides, and from Hispahan to Cassan sixtie Shehides. Hispahan is a Citie that useth great store of Anil, maketh the greatest store of Muskaille, and hath the best Cotton that ever I saw. The Maun of Cotton wooll is worth here twelve Shehides; and the Maun of Rice, seven Beste; the Maun of Dracken, two Beste; and the Maun of Ennap, two Beste; the Maun of Non, three Beste; and Laghem, foure Beste. The Cattal of Sugar is worth here foure hundred Tomaun, and Anil fortie Mamodies the Maun. The Maun of Hispahan is one and an halfe of Shiras. Also at the entring in and going out of the gates of Hispahan, every Hemmel payeth one Gasbi. *October.* *Boial.* *Moydar.* *Hispahan, now the chiefe Citie of Persia.*

The seventh day of October, I came out of the Can at Hispahan.

The ninth day of the said moneth I departed from Hispahan, and the same day lodged at Sen. The tenth day from Sen, and the same day at Shesers Can: and also this day at night, at a great Village called Calenda, which hath great plentie of all sorts of fruits. The eleventh day from thence, and the same day at Shen, also a Towne of great store of fruit. And this day in the morning, we descended downe a very high Mountaine. At Calenda every summe of goods payeth one Gasbi. The twelfth day we went from Shen, and the same day we came to Garratcoy, and the same day departed from thence, and in the afternoone reached unto the Citie of Cassan. And presently upon the comming of any Caffell to Cassan, there is one that doth take a note of all the goods, what it is, and how much of every sort: which note he delivereth to the Vizier, which is the name of the Governour of Cassan, which is greater then a Basha. To the South-west or West of this Towne, is all Mountaynous, and to the North of it are divers Villages and Valleys, and to the South-east is a low Mountaine, and white, as if it were by the Sea side. The foureteenth day at the comming of the Caffell to Cassan, they brought newes that seven ships of the Portugals were arrived in Ormus from Goa. The Caravan Basha had for guarding of the Caffel from Lar to Cassan, twentie Tomaun, which were in number five hundred Camels. The summe of an Asse, which is two Mauns of Lar, costeth the carriage from Lar to Cassan, sixtie Mamodies. The seventeenth day of October, went a Caffel from Cassan to Casbin. From Yesd, which is ten daies journey to the South from Cassan, commeth great store of Cotton-wooll, and cloath made of Cotton; and the Maun of Cotton-wooll is worth in Cassan, eight Mamodies, Crems is worth sixe Tomaun the Maun. The use is in this Citie, when they burie their dead, that three carrie the Corps to the grave, two before and one behind. Wood is sold in Cassan for one Beste the Maun. He that

Sen.
Shesers Can.
Calenda.
Shen.
Garratcoy.
Cassan.
Yesd.

writeth up the goods that come to Cassan, taketh upon every Tomaun that is sold in the Towne, one Mamodie: and the like order is in Tauris. There was a Caffel of one hundred and fiftie Camels comming from Ormus to Cassan, [II.ix.1416.] all carried away by two hundred Theeves; therefore men must goe strong in those theevish parts. The Batman of Cassan maketh two and an halfe of Aleppo. Pepper is worth the Maun in this Citie, fortie Shehides, Meckhickan and Bespessa seventie Mamodies, Drachen one hundred Shehides, and Angarra sixe Mamodies the piece. And eightie make fiftie Mauns of Tauris, which is foure hundred and fiftie Lerras of Venice. Gingebel fortie Shehides: Silke eightie Shehides. And sixe Mauns of Silke make one Maun of all other things.

The fourth day of November we departed from Cassan, *November.* and the same day lodged at a Casal, called Sensen: the *Sensen.* Can is old, and standeth to the Eastward of the Village. And this Casal standeth upon a round rotten hill like a Castle: and to the West of it, is a rew of small Trees, and two great Trees in the rew. And neere to Sensen is a Village, called Bedra, which hath a small Castle. The fifth day from Sensen, and the same day we rested at Casmova; *Casmova.* which is a small Village in a great Plaine, and hath an old Castle standing to the South of the Towne. And here we paid upon Barr one Gasbeke. The sixt day from Casmova, and the same day at Coum, *Caum, a great Citie.* which is a very great Citie. And to the East South-east of the Towne, are divers greene Towers, whereof three stand together, besides sixe others very high. And to the North of the Towne is a bridge of stone. The seventh day we departed from Coum, and the same day we came at Gaffarawau, which is a new Can to the Eastward of the *Gassarawau.* high-way. And here wee paid upon every summe of goods one Gasbeke. The eight day we departed from Gaffarawau, and the same day we came to a Citie, called Sowwa: and we lay all night in a great field, inclosed with a wall round about. The ninth day, we went from Sowwa, *Sowwa.* and the same day wee came to Daung, which standeth to *Daung.*

the West of the high-way. And here we paid upon every Barr one Gasbeke. The tenth day we departed from Daung, and the same morning passed by another Mangel, called Sang: and the same day we came to Arrassan, which is a Village that hath divers houses built like Hay-cocks. And heere a Theefe would know of me of what place I was. And at Arrassan we paid upon every summe of goods one Gasbeke. It is alwaies very good for a man that will travaile, to apparell himselfe according to the order of every Country, wherein he shall travaile. The eleventh day we departed from Arrassan, and the same day we came to Kirra, which standeth upon a little round hill. The twelfth day from Kirra, and the same day at Passen, where is great store of Wall-nut-trees and Wine: and heere two draughts cost me one Mamodie. The thirteenth from Passen, and the same morning passed by a Village, called Aussar; and to the South of way are two old Towers. Also the same day we came to Dessa, which is nothing but a Can: And heere comming somewhat late in the evening, wee could get neither Bread nor Water. The foureteenth we departed from Dessa, and the same morning passed by a towne, called Sultanas; which we left to the South-west of the way. Also the same day we came to Cavesseras of the Shangh, which is a Can, and new built, and the Water is farre from the Can. The eleventh day of November it began with frost, and very cold and great winds; and the foureteenth day in the evening, being at the Kings house, it began to snow. The sixteenth day, we departed from Cavesseras of the Shangh, and the same day we came to a Towne, called Sangas. The seventeenth day we went from Sangas, and the same day we came at a Can, called Necpaw. The eighteenth day we departed from Necpaw, and the same day we came to Sarcham, where we found a Sultan, and therefore lay without the Can. The nineteenth wee departed from Sarcham, and the same day we came to a Towne, called Meyannau, where is great plentie of victuals. And here the Batman of Bread is sold for sixe Gasbekes, and seven

Sang.
Arrassan.
A good note.
Kirra.
Passen.
Aussar.
Dessa.
Sultanas.
Cavesseras of the Shangh.
Frost, cold winds, & snow, from the eleventh to the fourteenth of November.
Sangas.
Necpaw.
Sarcham.
Meyannau.

Gasbekes is one Beste. And this morning we met at the entring into the Mountaines twentie Theeves, and presently after passed over a bridge, and then over a very high Mountaine, where the high-way is paved with stone. And neere unto this Meyannau is a very long bridge of Bricke: and heere their Bricke is much like unto ours; and heere are Musicians like unto ours. The twentieth wee departed from Meyannau, and the same day we came to a Village, called Turkeman: and at Meyannau wee met with the rest of our Caffel. The one and twentieth wee went from Turkeman, and the same morning passed by two Cans, the one called David Derhaver, and the other Abas. Also the same day, we came to a Village called Haggegaw, whither we came late in the night. The two and twentieth day we departed from Haggegaw, and the same day we came to a Village, called Avaspeng, where are many small trees. The three and twentieth wee departed from Avaspeng, and the same day we came to the great Citie of Teuris or Tauris.

Turkeman.

Haggegaw.

Avaspeng.

Teuris or Tauris.

Neere unto Teuris is much Medow ground. This weeke all the Armenians keepe fast. They follow the orders of the Greekes: for every Wednesday and Friday they fast, and every Saturday eate flesh, except it be Easter Eeve. The sixe and twentieth day of November, I was at their Church in Teuris: where first they sung Psalmes, and then went to Masse: And the Priest went round about the Altar three times. The first time he censored, the second time hee carried the Booke about, and the third time the Chalice. At the beginning of Masse, every man doth kisse one another; and after Masse kisse the Booke, and take holy Bread: and the poore have pottage and bread given them. An hundred Mauns of Merchandize of Teuris cost the carriage from Cassan to Teuris by Menel, one hundred and twentie Shehides. I paid for my selfe and eightie two Mauns of Merchandize, eightie seven Mamodies, and I was accounted for five and thirtie Batmans. The Batman of Teuris maketh nine Lerra of Venice, Darchen is worth the Maun in Teuris,

Armenians, and their Church Rites.

[II.ix.1417.]

fiftie Shehides, full of eight and twentie, gold and silver of Bountaki thirtie Ducats the Lerra, every dram one Best, Silke one hundred Shehides. The seven and twentieth of November, I paide in Teuris for my tribute twelve Shehides and two Bestes. Also I paid for safe conduct betweene Cassan and Teuris, ten Shehides. In Teuris I understood, that a yeere before my comming thither, there was one Thomas here with divers English-men, who sold Cremes for one Tomaun and an halfe, and Kersies for one hundred Shehides the piece. In Teuris is a kind of silke Sattin, called Atlas, of nine or ten Gasse long every piece, and it is sold for three Merchel and an halfe the piece, and the best for foure Croysh, which are good wares for Arsingam, and Arserom in Armenia. In Teuris I sold one and twentie Mauns of Mechic, at three Mamodies the Maun, which amount to sixe hundred ninetie three Mamodies. The Batman of Wan or Van is two and an halfe of Teuris. Neere unto Teuris to the Northward, is a very high Mountaine, where Snow doth lie continually. The first day of December, 1581. in the Evening, wee departed from the Citie of Teuris, and the same night lodged at a Village called Souffion, and here is Wine that is very strong, but not pleasant. The third day from Souffion, and the same day at a Towne called Merent, where are two high old Towers, and two blunt, standing neere together. And hereupon newes of the passing by the Towne of a Bassa, there went out five hundred Horse-men. The fourth day from Merent, and the same day at Jolfa: and there is a Bridge of wood upon Boates, there was a stone Bridge, but it is broken. And Aras is the name of the River which runneth before the Towne, and the Towne standeth under a Mountayne. There are in this Towne three thousand Houses, and they have seven Churches, and the richest pay every house twentie Merchel a yeere, and the rest according to their abilitie. The fifth day from Jolfa, and the same day we lodged at a good Towne called Naxnan, which hath great plentie of victuals, and especially Angour, and also hath

This seemed to be Master Thomas Hudson mentioned in the sixth voyage to Persia, in Master Hac. voyages.

He departed from Teuris or Tauris.

Souffion.

Merent.

Jolfa.

The River Aras or Araxis.

Or Nassivan.

Silke. And in the middle way betweene Jolfa and this Citie, is a very high round Rocke, much like unto a Castle. The seventh day from Naxnan, and the same day at a Village called Potta. And about ten miles to the North-west of this Village, is Noahs Arke upon a Mountayne, which is somewhat high, and hath alwayes Snow lying upon it, and no man may goe up it: But they say that Saint Jokemo went up to the top, and in the Armenian tongue it is called Asse Masis. And at the foot of this Mountayne, is a Church of the Armenians. The eighth day from Potta, and the same day we came to a Village called Cambellelea. This eighth day I was under the Arke, and there are two high Mountaynes together, which I left to the West, and they are about three miles asunder, but the highest and that to the Northward of the West, is that whereupon the Arke did rest. The ninth day from Cambellelea, and the same day at Errewan; here every Hemel of Silke payeth five Chekins. At the time of the last warres in Persia, there were many Christians taken slaves in Errewan, and other places. And those of Arsingam ransomed seven thousand. Fourteene Batman of Teuris are twelve of Errewan. In Errewan are very many Christians, and yet there is a Church standing of the Christians. To the Northward of this Towne, about a mile, is a stone Bridge, and under it, passeth a River called Sanguina, which commeth out of the River Aras, or Araxis: and about foure dayes from Errewan or Reivan, it meeteth with the River of Aras or Arash againe. The twelfth day wee departed from Errewan, and lodged the same day at a Casal of Christians, called Echimassen, and here are five old Churches, and one of them is overthrowne, because a brother and a sister married themselves together in the said Church. The thirteenth day from Echimassen, and the same morning we passed by certaine old Towers, where in times past, was a Citie called Sowmarin. And in Echimassen wee paide two and twentie Shehides for a bribe. And here are many Lyons, for within sixe moneths they have carried away out of this

Potta.
Noahs Arke.
Cambellelea.
Or Reivan.
Sauguin a River.
Echimassen.
Sowmarin.

Casal seven and thirtie persons; and the day before we came thither, was a child carried away out of his mothers armes. Betweene Naxnan and Errewan is a place where they dig salt out of the ground. The said thirteene day at night we lay by the Rivers side, where hath beene in times past a Casal. The fourteenth day at a Castle called Dagswan, and without the Towne is an old Church of the Christians. At this place every summe of goods that commeth out of Persia, payeth two Aspers, and if it goeth not to Arserom, then it payeth five pro cento. A Hen is worth here eight Auctshas. The fifteenth day from Dagswan, and the same day at a Casal called Seraffa, and here wee lay in a great house, and neere to the Casal passed over a Bridge. The sixteenth day from Seraffa, and the same day at a Casal called Cappannac, and neere unto Seraffa is a Church of Saint Christopher. The seventeenth day from Cappannac, and the same day at a Casal called Comatseur. The eighteenth day from Comatseur, and the same day at a Casal called Shew banc cupres: and neere unto this Casal is a stone Bridge, which a Sheepheard did build. And here all our Merchandizes were searched, and written up by one that came from Dagswan, and another of this Casal that did write all things. The ninteenth day from Shew banc cupres, and the same morning passed by a Towne called Hassen gallawth, where is a very strong Castle, with three wals. And here the houses are built of Fir trees like unto the houses in the Alpes. Also the same day at a Casal called Bollomash. The twentie one day from Bollomash, & the same day at Arserom. And he that setteth prices upon all commodities hath upon every hundreth that is sold two Anil, is worth heere twentie Chekins the Batman.

Salt growing in the ground.

Dagswan.

Seraffa.

Cappannac.

Comatseur.

Shew banc cupres.

Hassen gallawth.

Bollomash.

[II.ix.1418.]

Arzerum is a plentifull Towne for all kind of victuals, and hath three gates. In Arzerum one Batman of Mel or Deps, is worth two Auctshas. And in this Towne one robbed three shops, and the next morning was hanged. After eight daies abode in this place, the nine and twentieth of December I departed from Arzerum, and the same day

lodged at a great Casall, named Pretton. The thirtieth day from Pretton, and the same day at a Casall, named Shennar. From Dagswan to Arzerum, the women goe in Gaskins like men: and upon their heads they weare a high round trunke hanged with pieces of Silver Money; and about that and their chin, they have a large white cloath, which is all set round about with Buttons of Silver: & also upon their heads, they weare a piece of red Silke, which hangeth downe behind them, two or three yards upon the ground with a fringe: and about their neckes they weare a Coller of Silver, and thereunto are fastned five or sixe pieces of Silver made very broad, and to some more. They are the most part blacke, and have full faces, small feet, great legs, great hands and armes, and their lips not small.

Pretton. *Shennar.* *Womens attire.*

The first day of January, we departed from Shennar, and the same morning passed by a Casall, called Gotter. Also the same day wee came to a Cravansall, called Gebesse, and the next morning passed by another of the same name. The second day from Gebesse, and the same day at a great Casal, called Backerreg, where is great plentie of Wine: and here the Batman is sold for sixe Parra. The third of January from Backerreg, and the same day at a Casall, called Bettarreg, which is neere unto Arsingam. Also the same day I went unto Arsingam, which is within foure daies journey of Trebesonda. The weight and measure of Arsingam, do both agree with Arzerum: and here Merchel is worth fiftie foure Auctshas. The cariage of a Mule from Arzerum to Arsingam, costeth twelve She-hides; and from thence to Tockat three Duckats. To the East-ward of Arsingam, is a very strong Castle, and to the South of the Towne a stone bridge, which passeth over the River of Ponnats. And in this Valley are three hundred and sixty Casals of Christians. The thirteenth day of January we departed from Arsingam, and the same day lodged at a Cravanserras, named Serperron. The fourteenth day being Sunday, from Serperron: and the same day at a Casal, called Ardansegh: and this day wee

January. *Gotter.* *Gebesse.* *Backerreg.* *Bettarreg.* *Arsingam.* *The River of Ponnats falleth into Euphrates.* *Serperron.* *Ardansegh.*

passed over the Mountaines of Chardalor, with the greatest snow, frost and wind, that ever I was in, and were in danger to have remained in the Mountaines all night. The 16. from Ardansegh, the same day at a Casal, called *Shewbanning.* Shewbaning, which hath a small Church standing upon a small round Rock. The 17. from Shewbaning, the same *Andre.* day at a great Casal, called Andre; which is out of the way, and standeth under an hill, in a very pleasant Valley. The eighteenth day from Andre, and the same day at *Yeoltedder.* Yeoltedder, a Casal by the Rivers side: and this day wee passed by a very great Castle to the North of the water, upon a very high Mountaine. The nineteenth from Yeoltedder, and the same day passed over a very high Mountaine: also the same day we lodged at a Casal, called *Longo.* Longo; and here we met with the Caravan of Tocat: and at the foot of this Mountaine, we met with another River. The twentieth day from Longo, and the same day at a *Prassa.* Casal, called Prassa. The one and twentieth day from Prassa, and the same day being Sunday wee came to *Tocat, Tocato.* Tocat, and by the way are two Casals, the one called Namnous, and the other Manec: and Namnous is a very great Casal, and hath many Christians. And here they goe to plough with Oxen, one three yards from another. Neere to Tocat to the North-East of the towne, runneth the River of Ponnats, and over it is made a great stone bridge: and to the North of the towne upon a high Rock, is a very strong Castle, and to the South of the town is a very high Mountaine, that is sufficient to beate both the Towne and the Castle: and here all their houses that are new built, are made like the building of Lions: and their Ploughs here have no Coultors, but very long Shares. Tin is worth the Batman in Tocato, three hundred Auctshas, Pambas, sixtie two Auctshas; and five and twentie graines of Silke, eighty Aspers. The twentie foure and twentie five daies, arrived the Caravan with the Waftshe: three Batmans of Tocat make ten Rotils of Aleppo. The Jewes wives in Tocat weare upon their heads very high tires, much like unto Miters. There is to the Castle of

Tocat but one gate, and that is to the North; and all that part of the Towne are Christians. The twenty nine, we departed from Tocat, and the same day passed over a stone bridge, where is a great Casal: also the same day we came to another Casal, called Ackelcon. The thirtieth day *Ackelcon.* from Ackelcon, and the same day we passed by a little Casal, called Burghcarre. Also the same day at a Village, *Burghcarre.* called Tackia. The last day of January, from Tackia, and the same day at a Casal, called Dadow. And neere to *Dadow.* this Dadow to the North-east, is a Towne, called Amasia: and from thence is carried much Ennebet, and Yeussen to other places.

The first day of Februarie we departed from Dadow, and *February.* the same day came to a Casal, called Searradella, which is *Searradella.* parted into two parts. The second day of Februarie, from Searradella, and the same day at a Casal, called Chagan- *Chagannadel.* nadel, and over it upon a Mountaine is a great stone. The third day, from Chagannadel, and the same day at a Towne, called Garom: and to the South-east of the Towne *Garom.* is a Castle. And here, and in Tocat, and in Arsingam, every Hemmel of goods payeth two Auctshas: and here are in the Towne, three Towers. And here the women goe with their visages covered, and a white cloath about their middles, and another about their heads and shoulders, and their long pendant of frindge Silke hangeth downe behind them: and here the Batman of Pambacke is sold for sixtie two Auctshas. The fourth day from Garom, and the same day at a Casal, called Lout: and here is [II.ix.1419.] great plenty of Ennap; and this day wee passed over a *Lout.* very high Mountaine. And in Lout the Women weare a very high attire upon their heads like an hat, and down before them to their eies, hangeth a broad cloath much like unto a French-hood. The fifth day from Lout, and the same day we came to a Casal, called Mourt Larsarraie. *Mourt Larsarrai.* And this day about five of the clocke in the afternoone, was an Earth-quake. Also this day the Armenians began *Casalmach, a great River running into the Black Sea.* their fast for Saint George. This day we passed over a great River, called Casalmach, which runneth into the

Blacke Sea, or Pontus Euxinus. The sixth day from Mourt-
Allagour. Larsarrai, and the same day at a Casal, called Allagour, which standeth upon an hill: and heere we found many Theeves neere unto the Rivers side under the ground. The seventh day from Allagour, and the same day at a
Ennebea. Casal, called Ennebea. And this day the Caravan was greatly afraid of Theeves. And for these three daies all the way is no wood: but neere unto the Waters side, is Hay and wilde-geese plentie: and this day we left the great River Casalmach. The eighth day from Ennebea,
Sarracust. and the same day at a great Casal, called Sarracust: and heere was a Bride carried about the Towne on horse-backe, and divers Women like Maskers. The tenth day from
Saddar. Sarracust, and the same day at a little Casal, called Saddar. The eleventh day from Saddar, and the same day at a
Erandrerra. Casal, called Erandrerra: and it standeth neere unto a pleasant Valley; and to the South of this place halfe a day is a Citie, called Angria, where most of the Grograms and Chamblets are made. The twelfth day from Erand-
Aash. rerra, and the same day at a Towne, called Aash, which standeth in a Valley, and hath but one Maddenna: and from this Towne wee descended downe a very great Mountaine. The thirteenth day from Aash, and the same day at a Casal, named Ahemet Shalla, whither we came late in the night. And from Aash commeth a River, which runneth to the West. The foureteenth day, from Ahemet
Garacham. Shella, and the same day at a Village, called Garacham, which standeth among the Mountaines: and the Cravanseras standeth alone. The 15. day from Garacham,
Gaye. and the same day at a Casal, called Gaye. And this day we passed over the Mountaine Chambelle: and upon this Mountaine we met with a Caravan going for Tocat, which carried great store of Backam. The sixteenth day from
Carralla. Gaye, and the same day at a Casal, called Carralla: and this day we lost our way. The seventeenth day from
Sowdegan. Carralla, and the same day at a Casal, cald Sowdegan: and here is a very great Cravanserras; and in this Country the women wash with their feet: and this day

we passed by a River that runneth to the East. The eighteenth day from Sowdegan, and the same day at a Casal, called Couscherderrom. And at Couscherderrom is a very faire Crovanserras new built: and for the building thereof, a Merchant of Agam gave a Hemmel of Silke. The twentieth day from Couscherderrom, and the same day we passed through a Towne called Bouseiuc: also the same day at a Towne, called Basarich. And this day we were cold and wet with Snow. The one and twentieth day from Basarich, and the same day we passed downe a very great Mountaine: also the same day we lodged at a Casal, called Korshonnov. The two and twentieth day from Korshonnov, and the same day at a Casal called Actsau. The three and twentieth day from Actsau, and the same day we came to Borsa. The foure and twentieth day, three Theeves were executed in Borsa, which had robbed seven or eight yeres between Borsa and Stambol. In Borsa all Strangers pay for custome of their Merchandize three per cento. The Kintall of Borsa is fortie Hockies: and the Kintall of Cremes, is here worth eight thousand Auctshas. The sixe and twentieth day, I went to the Hammam, that is a mile without Borsa to the West-ward; and the same day passed through foure woodden gates. And the Spout of this water commeth in from the South. There are in all foure of these Hammams.

Couscherderrom.

Basarich.

Korshonnov.

Actsau.

Borsa.

The first day of March at night, untill twelve of the clocke, was to the West of the Towne, a great light like fire. The fifth day of March in the evening, wee departed from Borsa: and this day passed over a small River, where is a stone Bridge. Also this day wee lodged at a Casal of Christians, called Peage. The sixth day from Peage, and the same day passed by a Gulfe of the Sea, where is a Towne, called Gamlech, and also passed by a Lake of fresh water, which is called Bouchi. Also this day we passed by two Cravanserras: and by the way is great store of Bay-trees growing: Also this day we came to Samallech, which is the Skel. The eight day from Samallech,

Peage.

Gamlech.

Bourchi.

Samallech.

A.D. 1581.

The Tower where they make light for the ships. Skell. Constantinople, corruptly called Stambol.

and the same day we landed at the Tower, where they make light for the Ships that passe in and out of the Blacke Sea: and the same night wee came to Skell. The ninth day of March in the morning, we departed from Skell, and the same day came to Galata and Constantinople, by the Turkes corruptly called Stambol. The tenth day, we arrived in Stambol, the Caravan of Nest: And the eleventh day it was all burned, with one hundred and twentie Cargas more, and eightie thousand crownes in Pepper; besides great store of other Merchandize. And the order is to hang him, that was the first cause of the fire. The fourteenth day, was a passage Boate with sixtie or seventie persons lost going over to Samallech; some Christians, some Jewes, and some Turkes. The Mufti in Constantinople, is counted like the Pope of Rome: and he was the cause that all Christians and Jewes were forced to leave off their turbants. Torra is a great Citie in Natolia, three daies from the Sea: from whence come Grograms, Gaules, Silkes, and Cotton Wooll.

Aprill, 1582. He departeth from Constantinople. Tarrapea.

The fourth day of Aprill, 1582. we tooke our Voyage from Galata neere Constantinople, and the same day lay at a Casall, called Tarrapea: and from Galata hither came one Anthonie a Merchant of Sio, in company with me. And the same day I came from Constantinople, the Grand

[II.ix.1420.] Signiors Sonne went out of the Towne with three or foure thousand Horses. Also the Grand Signior had another young Sonne borne of two monethes old. The sixth day

He taketh ship to goe by the Black Sea, up the River Danubius.

of Aprill, 1582. wee departed from the Gulfe neere unto Tarrapea, being imbarked in a Barke laden with Wines of Candie, which was to goe up the River of Danubius. The seventh day in the morning, the wind came up to the East North-east with very stormie weather: and the same

Sissopoli.

day wee returned to a Towne called Sissopoli, which is a good Harbour. And heere are many Wind-mils, and great store of Wine. And to the East of the Harbour are three Ilands: and heere they are all Greekes. Also the Turke doth make here many Gallies. And in this foule weather some of our company wept, and others

cryed out: & our foresaile split with the great wind; and we were in greatest danger; because they could not of a long time get down their main saile. This great tempest that we had in the Blacke Sea, began upon Saturday morning about one of the clocke, being the seventh day of Aprill, as I said before, and continued untill Tuesday in the morning beeing the tenth day, with very great Snow and Cold, as if it had bin at Christmas. The twelfth day we set saile from Sissopoli, and the same night came to an anchor under a Cape of Land, where is a Casal called Emonna. The thirteenth day from Emonna, and this night we passed by a great Citie called Varna, which lyeth within a very great Gulfe, which is a very good Harbor. The fourteenth day in the morning we passed by a Castle called Caliacca, which standeth upon the Cape of a Land, and hath to the Eastward two small Pillars, and neere unto them a great stone much like a man. The fifteenth day in the morning, wee returned to the Castle of Caliacca: and the seventeenth day toward night, set saile from this Castle. The nineteenth day in the morning, we entred into a mouth of the River Danubius, called Licostoma. And at the entring in of the River to the Southward is a Beacon: and the depth is on the North-side, but there is never above eight foot water. And the Countrey on the South side of the River is called Dobis: and the North-side is called Bugdania. The two and twentieth day about noone, we entred into the River, where commeth the mouth of Saint George; and that mouth runneth to the East South-east. And Licostomo, which we came forth off runneth to the West, and then presently againe to the North. Also this day we arrived at a Casal, called Dolcha, which lyeth on the South-side of the River. And here lye out from the Towne certaine small Rocks into the water: And here our ship and the Merchant paid a certaine small dutie of two or three Crownes. And here Fish, Hens, and Egges are plenty. The three and twentieth day we departed from Dolcha the same day about noone, we passed by the River of Kelle, which is very

Emonna.

Varna.

Caliacca.

Bugdania.

The mouth of Saint George.

Dolcha.

The River of Kelle.

broad, and runneth to the North-east. Also this day wee passed by a small Iland, which lyeth very neere Saxe. The foure and twentieth day about noone, wee came to a Towne called Saxe, which lyeth upon the South-side of the River. And over against this Towne is an Iland: and here the River is very broad. And here we were to have paid a Custome, but paid nothing untill our comming to Tomourra. The foure and twentieth day in the afternoone from Saxe: and the five and twentieth day we arrived at Tomourra. And this Tomourra lyeth upon the North-side of the River, and is in Bugdania. In Tomourra the children go much after the order of India, with small Rings of Wiar through their eares. And the women goe with great knobs of silver hanging upon the upper part of their eares; and with a great Roll of Linen Cloth about their heads, much like a Turkes Turbant, and upon that a small cloth: and the upper bodies of their garments are set round about with great knobs of silver like buttons. And the yong Maids weare their haire pleyted, and thereupon divers pieces of silver hanging: and upon the Crowne of the head a round broad Brooch of silver set with stones; and their sleeves great and short; and about their armes two great hoopes of silver, and at their Girdle five or six paire of Knives: and about their neckes they weare nothing. The common sort goe for the most part bare-footed. The five and twentieth day, we came to Tomourra, a Bark from Constantinople, which came from thence in eight dayes. The ship that I came in from Constantinople, was twentie seven foot broad of my feet: and the poope more then thirtie foot high from the water, and could stow in hold but two Buts of heighth one upon another, except it were in the middle. In this Town of Tomourra are sold twentie Egges for an Asper, and a good Hen for two Aspers, and Beefe, Bacon, Bread, Wine, Beere, and Mede plentie, and very good fresh fish more then of any thing else. Here are sold for one Asper two Pikes, either of them better then three spans long, & three Carpes either of them a span & an halfe

A small Iland.

Saxe.

Tomourra, is also called Ren, by the Vallachians.

Apparell.

long. Also here is great store of Sturgeons & Herings in this River.

The order of their making of Caviare of their Sturgeons, is this. The Caviare or Roe must be taken whole out of the Fish; and then slash it a little with a Knife, and so salt it wel, for three dayes and three nights, and put it in a Barrell or Fat, and make an hole underneath, that the water or Salt that commeth from the Caviare may void forth: and after these three dayes are past, take it and wash it very well with fresh water, untill the Salt bee cleane gone from it: and after this put it in Barrels for the space of other three dayes, & one must tread it downe with his clean feet: also you must make an hole under the Barrell for the water to void away; and then lay some great stones upon it to presse it, and to make it hard: and after these three dayes bee past, take out the bottome and set in a new; and so it may be carried through out the World. And the names of the three fishes, of the Roes whereof they make it, are these: Sturgeon, and Mourrounna, and Merssenne. And the best times of the yeare to make it in, are June and July. In this Towne of Tomourra are certaine Merchants of Sio, that are Lords of the same; and in times past it hath beene a faire Towne: But the Tartars have two or three times spoyled it, and once they carried away fiftie persons out of it, and the Countries neere adjoyning. And about the yeare of our Lord 1530. the Turke subdued this Countrey and a great part of Hungarie, and all, as they say, by the Treason of the Prince of Transilvania.

The order of making Caviare.

They make Caviare of Three sorts of fish.

[II.ix.1421.]

The first day of May, 1582. wee landed our goods: And Signior Jocamo Alberti paid for fraught of every Butte of his Wine sixtie Aspers from Constantinople to this place. This day in the Evening, we departed by Land from Tomourra, which is called Ren, in the Language of Wallachia. The fourth day of May, wee passed by a Casal, where the Master of the Casall would have taken away our fore-mans Horse: and the same day in the afternoone we passed over

May. They land their goods.

They take their journey again by land. Tomourra is called Ren by the Wallachians.

The River of Prut. a long Bridge, and presently after a small River called Prut.

Hus. The sixth day we departed from Falchen. The eighth day in the morning, we came to a little Towne calld Hus, which standeth under the Woods side. The same day at night wee passed againe over the River of Prut; and the

Padwellia. next morning came to a Casall, called Padwellia: and here one of our Muckeres Horses were againe taken. The

Sutsourre. tenth day we came to a Casall called Sutsourre, where we passed againe over the Prut. The eleventh day in the

Yas. morning, wee came to Yas, and here the Toll-master is a Greeke, and is called Nicolla Neverredde. To the South of Yas is the Castle with a paire of Gallowes before it, and

This is like the West Indian fortification. round about it is a wall of great trees of wood: and to the South-west of the Towne is a great Lake: and upon the farther side of the Lake is a great Monasterie. The women here goe in Turkish Gownes, and great Turbants, with two or three great bosses set with stones on either side of their Turbants, and their Gownes downe before with the like, and in their eares great bosses with a Chaine of small Pearle made fast to both their eares. And the

Apparell. Maides goe with an Attyre upon their heads like unto a Mitre, and upon that their haire bound a crosse: and some of the Children goe sewed through their Eares with a packthred like the Indian fashion. The custome of a Cloth in Yas is one Ducke of Gold, and of a Kersie a Doller, and of every Carpet that costeth one hundred Aspers, twelve Aspers; and of every Oxe and Cow foure and twentie Aspers, except they belong to the Merchants of Poland, and then they pay but twentie Aspers. And every Butte of Wine payeth five Dollers and tenne Aspers: And every Butte of Muskadell, payeth in Constantinople sixe Chechins, and in Eluova foure. The sixteenth day in the afternoone wee departed from Yas: And the seventeenth

Steffennet. day we lodged at Steffennes. The eighteenth day wee passed over the River of Prut, which is three leagues

Leues. from Chotym, and the same day at a Casall called Leues, which standeth in a Vale and hath a Lake of water stand-

ing in the middle of it. The nineteenth day in the morning at Chotym, and to the North of the Towne is the Castle which lyeth neere to the River of Nyester, and this River parteth Bugdania and Polonia. The twentieth day about noone, we departed from Chotym, and the same day beeing Sunday, wee came to the strong Frontier Towne of Poland, called Camienitz, which standeth in a Valley: and the Castle standeth to the West of the Towne.

Chotym.

Camienitz the frontier towne of Poland upon the Turke.

In this Towne all Merchants Strangers pay custome for their goods two and an halfe per cento. The women in Camienitz goe with their Coates close bodied, and the neather bodies gathered like a Frocke: and upon their heads a fine Cloth like a Call; and upon that a long piece of white Lawne, that hangeth downe to the ground, and upon that a blacke Velvet Hat. Their Girdles are set with great studs of Silver and Gold: and they are very faire women, but not very commendable for their Chastitie, for most of them will be drunke. They use in the morning to drinke much burnt Wine, and afterward Mede. And there are very few houses in the Towne, but they sell Beere and Mede; and the Borrow-masters sell Wine. And if a Gentlewoman goe abroad, all her men goe before her, and the Gentlemen ride before, and their men behind. The womens Garments are very long: and in the Villages by the way, the Maides goe with their haire hanging downe behind them, and a Garland upon their heads: and they use to dance much like the Moores. The young Maides of Camienitz weare their haire pleyted, and bound up about their heads, and with a blacke band of Velvet. The three and twentieth day we tooke our Journey from Camienitz, &c.

Apparell.

His Journey thorow Poland to Dantzik, and comming to Hull by Sea, is omitted.

[Chap. IIII.

[II.ix.1422.]

Chap. IIII.

Observations of Master John Cartwright in his Voyage from Aleppo to Hispaan, and backe againe: published by himselfe, and here contracted.

§. I.

Of Euphrates, Orpha, Caraemit, the Curdi, Armenians, Bithlis, Van, and Arraret.

HAving rested in Aleppo two monethes and better, Master John Mildenall and my selfe tooke our leave of the Consull and Merchants, with a full intent and purpose to travell unto the great Citie Lahor, in the Great Mogors Countrey in the East Indies: lodging all that night on a thinne Turkish Carpet in Woods-caine, where the *Caravan was assembled, to the end that wee might bee with the foremost: for delay in such travell doth produce great and inevitable danger. From Aleppo wee spent three dayes Journey unto the bankes of Euphrates, passing by many Villages not worth the naming, and fertile Plaines, abounding with all sort of provision necessary for mans life. One of those Villages is a Village of note unto this day, called by the Countrey people Tedith, where the Jewes keepe a Monument in remembrance of the great Synagogue, holden there in the yeare from the Creation 3498. Neere unto this Towne is the Valley of Salt memorable for that great overthrow which David gave the Aramits, when hee slue of them in one battell eighteene thousand men. Here also Campson Gaurus the Great Sultan of Egypt fought that deadly and mortall Battell with Selymus the first, the Great Turke; where hee lost his life being trodden, without regard, to death, both by his owne Souldiers and pursuing Enemies.

*A Caravan is a great many of Camels laden, not much unlike our Carriers here in England.

Tedith a Village of note.

The Valley of Salt. 2. Sam. 8. 13.

Being arrived on the bankes of Euphrates, we found it as broad as the Thames at Lambith; but in some places it is narrower, in some broader, running with a very swift streame and current, almost as fast as the River of Trent. At this place doth this River beginne to take his name, being heere all gathered into one Channell, whereas before it commeth downe from the Lake Chieldor-Giol in Armenia, in manifold armes and branches, and therefore is called by the Countrey people, by a name which signifieth a thousand heads. Here it is that Merchants use to passe downe by Barke unto Babylon, thereby to avoid and shunne the great charge and wearisomnesse of travell through the Desart of Arabia. Which passage they make sometimes in fifteene dayes, sometimes in twentie dayes, and sometimes in thirtie dayes, answerable to the rising and falling of the River: and the best time to passe thither is either in Aprill or October, when the River doth swell with abundance of Raine. The Boates are flat-bottomed, because the River is shallow in many places; so that when they travell in the Moneths of July, August, and September, they find the River at so low an ebbe, that they are faine to carry with them a spare Boat or two, to lighten their owne, if they should chance to fall on the shoales. Every night after Sun-set, they fasten these Boates to a stake, the Merchants lying aboord, and the Mariners upon the shoare, as neere as they can unto the same. In this passage downe the River, you shall meet with divers troupes of Arabians, who will barter their provision of Dyet (for they care not for money) as Hennes, Kids, Lambe, Butter, and sowre Milke, for Glasses, Combes, Corall, Amber, Knives, Bread and Pomegranates, Pils, wherewith they use to tanne their Goats skinnes, in which they Churne with all. All of them, as well Women, Children, and Men are very good Swimmers, who oftentimes will swimme to the Barke side with Vessels full of Milke upon their heads. These people are very theevish, and therefore in your passage downe good watch must bee kept. But to returne where we left, wee were constrained

Euphrates.

Time and manner of going downe the River.

by the deepnesse of the River to ferrie over our whole Caravan, which consisted of a thousand persons, besides Camels, Horses, Mules, and Asses, by reason of which multitude we spent a whole day in transporting over the said Caravan. The gaines of which transportation yeelded the Ferriman a Shaughee, which is five pence English upon a Beast.

Bir. Being over the aforesaid River, wee arrived at Bir and
Mesopotamia. entred into the famous Province of Mesopotamia; The Turkes doe call it Diarbech. This Province of it selfe is most fruitfull, but by the Turkish Warres much ruinated and wasted: neverthelesse, there are some Cities of great importance. About two dayes journey from Bir, wee
Orpha. came to Orpha, a Citie of great account and estimation, which many suppose to have beene the famous Citie Edessa. As yet there remayned certaine Monuments of
**See sup. c. 2.* Baldwin* in Latine letters. The aire of this Citie is very healthfull, the Countrey fruitfull, onely wood excepted, and therefore in stead thereof, they burne the dung of Camels and other beasts, dried in the Sunne. This Citie
[II.ix.1423.] is built foure-square; the West part standing on the side of a rockie Mountaine, and the East part trendeth into a spacious Valley, replenished with Vineyards, Orchards, and Gardens: the walls are very strong, furnished with great store of Artillerie, and contayne in circuit three English miles: and for the gallantnesse of the site, it was once reckoned the Metropoliticall seat of Mesopotamia, howsoever it is now translated to Caramida or Caraemit. There is in this Citie a Fountaine full of fishes, so used to hand, that they will receive any substance that shall bee offered unto them: both Jewes, Armenians, and Turkes
Gen. 29. 13. reported unto us, that this Fountaine was Jacobs Well,
27. and that here hee served his Uncle Laban twice seven yeeres, for faire and beautifull Rachel. The gates of this Citie were much battered, a little before our comming by
The Scrivano at the walls of Orpha. 1603. Eliazgee the Scrivano, and the Rebels his followers; hee drew the Citizens to a composition of fiftie thousand Chekins, and so departed. Memorable also is this Citie,

then called Carras, for the great battell which was fought before it betweene the Romans and the Parthians, when Marcus Crassus was Generall on the one side, and Surena on the other side. *Let the Geographer use his owne libertie: I give you the Author.*

At this Citie having paid our Custome, which is a Doller on a summe of goods, our Caravan was licenced to depart: and at our ordinary houre, which was three of the clocke in the afternoone, we set forward towards the ancient Citie Amida, now called Caramida or Caraemit, five dayes journey from Orpha, travelling sometimes over rough and craggie Mountaines, and sometimes through most delightfull Playnes and Valleys: amongst which there is one of note, environed about with a Pale of Mountaines, in such wise that there is but one entrie and passage: where *Aladeules is said to have had his Paradise. *Caraemit.* **See hereof in M. Polo long before that time of Senex de Monte, which this Aladeules imitated, if the report be true.*

At the end of five dayes travell, wee arrived at Caraemit, which is to say, The blacke Citie, either for the stone wherewith it is built, being like unto Jet in colour, or for the fertilitie of the soyle round about it, which is of a dusky colour. This Citie is seated upon a marvellous high Rocke, and containeth in circuit very neere sixe miles; and though it be sufficently fortified by nature, yet is it environed with a double wall: the outmost is somewhat decayed, but the inmost is well repaired, being fenced with great store of Artillerie. It is governed by a Bassa, who commandeth over twelve Sanzacks, and thirtie thousand Tymariots: and is now become the Metropoliticall Citie of Mesopotamia. There were mustred from this Citie, when Amurat the third invaded Persia, in the yeere 1578. twelve thousand Souldiers, the Captaine being well checked by Generall Mustapha for bringing so few. The Souldiers of this Citie for the most part are Archers, not of any courage, but very effeminate, and accustomed to the use of the Scimatarre. During our abode at this place (which was fourteene dayes) we lodged in a very faire Caine built of free-stone; for which lodging we payed to the Master of the Caine five

Shaughes a piece: all which time nothing fell out worthie observation, but the cruell execution of a petie malefactor, who having but pilfered away certaine small wares, was mounted on a Camell, with his armes spread abroad, having two sockets-holes bored in his shoulders blades, into which were set two flaring torches, dropping continually on his skin to his greater torment, and in the end, having carried him in this pitifull manner through the principall streets of the Citie, they brought him to the place of execution, and there ganched him on a great Iron hooke, suffering him so to hang till he died. Passing through the South-gate of this Citie, wee payed to the Porter of the gate a Shaughee upon a beast, descending from the Citie into a most fertile and fruitfull Plaine, where are many Gardens and Orchards, and places of great refreshment.

A most cruell execution.

Euphrates.

Through this Plaine runneth the great River Euphrates, with a very swift current; and is as broad here sometimes of the yeere as the Thames at London Bridge, but now was much dried up, by reason of the heate in Summer, making thereby many Ilands and demi-Ilands, where the Citizens of Caraemit during the Summer season doe use to pitch their Tents, to enjoy the freshment of the Aire and River: but in the Winter it swelleth so aboundantly over the said Ilands and bankes, that neither man nor beast is able to passe over: to avoide which inconvenience, there is, a mile distant from the Citie, a stone-bridge of twentie arches, made over the said River. This evening we pitched two miles from the Citie, and stayed all that night of purpose for some Merchants that were behind. Here wee exchanged our Camels, and in stead of them tooke Mules, a creature farre more fit to travell over craggie Rockes and Mountaines then Camels: for now we were within a few dayes journey, to passe over the high Mountaines of Armenia, called in Scripture the Mountaines of Ararat: which travell with Camels is not onely laborious, but very dangerous, if the ground should prove moist or flabby; for then being laden with great burdens, they cannot goe onwards, neither are they able to passe with

their huge burdens, through the streight passages which are in those Mountaines.

Two dayes journey from Caraemit, we rested at the foot of a great rockie Mountaine, being one of the Heads out of which Tygris floweth, and runneth downe with a swift current to Balsara, and so dischargeth it selfe in the Persian Gulfe. Strangely doth it issue out of three Rockes admirably hanging, that a man as he passeth under them, would imagine them to bee readie to fall on his head. And for the strangenesse of the site, the Turkes have builded three Bridges in the midst of those Rockes, to passe from one unto another, thereby to behold Natures wisedome in framing them so wonderfull. Wee went to view the same, but through the huge over-falls, which came farre off within those Mountaines, and the steepnesse of the same, together with the hideous noise, and whistling murmuring, wee found not so great contentment above, as wee did beneath.

One of the Heads out of which Tyris floweth.

Three Bridges.

[II.ix.1424.]

The next day we spent over many high Mountaines, on the top whereof grew great quantitie of Gall-trees, which are somewhat like our Oakes, but lesser and more crooked: on the best tree in this place a man shall not gather a pound of Galls: at evening we pitched againe on the bankes of Euphrates; and in the morning passed the said River, but not by Barge as before, which was likely to have bred no small annoyance to our whole Caravan; for through the swiftnesse of the streame, and deepnesse of the Channell, many Beasts with their ladings had beene carried away and drowned, if there had not beene in time a shallow Foord discovered, which had in such sort raised the depth of the Channell, making as it were a shelfe for our Commodious passage: by helpe whereof there was not so much as one man or beast that perished.

Gall trees.

Euphrates.

We were no sooner over, but forth-with we were encountred with a certaine troope of people, called the Curdies, which some thinke to be a remnant of the ancient Parthians. This rude people are of a goodly stature, and

The description of the Curdies, a most theevish people.

well proportioned, and doe never goe abroad without their Armes, as Bowes and Arrowes, Scimatarre and Buckler, yea and at such time, when a man for age is ready to goe downe to his grave. They doe adore and worship the Devill, to the end hee may not hurt them or their Cattell, and very cruell are they to all sorts of Christians; in which regard, the Countrey which they inhabite, is at this day termed Terra Diaboli, the Land of the Divell. They participate much of the nature of the Arabians, and are as infamous in their Latrocinies and robberies, as the Arabians themselves. They live under the commandement of the great Turke, but with much freedome and libertie. This theevish company did sundry times arrest our Caravan, affirming that their Prince had sent for a Dollar on a summe of goods, without the payment whereof (being five severall times demanded) wee should not passe through their Countrey. One Village of note is there in this Countrey, wholly inhabited by the Curdies, being five daies journey from Caraemit, and three daies journey from Bitclish, called by the Countrey people Manuscute. This Towne is seated in a most fertile and fruitfull Valley, betweene two Mountaines, abounding with Pasture and Cattell: and about a mile from it, is an Hospitall dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, which is much visited as well by Turkes as Christians, who superstitiously affirme, that whosoever will bestow either a Sheepe, Kid, or some piece of Money to releeve the poore of that place, shall not onely prosper in his journey, but obtaine forgivenesse of all his sinnes. To the Governour of this Village, wee paied for our custome a Shaughee on a summe of goods, and so were dismissed. The next day following, we passed over many craggy and steepe Mountaines, and at the last rested our selves and wearied beasts on the banke of Euphrates, being the out-most bounds on this side of Mesopotamia, and so entred the day following on the Borders of Armenia the great, which is by some distinctly divided into three parts; the North part whereof being but little, is called Georgia: the middle

The Curdies worshippers of the Devill.

Manuscute.

Indulgence.

Euphrates.

part Turcomania: and the third part by the proper name of Armenia.

It is now called Turcomania, and was the first seate of the Turkes, after their first comming out of Scythia, who left their naturall seates, and by the Caspian Ports passing through the Georgian Countrey, then called Iberia, neere unto the Caspian Sea; first ceased upon this part of Armenia, and that with so strong an hand, that it is by their posteritie yet holden at this day, and of them called Turcomania.

Armenian manners.

At our first entrance into this Countrey, we travelled through a goodly, large, and spacious Plaine, compassed about with a rew of high Mountaines, where were many Villages, wholly inhabited by Armenians; a people very industrious in all kind of labour: their Women very skilful and active in shooting, & managing any sort of weapon, like the fierce Amazones in antick time; and the women at this day, which inhabit the Mountaine Xatach in Persia. Their families are very great; for, both Sons, Nephewes, and Neeces, doe dwell under one roofe, having all their substance in common: and when the Father dyeth, the eldest Sonne doth governe the rest, all submitting themselves under his Regiment. But when the eldest Sonne dyeth, the government doth not passe to his Sonnes, but to the eldest Brother. And if it chance to fall out, that all the Brethren doe dye, then the government doth belong to the eldest Sonne of the eldest Brother, and so from one to another. In their dyet and cloathing, they are all fed and clad alike, living in all peace and tranquilitie, grounded on true love and honest simplicitie.

Women Archers.

The Armenians are a populous Nation.

To discourse how populous this Nation is at this day, is needlesse, since they inhabit both in Armenia the greater, and Armenia the lesse; as also in Cilicia, Bithynia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. Besides the principall Cities of the Turkish Empire, be much appopulated with them, as Brusia, Angori, Trabisonda, Alexandria, Grand-Caire, Constantinople, Caffa, Aleppo, Orpha, Cara-emit, Van, and Julpha: for that they are very laborious in trans-

porting Merchandize from one Citie to another, by which meanes, through the customes which are paid in every Citie, the Coffers of the Grand Signior are wonderfully inriched.

The Armenians governed by two Patriarchs.

This people have two Patriarchs, to whom they give the name of Universall: the one keepeth his seate in the Citie of Sis in Caramania, not farre from Tharsus: the other in the Monastery of Ecmeazin, neere unto the Citie Ervan in this Countrey. [II.ix.1425.] Under these two Patriarchs are eighteene Monasteries, full straight with Friers of their Religion; and foure and twentie Bishopricks. The maintenance allowed in times past unto each of these two Patriarchs, was a Maidin on an house; each Patriarch having under him twentie thousand housholds: but now that large benevolence the great Turke hath seased into his owne hands; and therefore now they are constrained to live on the Almes of the people, going continually in Visitation from one Citie to another, carrying their Wives and whole family with them.

**The Religion of the Armenians is spotted with many absurdities.*

The people of this Nation have amongst them the Christian* Faith, but at this day it is spotted with many absurdities. They hold with the Church of Rome in the use of the Crosse, affirming it to be meritorious, if they make the same with two fingers, as the Papists use; but idle and vaine if with one finger, as the Jacobites. They adorne their Churches in every place with the signe of the Crosse, but for other Images they have none, being professed enemies against the use of them. In keeping ancient Reliques they are very superstitious, and much devoted to the blessed Virgin Mary, to whom they direct their prayers. They imitate the Dioscorians in eating Whit-meats on Saturday, which to doe on Wednesday and Friday were a deadly sin: neverthelesse, they will not refraine from the eating of flesh on every Friday, betweene the Feast of the Passover & the Ascention. They abstain five Sabboths in the yeare from eating flesh, in a remembrance of that time which the Gentiles did sacrifice their Children unto Idols. They celebrate the Annunciation of the Virgin Marie on the sixt of Aprill, the Nativitie of

Crossings and Crosses.

our blessed Savior on the sixt of January, the Purification the fourth of February, and the Transfiguration the 14. of August. The ministration of their Liturgie or Service, is performed in their native language, that all may understand: but in their Service of the Masse for the dead, they are most idolatrous, using at the solemnizing thereof, to sacrifice a Lambe, which they first lead round about the Church, and after they had killed it and rosted it, they spread it on a faire white Linnen cloath, the Priest giving to each of the Congregation a part and portion thereof. They are (unlesse some few families) so farre from yeelding obedience unto the Sea of Rome, that they assume all Antiquitie unto themselves, as having retained the Christian Faith from the time of the Apostles. Many Jesuites and Priests have beene sent from Rome, to bring this oppressed Nation under her government, but they have little prevailed; for neither will they yeeld obedience, nor be brought by any perswasion to forsake their ancient and inveterate errours, to become more erronious with her.

Lamb-sacrifice.

Having well refreshed our selves amongst these Villages, wee proceeded in our ordinary travell, but ere we had passed two miles, certaine troopes of Curdies incountred our Caravan, with a purpose and intent to have robbed the same, but finding themselves too weak to contend with so great company, they departed untill the next day following, when againe they met with us in a very narrow passage betweene two Mountaines, where they made a stay of our whole Caravan, exacting a Shaughee on every person, which to purchase our peace we willingly paied; and so arrived that evening at Bithlis an ancient Citie, but a Citie of much crueltie and oppression, where little Justice and right is to be found to releeve distressed passengers.

This Citie standeth in a pleasant Valley, by which runneth a little River, falling out of the Mountaines Anti-Tauris, it was once a Towne in the Confines of the Persian Kingdome, bordering upon Mesopotamia, and

Bithlis.

had a Castle kept with a Garrison of Persian Souldiers, before such time as Solyman the Magnificent did conquer these Countries, which was in the yeare 1535. In which yeare there was a memorable battell fought betweene the two great Bassaes of Caire and Syria, conducted by Ulemas the Persian Traitor; and Delymenthes a right Nobleman of Persia. The two Bassaes and Ulemas were commanded by Solyman (in his returne from the spoile of Tauris) to follow him with eighteene thousand good Souldiers in the rereward of his Army, to receive and represse the sudden assaults of the Persians, if need should require. But Delymenthes with five thousand Persian Souldiers pursued the Turkes, and overtooke them in the aforesaid Valley; and being furthered in this venterous designement, both by the darknesse of the night, and the abundance of raine which fell at the same instant, as if it had beene wished for, on a sudden got within the Turkes Campe: where the Persian Souldiers, as Wolves amongst Sheepe, did such speedy execution amongst the sleepy Turkes, that the two great Bassaes and Ulemas had much adoe to get to horse, and save themselves by flight. Few of all that great Army escaped the sword of the Persians. There was three great Sanzacks slaine, one taken, and the other fled, eight hundred Janizaries seeing themselves forsaken of their Captaines, laid downe their Harquebusses, and other Weapons, and yeelded themselves upon Delymenthes his word. In memoriall thereof they still keepe that day (which was the thirteenth of October) as one of their solemne Holy-daies. In Bithlis we stayed two daies; and at our departure paied unto the Governor of the said Citie, a Dollar on a summe of goods, and so set forwards towards the great Citie Van, three daies journey farther. In which travell we had a very wearisome and painefull journey, over high Mountaines and craggy Rockes, the way being exceeding narrow, that a beast could hardly passe with his burthen, without much heaving and tumultuous shouldering. The which narrow passages the Turkes told us, was by the commande-

The great battell fought betweene two great Bassaes & Delymenthes, a valiant Nobleman of Persia.

[II.ix.1426.]

ment of Amurat the third, the Great Turke, cut through by the maine industrie of labourers, for his Armie to passe, like that incredible worke, which Haniball with Vinegar wrought upon the Alpes. In this place our travell was very dangerous, by reason of a brackish Lake or little Sea, called, The Lake Arctamar, which was under the Rocke, over which wee passed, and wee enforced to ride shoaling on the side of the said Rocke, that had not our Mules beene sure of footing, both they and we had perished, with an insupportable downe-fall in that Sea. Two miles from this shoare in the aforesaid Lake are two Ilands, called, the Ecmenicke Ilands, inhabited onely by Armenians, and some Georgians, which two Ilands doe bring forth and yeeld such store of Cattell, and plentie of Rice, Wheat, and Barley, the Garners and Store-houses for all the Countrey round about.

Hand made passage.

Arctamar lake.

The Ecmenick Ilands.

Being arrived at Van, our Caravan rested in the Suburbs of the said Citie, not daring to presume to enter the Citie, by reason that the Bassa was gone to fetch in a rebel, that was risen up in those parts; in whose absence the Citie, under the sub-Bassa, was no better governed then it should bee. On the West side of this Citie lieth a pleasant and delightfull Plaine, wherein the Janizaries twice a weeke doe exercise themselves after their manner in the feats of Warre. On the North side runneth the Lake Arctamar, called in antique time the Moore or Marish, Martiana, or Margiana, or Mantiana. Out of this Lake is caught yeerely an innumerable quantitie of Fish like our Herring, which being dried in the Sunne, they disperse and sell them over all the Countrey thereabout.

The Lake Arctamar. called in ancient time Martiana.

This Citie is double walled with hard quarrie stone, and is the strongest Towne in all these parts, being fortified with great store of brasse Ordnance, and a strong Castle mounted on an high Rocke, to command and defend the Citie. It was once under the governement of the Persian, but Solyman the Magnificent in the yeere 1549. with a puissant Armie did besiege the same, which after ten

The description of Van.

A.D. 1603.

Solyman after ten dayes siege tooke the Citie Van.

dayes siege was yeelded unto him by the Persian Governour, upon condition, that the Persian Souldiers there in Garrison, might with life and libertie depart with their weapons, as Souldiers: which was by Solyman granted, and so the Citie was surrendred up into his hands from the Persian King, who never since could get the same into his possessions. It is governed now by a Bassa, who hath under him twelve thousand Timariots.

Gnusher.

At this Citie we stayed five dayes, paying a Doller on a Summe of goods, and passed from thence to a Turkish Village, called Gnusher, the houses standing in two severall places, the one rew fit for the Winter, and the other for the Summer season.

Ararat.

Here wee began the ascent of the high Mountaines of Ararat, and about noone-tide we beheld Bruz; the very crest of the Periardi Mountaines, now called Cheilder Monte, the hills of Periardo. These Mountaines so called, are very famous by the rising of many notable great Rivers, which doe so fructiferate the Countrey thereabouts, that the barbarous people call it Leprus (which is to say, Fruitfull) viz. First, the River Araxis, which running out of a certaine Marish, with many armes doth wonderfully enrich that Champaine and drie Countrey.

The River Araxis springeth out of the Hill Taurus.

This River springeth out of the hill Taurus in this part, where Periardo is situate, on the side of the Hill Ado, and so runneth by East even to the confines of Servan, and windeth it selfe towards the West, and by North, where it is joyned with the River Cirus,

Nassiuan.

and then passeth to Artaxata, now called Nassivan, a Citie

Reivan.

of the Armenians, right against Reivan another Citie, and so watereth Armenia, and coursing along the Plaine of Araxis, dischargeth it selfe into the Caspian Sea, on the one side by South leaving Armenia, and on the other side by North leaving the Countrey Servania; whose

The River Cirus.

chiefe Citie is Eris. The River Cirus likewise springeth out of Tauras, and so descending into the Champaines and Plaines of Georgie, charging it selfe, and being greatly encreased with other Rivers, it is joyned with Araxis, and so maketh his issue also into the Caspian Sea. This River

the Inhabitants of the Countrey at this day call by the name of Ser, in their owne Language, but the Turkes call it Chiur. Out of these Mountaines also springeth the River Canac, which maketh (as it were almost) an Iland, a little on this side the Citie Eris, and afterwards unite it selfe in the Channell with Araxis, and so runneth into the Caspian Sea. *The River Canac.*

Two other Mountaines are of great note in this place; the one is Anti-Taurus, now called Mons Niger, The blacke Mountaine, which runneth up into Media; and the other Gordæus, the tops of which Mountaines are covered continually with white and hoary Snowes. The Mountaine Gordæus is environed with many other petie Mountaines, called the Gordæan Mountaines; on the tops whereof (as wee passed) wee found many ruines and huge foundations, of which no reason can be rendred. *The Mountaine Anti-Taurus.* *The MountaineGordæus.*

The Turkes call the Mountaine Gordiæus Augri-daugh, the Armenians Messis-Saur: it is so high, that it over-tops all the Mountaines thereabout. There issueth out of the foot of this Hill a thousand little Springs, whereof some doe feed the River Tygris, and some other Rivers, and it hath about it three hundred Villages inhabited by Armenians and Georgians; as also an ancient Monastery dedicated to Saint Gregorie, very large and spacious, able to receive Shaugh Tamas the great King of Persia, and most of his Armie, who for the austere and strict life that he saw in those Religious men, made him to spare it, and to change his determination, having a full purpose before to have destroyed it. About this Monasterie groweth great plentie of Graine, the Graine being twice as big as ours, as also Roses and Rheubarb, which because they have not the skill to drie it, that Simple is of no esteeme or value. On the top of this Mountaine did the Arke of Noah rest, as both Jewes, Turkes and Armenians affirmed. Some Friers of Saint Gregories Monasterie told us, that even at this day some part of the Arke is yet to be seene on the top of this Mountaine, if any could ascend thither, but the way (as they say) is *Gordiæus Mons,whereon Noahs Arke rested.* [II.ix.1427.] *Rheubarb.*

Monkish tale. kept by Angels, so that whosoever shall presume to goe up (as once a Brother of that Monasterie did) shall be brought downe in the night season, from the place which hee had gayned by his travaile in the day time before.

§. II.

Of Araxis, Chiulfal, Sumachia, Derbent, Sechieres, Aras, Tauris, Soltania, Casbin, Argouil, and Gilan.

FRom the foot of this Mountaine, we spent a dayes journey further towards Chiulfall, which day wee travelled through very many narrow Lanes in those Mountaines, and very deepe Valleys, wherein the River Araxis with most outragious turnings and windings, and his many rushing down-falls amongst the Rockes, doth even bedeafe a mans eares, and with his most violent roaming in and out, doth drowne and overwhelm, whosoever by miserable chance falleth downe head-long from the top of those narrow passages, which are upon the Mountaines. And upon the crests of the said Mountaines, on the side of the said narrow passages, there grow most hideous Woods and antique Forrests, full of Beeches: Trees like Poplers carrying Mast fit for Hogs, and Pine-trees; where the horrour of darknesse, and silence which is oftentimes interrupted, onely by the whistling winds, or by the crie of some wild beasts, doe make the poore passengers most terribly afraid.

The River Araxis.

The description of Chiulfal. At length our Caravan ferried over the foresaid River, and so we arrived at Chiulfal, a Towne situated on the frontiers betweene the Armenians and the Atropatians, and yet within Armenia, inhabited by Christians, partly Armenians, partly Georgians: a People rather given to the trafficke of Silkes, and other sorts of wares, whereby it waxeth rich and full of money, then instructed in weapons and matters of warre. This Towne consisteth of two thousand houses, and ten thousand soules, being built at the foot of a great rockie Mountayne in so barren

a soyle, that they are constrained to fetch most of their provision, onely Wine excepted, from the Citie Nassivan, halfe a dayes journey off, which some thinke to be Artaxata, in the confines of Media, and Armenia. The buildings of Chiulfal are very faire, all of hard quarrie stone: and the Inhabitants very courteous and affable, great drinkers of Wine, but no brawlers in that drunken humour, and when they are most in drinke, they powre out their prayers, especially to the Virgin Mary, as the absolute commander of her Sonne Jesus Christ, and to other Saints as Intercessors. It is subject and tributarie to the Scepter of Persia, and contrariwise, both by nature and affection great enemies to the Turke. This Towne was much indangered in the warres betwixt Amurat the great Turke, and Mahomet Codibanda the Persian King, ready to bee swallowed up of both. One while the Bassa of Reivan, on the great Turkes behalfe, made an inrode upon them with a thousand and five hundred Harquebusiers, whom they were faine to pacifie with a very bountifull present, excusing themselves, that if they had beene backward in bringing unto him their voluntarie tributes, it was done for feare, lest they should have fallen into the displeasure of Mahomet Codibanda their King: who no doubt, if he should have understood any such matter, would have beene ready to destroy their Countrey, and deprive them of their libertie and lives. The Bassa was no sooner departed with this answer and their present, but forthwith Aliculi-Cham was sent by the Persian King with three thousand Souldiers, and with this direction, that if the Countrie were subdued by the Turkes, he should fight against it: and if it had voluntarily yeelded it selfe unto them, he should not onely recover it, but also burne it, and bring away all the chiefe men of the Countrey for prisoners and slaves. To avoide which danger, these poore Chiulfalini were glad to present the Persian Prince with great and more liberall gifts, then they did their enemie Bassa. Thus these miserable people, in the midst of Armes and Squadrons of the enemie, were constrained,

The Chiulfallines great drinkers of Wine, but no quarrellers in drinke. Cup-devotion.

Chiulfal much indangered in the last warres betweene the Turke and the Persian.

what with presents, and what with lies, notably to preserve their liberties, and their lives in safetie.

The mortall battell fought betweene Selymus the first, Emperour of the Turkes, and Hismael the Sophie of Persia.

Within a dayes journey and a halfe of this Towne, is the Chalderan Plaines; memorable for the battell fought there, on the seventh day of August, in the yeere 1514. betweene the two great Emperours Ismael King of Persia, and Selymus the first, Emperour of the Turkes. In which battell, Selymus lost above thirtie thousand men. At Chiulfal we stayed eight dayes, and passed againe the River Araxis, leaving the noble Kingdome of Armenia, called now Turcomania, because of the Turcomanes a people that came out of Scythia (as before wee noted) who live as Sheepheards in their Tents, but the native people [II.ix.1428.] give themselves to husbandry, and other manuall sciences, as working of Carpets and fine Chamlets, we were no sooner over, but wee entred into Media; which by some is divided into Media Atropatia, and Media the Great.

Atropatia exceeding fruitfull.

The whole Countrey is very fruitfull, and watred with the River Araxis, and Cyrus, and other Rivers that are famous, even in antique Writers. Divers Cities are there in this Kingdome, but my purpose is to speake onely of those which we saw in these parts, viz. Sumachia, Derbent, Sechi, Eres, and Aras. Sumachia is the Metropoliticall City of Sirvan; and lyeth betweene Derbent and Eres; where the Kings of Sirvan used to keepe their great and sumptuous Courts, chiefly inhabited by Armenians and Georgians. In this City our English Merchants did trafficke much, and had an house given them by Obdowlocan, in the yeere 1566. (as reverend Master Hackluit doth relate) who then raigned there under the Persian King. In this Citie wee saw the ruines of a most cruell and barbarous spectacle, that is to say, a Turret erected with free stone and Flints, in the midst of which Flints, were placed the heads of all the Nobilitie and Gentrie of that Countrey: which fell out on this occasion. This Countrey of Sirvan, in time past was of great renowne, having many Cities, Townes, and Castles in it; the Kings thereof being of great power, able to wage warre with the

Sumachia.

A most barbarous spectacle in Sumachia.

Kings of Persia, but through their diversitie in Religion, the Persian made a conquest of them, razing downe to the ground their Cities, Townes, and Castles, that they should not rebell, and also putting to death their Nobilitie and Gentrie, and for the greater terrour of the people, placed their heads in the foresaid Turret.

About a mile distant from this Towne, is the ruines of an old Castle, once esteemed to be one of the strongest Castles in the world, and was besieged by Alexander the Great, a long time before hee could winne it. And a little further off, was a Nunnery most sumptuously builded, wherein was buried (as they told us) the body of Ameleke Canna, the Kings Daughter, who slew her selfe with a Knife, for that her Father would have forced her (shee professing chastitie) to have married with a Prince of Tartary: upon which occasion the Virgins of this Countrey doe resort thither once a yeere to lament her death. This Citie is distant from the Caspian Sea, with Camels seven dayes journey, and from Derbent sixe dayes journey; it was in the yeere 1578. yeelded up unto Mustaffa, the Generall of the Turkish Armie, without resistance, who presently did surprize the Citie, intreating all the Inhabitants in friendly manner, without doing or suffering any outrage to bee done upon them; but for this their Infidelitie in voluntarie yeelding themselves to follow the Religion of the Turkes, when as they were not induced thereunto by any necessitie; Emirhamze eldest Sonne to Mahomet Codibanda King of Persia, comming with his Armie into Servan, did with great crueltie punish the miserable and infortunate Commons of this Citie, making their houses even with the ground, destroying both the old and new walls thereof, and bringing the whole land to nought, that sometimes was so desired, a receit of the Turkes.

The Persian Prince punisheth the Inhabitants of Sumachia, with divers kinds of tortures and deaths.

Sixe dayes journey from this Citie, lyeth Derbent; This Citie hath sundrie names given unto it by Writers: Sometimes it is called Derbent, because it is in figure narrow and long: and sometimes Demir-Capi, because

Derbent builded by Alexander the Great. Caucasiæ Portæ.

there were the Iron Gates, that were sometimes the entrance into Scythia: and sometimes Alessandria; because it was first erected by Alexander the Great, when he warred against the Medes and Persians; at which time also he made a Wall of a wonderfull height and thicknesse, which extended it selfe from this Citie, to a Citie in Armenia, called Teflis, belonging to the Georgians. And though it bee now razed and decayed, yet the foundation remaineth: and it was made to this purpose, that the Inhabitants of that Countrey, newly conquered by Alexander, should not lightly flie, nor their enemies easily invade them. This Citie is seated upon an high Hill, and builded all of Free-stone much after our buildings, being very high and thicke: neverthelesse, it never grew great nor famous, and even in these dayes, there is no reckoning made of it: and the reason is, because of the situation, serving for passage onely out of Tartaria into Persia, and out of Persia into Tartaria, receiving those that travell too and fro, not as Merchants and men of Commerce, but as passengers and travellers; and to speake in a word, it is seated in a very necessary place, as the case standeth, by reason that it is Ports of the Caspian Sea, but not profitable unto it selfe: much like as it is in the passages of the Alpes, where though the French-men, Switzers, Dutch-men, and Italians, continually doe passe by them; yet was there never found a meane Citie, much lesse any Citie of state and importance.

The great Wall which Alexander built betweene Derbent and Teflis.

Sechi.

About foure dayes journey from Sumachia, in Sechi, which also at the same time as Sumachia offered themselves to Mustapha, as vassals and subjects to the Turkes, who all were gladly entertained of him, and some of the chiefe of them apparelled in silke and gold, and honored with great magnificence, and in the end had all protection promised unto them. Here also standeth the Citie Eres, most fruitfully watered with the River Araxis and Cyrus, and hath yeelded in times past great store of those fine white Silkes, commonly termed by the Merchants Mamodæan Silkes, whereof at this day, there is not to be found,

Eres made Mamodæan Silkes.

no, not a very small quantitie, by reason of the monstrous ruines and overthrowes, that hath happened in these Countries, partly by the Armies of the great Turke, and partly by the Armie of the Persians, which still had succeeded one another in their cruell incursions, and bloudie invasions. For after the people of Sechi and Eres had yeelded themselves voluntarily without any resistance unto Mustapha great Amurats Generall; [II.ix.1429.] Emirhamze the Persian Prince, came upon them with his Armie, as upon rebels, to inflict deserved punishment. In effecting of which his purpose, hee spared neither sexe, nor age, nor any condition, but though the persons were unequall, yet was the punishment equall to all, carrying away with him the two hundred peeces of Artillerie, that were left in the Fort by Mustapha, and presently sent them to Casbin to his father.

Arasse the most chiefe and opulent Citie in the trade of Merchandize that is in all Servania.

There is also in this Kingdome another Citie, that bordereth upon the Georgians, called Arasse, being the most chiefe and opulent Citie in the trade of Merchandise, partly by the aboundant growth of Silke there nourished, partly by other good and necessary commodities, there growing and there brought, as rough and smooth Galles, Cotten wooll, Allome; besides all kinds of Spices, and Drugs, and Diamonds, and Rubies, and other Stones brought out of the East Indies. But the principall commoditie is raw Silke of all sorts; so that from hence hath beene and is carried yeerely five hundred, and sometimes a thousand mules laden of Silke to Aleppo in Syria. From this towne we spent six daies travell to Tauris, passing over the River Araxis, leaving Media Atropatia, and entring into Media the great. The chiefe of this Country is Tauris, memorable for the resiance once of the Prophet Daniel, who neere unto the same, builded a most magnificent Castle, which many yeeres remained a marvellous Monument; the beautie whereof was so lively and perfect, that continuance of time did little deface it, being very fresh and flourishing in the time of Josephus. In this Castle were all the Kings of Media, Persia, and

The Castle which Daniel the Prophet is said to have builded. Josephus Anti. lib. 10. 11.

Parthia for many yeeres together intombed. But now time hath worne it out, it faring with buildings as with mens bodies, they wax old, and are infeebled by yeeres, and loose their beautie: neverthelesse, Ecbatana now called Tauris remaines in great glory unto this day. It is seated at the foot of the Hill Orontes, eight dayes journey or there abouts from the Caspian Sea, and is subject to Windes, and full of Snow; yet of a very wholesome ayre, abounding with all things necessary for the sustentation of man: wonderfull rich, as well by the perpetuall concourse of Merchandises; that are brought thither from the Countries of the East, to bee conveyed into Syria, and into the Countries of Europe; as also of those that come thither out of the Westerne parts, to be distributed over all the East. It is very populous, so that it feedeth almost two hundred thousand persons: but now open to the fury of every Armie without strength of wals, and without Bulwarkes, saving a Castle built of late by the Turkes. The buildings are of burnt Clay, and rather low then high. On the South side of this Citie, is a most beautifull and flourishing Garden, large and spacious, replenished with sundry kinds of Trees, and sweete smelling Plants, and a thousand Fountaines and Brookes, derived from a pretie River, which with his pleasant streame divides the Garden from the Citie: and is of so great beautie, that for the delicacy thereof, it is by the Countrey Inhabitants, called Sechis-Genet, that is to say, The eight Paradises: and was in times past, the standing house of the Persian Kings, whilest they kept their residence in this Citie, and after they with-drew their seate from thence, by reason of the Turkish warres to Casbin, became the habitation and place of aboad for the Persian Governors. Sundry mutations even of late yeares hath this Citie indured both by the great Turke and the Persian. For in the yeare 1514. it was yeelded to Selymus the Turkish Tyrant, who contrary to his promise, exacted a great masse of Money from the Citizens, and carried away with him three thousand families, the best Artificers in that Citie, especially

The description of Tauris.

Tauris yeeldeth to Selymus the first, 1514.

such as were skilfull in making of Armour and weapons, onely to inrich and appopulate the great Citie Constantinople. Afterwards, in the yeare 1535. it was againe spoyled by Solyman the Turkish Emperour, who gave the whole Citie for a prey unto his Souldiers, who left neither house nor corner thereof unransacked, abusing the miserable Citizens with all manner of insolency: every common Souldier without controlement, fitting himselfe with whatsoever best pleased his greedy desire or filthy lust: beside the most stately and royall Palace of King Tamas, together with the most sumptuous and rich houses of the Nobilitie, were by the great Turkes commandement all rased downe to the ground, and the greatest part of the best Citizens, and beautifull personages of all sort and condition were carried away captives. And in the yeare 1585. it was miserably spoyled by Osmun Vizier, unto Amurat the third, who commanded his Souldiers to doe the worst that possibly they could or might doe to it. Abas now King of Persia, reposing no lesse confidence in his owne good fortune, then the valour of his Souldiers marched in the yeare 1603. with his Army directly to the Citie of Tauris, and that with such expedition, that he was come before it, before any such thing was feared, much lesse provided for. In which siege he for battery used the helpe of the Canon, an engine of long time by the Persian scorned, as not beseeming valiant men, untill that by their owne harmes taught; they are content to use it, being with the same, as also with skilfull Canoniers, furnished by the Portugals from Ormuz. So that after sixe weekes siege, this Citie was surrendred into the Persians hands, to the great rejoycing of all Persia, together with the whole Country of Servan, except a Fort or two which still stands out.

Sacked by Solyman, 1535.

Miserably spoiled by Osman Vizier, 1583.

At this Citie we paid a Doller on a summe of goods, and five Shaughes to the keeper of the Caine wherein we lodged, and set forward to the wealthy Citie of Casbin, distant from Tauris ten daies journey; passing the three first daies over many rough and craggy Mountaines, full

[II.ix.1430.] of a thousand difficulties, which were the more increased by wonderfull great snowes that were fallen, by meanes whereof many Passengers, Horses and Mules (if our guide had not beene good) had perished in one common destruction. Every night we had great flashes of lightning, and huge Thunder-claps, with great store of raine and snowes, which did much annoy our whole Caravan. We had no sooner left those hard passages, but we were forthwith encountred by a gallant troop of Persian horse-men, who lay up and downe the Borders by the Kings Commandement, to murther all Turkish Merchants that should passe that way: upon revenge of the death of a Persian Merchant, who being richly arrived at Van, (a little before our comming) was injuriously deprived both of his goods and life. Hereupon the Governour of this troope, demanded of our Caravan-Bassa (who was a Chiulphalin) to deliver up into his hands, all the Turkie Merchants that were in our company; to which request he durst not condescend affirming, that there was none but Jewes and Christians under his conduct; and withall bestowed on him a bountifull present, of two hundred and fiftie Dollers, which was levied amongst us.

Our first entry into the Persian kingdome.

By this time we came to the full Borders, and out-most bounds then of the great Turkes Dominion, so farre as the Othoman Empire on this side doth extend; and so entred into the Territories of the Persian King: both which are

Duzim.

divided by the high Mountaine Duzim, and by a pretie River that runneth at the foote thereof. This night we

Darnah.

rested at a Persian Village, called Darnah, much ruinated, but seated in a very delightfull place, both for Springs of Water, and plentie of all things. For heere we bought foure Hens for five pence, a Kid for ten pence, and thirtie Egges for two pence. From Darnah we spent three daies further to Soltania, a very ancient Citie, travelling by

Great quiet in Persia.

many Persian Villages, and finding every man at his labour, and neighbour with neighbour going from one Towne to another, which bred much contentment, and made us wonder at the great peace and tranquilitie, which the

Commons of Persia live in above the Commons of Turkie. The ruines of many faire Christian Churches we beheld, but not without pitie, built all with great Arches and high Towers, elaborate with Gold, and other rich paintings to the beautifying of the same.

The description of Soltania.

At Soltania wee safely arrived. This desolate Towne is on every side environed with huge Mountaines, whose tops are to be seene a farre off, alwaies covered with deepe Snowes, called in ancient time Nyphates, Caspius, Coathras and Zagras, taking their beginning no doubt of Caucasus, the Father of Mountaines; which joyning one to another, some one way, some another, doe divide most large and wide Countries. Before this Towne lyeth a very great and spacious plaine, memorable for that dreadfull and horrible Tempest, which fell on Solyman the Turkish Emperour, and his whole Armie, in the yeare 1534. For whilest hee lay incamped in these plaine fields with his Army, there fell downe such an horrible and cruell Tempest from the Mountaines, as the like whereof the Persians had never seene before at that time of the yeare, being in the beginning of September; and that with abundance of Raine, which froze so eagerly as it fell, that it seemed the depth of Winter, had even then of a sodaine beene come in: for such was the rage of the blustering Winds, striving with themselves, as if it had beene for victorie, that they swept the Snow from the top of those high Mountaines, and cast it downe into the plaines in such abundance, that the Turkes lay as men buried alive in the deepe Snow, most part of their Tents being overthrowne, and beaten downe to the ground, with the violence of the Tempest and weight of the Snow, wherein a wonderfull number of sicke Souldiers and others of the baser sort which followed the Campe perished, and many other were so benummed, some their hands, some their feete, that they lost the use of them for ever: most part of their beasts which they used for carriage, but specially their Camels were frozen to death. Neither was there any remedy to be found for so great mischiefes, by reason

A most horrible and terrible tempest.

of the hellish darknesse of that tempestuous night, most of their fires being put out, by the extreamitie of the storme: which did not a little terrifie the superstitious Turkes, as a thing accounted of them ominous.

The description of Casbin. From Soltania we spent foure daies travell to Casbin, passing by many Villages, where we paid a Shaughee a piece to the Beg or Governor of the Village, not as a custome, but as a free gratuitie, and so entred into the Territories of Casbin, a Citie very wealthy, by reason of the Kings Palace, and the great concourse of Merchants which resort thither. It was in ancient time, called Arsacia, as in Strabo; but now tearmed Casbin, which in the Persian language, signifieth chastisement, or a place of punishment, because the Kings were wont to banish or confine such persons, as for their offences and misdemeanours, had deserved such chastisement. This Citie is seated in a goodly fertile plaine of three or foure daies journey in length, furnished with two thousand Villages, to serve the necessary uses thereof: but evill builded, and for the most part all of Brickes, not hardned with fire, but onely dried in the Sunne; as are most parts of the buildings of all Persia. It is now one of the seats of the Persian Kings Empire, which was translated by King Tamas, (this Kings Grand-father) from Tauris, who built one goodly Seraglio for himselfe, and another for his Women, and hath beene ever since continued by his Successors, though the King that now raigneth makes most of his abode in Hispaan, fourteen daies journy farther towards the East, There are three places in the Citie most of note: viz. the [II.ix.1431.] Kings Palace, the Bassars, and the At-Maidan. The gate of the Kings Palace, is built with stone of divers colours, and very curiously enamuled with Gold: on the seeling within, is carved the warres of the Persian Kings, and the sundry battels fought by them against the Turks and Tartars; the pavements of the roomes beneath, and Chambers above are spread with most fine Carpets, woven and tessued with Silke and Gold, all Ensignes and Monuments of the Persian greatnesse. There is likewise in

this Citie sundry Bassars, where in some you may buy Shasses and Tulipants, and Indian cloath, of wonderfull finenesse: in others Silkes of all sorts, as Velvets, Damaskes, Cloath of Gold and Silver: in others infinite Furres, as Sables and Martine out of Muscovia, and Agiam Furres brought from Corassan. In a word, every street hath a severall Science or Trade, wherein is sold whatsoever is fit and necessary for the use of man.

Bassars are certaine streets of Trafficke.

The At-Maidan, is the high speech or chiefe Market place in this Citie; and is foure-square, containing in circuit very neere a mile; and serves as a Bursse for all sorts of Merchants to meete on, and also for all others to sell whatsoever Commodities they possesse, so that in one place is selling of Horses, Mules and Camels; in another place Carpets, Garments, and Felts of all sorts; and in another, all kind of Fruits, as Muske-mellons, Anguries, Pomegranats, Pistaches, Adams Apples, Dates, Grapes, and Raisins dryed in the Sunne. In this place do sit daily twelve Sheriffes, that is, men to buy and sell Pearle, Diamonds, and other pretious stones, and to exchange Gold and Silver, to turne Spanish Dollers to great advantage into Persian Coyne; and to change the great pieces of the Persian Coyne, as Abbasses, Larines, and such like into certaine Brasse Monies for the poore. They will also lend upon any pawne, and that with as great interest as our divellish Brokers and Scriveners take in London. Finally, the strength of this Citie consisteth not in walls and bulwarkes, but in the Souldiers that are continually maintained in and about this Citie; for out of Casbin, and in the Villages belonging unto the same, are maintained twenty thousand Souldiers on horsebacke, howsoever in this Kings Fathers time were livied but twelve thousand.

Two places neere to this Citie, are very remarkable; the one is the Citie Ardouil; the other Giland. Ardouil is a Citie foure daies journey from Casbin, and two from Soltania. A Citie of great importance, where Alexander the great did keepe his Court, when he invaded Persia. It

Ardouil the first place that received the Persian superstition.

is a towne much esteemed and regarded, by reason of the Sepulchers of the Kings of Persia, which for the most part lye there intombed: and so is growne a place of their superstitious devotion; as also because it was the first place which received the Persian Sect, wherein Giuni the first Author thereof did reside and raigne.

The other place neere to Casbin, remarkable in the Country of Gilan, in the Province of Hircania. The North part of this Kingdome is full of thicke Woods and shadowy Groves, wherein grow divers sorts of Trees, but specially Cedars, Beeches and Oakes, a fit harbour and shelter for Tygres, Panthers, and Pardies, which wilde beasts make the passage in those places very dangerous: but neere to the Sea side it is full of pasture, and very delightfull, by reason of the manifold sweete Springs which issue out of the Mountaine neere adjoyning. Many principall Cities are there in this Countrey, as Bestan, Massandran, Pangiazer, Bachu and Gheilan, Cities of such state and condition, as deserve to have a Governour of the same dignitie, that the Bassa is with the Turkes.

Bachu. Concerning Bachu, it is a very ancient Haven-towne, very commodious for Ships to harbour in, as also profitable to vent Commodities, by reason that Ardouill, Tauris, Eres, Sumachia, and Derbent, lye not many daies from thence. Neere unto this Towne, is a very strange and wonderfull Fountaine under ground, out of which there

Oyle springeth out of the ground. springeth and issueth a marvellous quantitie of blacke Oyle, which serveth all the parts of Persia to burne in their houses; and they usually carrie it all over the Countrey, upon Kine and Asses, whereof you shall oftentimes meete three or foure hundred in company.

Gheilan. Gheilan and the rest stand likewise altogether in Trafficke: Gheilan being but foure easie daies travell from Casbin, and very neere unto the Caspian Sea.

From Casbin we set forwards to the great and populous Citie of Hispaan, lodging every night either in a Persian Village, or in a faire Caine built of stone, where we found all kind of provision necessary for our selves and

beasts, travelling sixe or seven in a company: company sufficient, by reason of the great peace and tranquilitie, which the Persians live in above the Turkes; and so having spent sixe daies, we arrived at Com, a very ancient Citie. This Citie is called by Ptolomie, Guriana, and was so great in times past, that the Inhabitants affirmed unto us, that when it was in his flourishing estate, it was twice as big as Constantinople; but it was much ruinated by Tamerlane, and ever since hath lien in the dust without repaire, Cassan carrying away the Trade of Merchandize from her, which was once the Mistresse and Lady thereof. It is well seated for water, and all other necessaries, having a spacious River running by it, with a stone bridge over the same: the which we no sooner passed, but we entred into the bounds of Parthia; a Kingdome once famous, but now so mingled with Persia, that the very name of Parthia, is quite extinguished among them.

The Citie Com, once twice as big as Constantinople.

§. III. [II.ix.1432.]

Of Cassan and Hispaan. Of the Persian King and Government. Of Sir Anthony Sherley.

AFter two daies travell from Com, wee arrived at Cassan, a principall Citie in Parthia, very famous and rich, howsoever Ortelius and others make no mention of it. This Citie is seated in a goodly Plaine, and because it hath no Mountaines neere it, but within a daies journey, the heate is very fastidious, as great almost as it is in Ormuz: the Spring and Harvest is sooner in this Climate, then in any other parts of the Persian Dominions. It wanteth neither Fountaines, Springs, nor Gardens, but aboundeth with all necessaries whatsoever: consisting altogether in Merchandize, and the best Trade of all the Land is there, being greatly frequented with all sorts of Merchants, especially out of India. The people are very industrious and curious in all sciences, but especially in weaving Girdles and Shashes, in making Velvets, Sattins, Damaskes, very good Ormuzenes, and

The description of Cassan.

Persian Carpets of a wonderfull finenesse; in a word, it is the very Magazeen and Ware-house of all the Persian Cities for these stuffes. Here may you buy all manner of Drugs and Spices, and Turkasses, with store of Pearle, Diamonds, and Rubies; as also all sorts of Silkes, as well wrought as raw. I am perswaded, that in one yeare there is more Silke brought into Cassan, then is of Broad-cloath brought into the Citie of London. This Citie is much to be commended for the civill and good government, which is there used. An idle person is not permitted to live among them: the childe that is but sixe yeare old is set to labour: no ill rule, disorder, or riot, is there suffered. For they have a Law among them, (resembling the Ægyptian Law which Diodorus mentioneth) whereby every person is compelled to give his name to the Magistrates, therewith declaring what kind of life hee liketh, how he liveth, and what art hee exerciseth. And if any doe tell untruly, is either well beaten on the feete, or imployed in publike slavery. The greatest annoyance that this Citie is infested withall, is the aboundance and multitude of blacke Scorpions, of an exceeding greatnesse, which many times doe much harm, if a speciall care be not had of them. At this citie Master John Mildenall and my selfe parted company; he travelling to Lahor in the East Indies; and my selfe setting forwards to the great Citie of Hispaan, three daies travell distant from Cassan.

Civill and good government.

The Persian law against idlenesse.

Scorpions.

Of M. Mildnall, ye have sup. l. 3. c. 1.

The description of Hispaan.

This Citie in times past, was called Ecatompolis, the Citie of a hundred gates: and well it may keepe that name still, since the huge wals of the same containe in circuit an easie daies journey on horsebacke, and is become the greatest Citie in all the Persian Dominions: which is so much the more magnified and made populous, by reason of the Kings resiance therein. Very strong is this Citie by situation, compassed about with a very great wall, and watered with deep Channels of running Springs, conveighed into it, from a part of the Coronian Mountaines, which are as a wall inaccessible about it. On the

North side is erected a strong Fort or Castle, being compassed about with a wall of a thousand and seven hundred yards, and in the midst thereof is built a Tower, or rather a strong keepe, sundry Chambers and lodgings therein, but stored with little Ordnance. On the West side of this Citie standeth two Seraglios, the one for the King, the other for his Women; Palaces of great state and magnificence, far exceeding all other proud buildings of this Citie: the wals glister with red Marble, and pargeting of divers colours, yea all the Palace is paved with Checker and Tesseled worke, and on the same is spread Carpets wrought with Silke and Gold: the windowes of Alabaster, white Marble, and much other spotted Marble; the Poasts and Wickets of massie Ivory, chekered with glistering blacke Ebony, so curiously wrought in winding knots, as many easier stay, then satisfie the eyes of the wondring beholder. Neere unto this Palace, is a Garden very spacious and large, all flourishing and beautifull, replenished with a thousand sundry kinds of grafts, trees, and sweet smelling Plants, among which the Lilly, the Hyacinth, the Gilly-flower, the Rose, the Violet, the Flower-gentle, and a thousand other odoriferous flowers, doe yeeld a most pleasant and delightfull sight to all beholders. There are a thousand Fountaines, and a thousand Brookes; among them all, as the father of them all, a pretie River, which with his milde course and delightsome noyse, doth divide the Garden from the Kings Palace; neither is this Garden so straitly lookt unto, but that both the Kings Souldiers and Citizens, may and doe at their pleasures oftentimes on horse-backe, repaire thither to recreate themselves in the shadowes and walkes of those greenes.

The fort of Hispaan.

The Kings Seraglio.

The Kings Garden.

And as a Guard for the gate of this sumptuous Palace, the King keepeth certine orders of Souldiers: whereof the most Noble and the greatest in number, are called Churchi, which are as it were, the Kings Pensioners, being eight thousand in number, all of them divided under severall Captaines: which Captaines do yeeld obedience

The Guard of the Kings Palace.

to the generall Captaine, called Churchi-Bassa, a man alwaies of great authoritie. Next unto this order is another, called Esahul, to the number of a thousand, distinguished also under particular Captaines, and the chiefe Captaine is called Esahul-Bassa. All these are maintained by certaine Townes and Villages, which are Feudataries to the Crowne of Persia; and they receive at certaine times of the King, armor, horses, apparell, and [II.ix.1433.] Tents, every one as hee is in place and degree: with this strong Garrison is the King daily attended upon, and maintayneth the Majestie of his Court, especially when hee rideth in progresse.

The order of the Persian dignities in Hispaan.

The Sultanes.

And for the government of this Citie, there is besides the King and the Prince twelve Sultanes, but three especially are appointed by the King, for the generall government of the whole Empire, having their severall distinct charges. One hath the care of all Martiall Affaires throughout the Kingdome: and the other two receive all the Revenues, keeping a just account thereof, which two we may call Treasurers. Next unto these are the Mordari, two great Chancellours, whose Office is to write all Orders, Commandements, and Letters concerning the government of the Kingdome: one of them keepeth the Seale, and the other the Pen. Besides, these there are two Caddi, that is, two Judges, who make Answere and give Sentence onely in matters of Controversie and civill Quarrels; but as touching criminall Causes, they have no further authoritie, then to frame Examinations of Witnesses, and to make declaration thereof, which they call the Sygill, and this Sygill they deliver up into the hands of the Sultan, that is eyther Governour of the Citie, or else of the Empire, and he causeth execution to bee done according to custome. And looke as Hispaan is governed, so other Cities have the selfe-same Magistrates, all being at the Kings disposition and appointment.

The Treasurers.

The great Chancellours.

The Caddi, or Judges.

The Mustaedini.

Concerning the Church government, there is in this Citie, first the chiefe of the Law whom they call the Mustaedini, a wicked and prophane Priest: and in the

other subject Cities are certaine peculiar heads, obedient to this chiefe Priest, who are not chosen and displaced at his pleasure, as the Popish Bishops are by the Pope, but by the King himselfe, who is not onely a King, but a Priest, as Mahomet and Aly were. But to avoid trouble, the King granteth that favour, and putteth over that burden from himselfe unto others, to whose judgement, he also refer-reth himselfe, whensoever any consultation is touching their Law or prophane Superstition. Under this great Priest are Califes, and these doe daily execute service in the Moschees or Temples. The chiefe of these Califes is hee that putteth the Horne upon the Kings head, when he is first inthronized. A Ceremonie once performed in Cafe neere Babylon, but since Solyman the Turkish Emperour wonne Assyria from the Persian, it hath beene sometimes performed in Casbin, and sometimes in Hispaan.

The Califes.

Finally, the Inhabitants of this Citie doe much resemble the ancient Parthians in divers things, but specially in their continuall riding. They ride on horse-backe for the most part, on horse-backe they fight with the Enemie, they execute all Affaires as well publike as private on horse-backe, they goe from place to place on horse-backe, they buy and sell, and on horse-backe they conferre and talke with one another; and the difference betweene the Gentle-man and the slave is, that the slave never rideth, nor the Gentleman never goeth on foote. Besides, the nature of people is arrogant seditious, deceitfull, and very unquiet, but that the fiercenesse of their nature is much restrayned by the Kings severe government. To sensualitie they are much inclined, having three sorts of women, as they terme them, viz. honest women, halfe honest women and Cour-tezans; and yet they chastise no offence with like extremitie as Adulterie, and that as well in the halfe honest woman, as in the honest. Last of all they are full of craftie stratagems, and are breakers of their promise (a vice that is very inbred in all Barbarians.) Not content with any mans government long: and lovers of Novelties.

The nature of the Persians.

The Persians given to sensualitie.

The Persians very incon-stant.

Abas, howsoever by the shedding of much bloud,* he was saluted King, upon the death of his Father, yet hath he so carryed the matter, that now he is exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, in so much that when they will confirme any thing by solemne Oathes, they will sweare by the head of Abas the King, and when they wish well to any man, they usually say, King Abas grant thee thy desire.

**As some affirm by Matthew of his elder brother & of his father: so this Author: but Sir A. Sherley farre otherwise as in the next Chapter you may see.*

The description of the Persian King.

This Prince is very absolute both in perfection of his bodie, and his minde (but that he is in Religion a professed Mohumetan) excellently composed in the one, and honourably disposed in the other. Of an indifferent stature, neither to high nor to low. His countenance very sterne, his eyes fierce and piercing, his colour swarffie, his Mustachees on his upper lip long, with his beard cut close to his chinne, expressing his martiall disposition, and inexorable nature, that at the first a man would thinke to have nothing in him, but mischiefe and crueltie. And yet he is of nature courteous, and affable, easie to bee seene and spoken withall: his manner is to dine openly in the company of his greatest Courtiers, delighting much in hawking and hunting accompanied with his Nobilitie, and the Ambassadours of forraine Princes. Hee will oftentimes runne, leape, and prove masteries with his chiefe Courtiers, beeing himselfe a most excellent Horseman and cunning Archer.

Usually every morning he visiteth his Stables of great Horses, and according to an old custome of the Persian Kings, the Souldiers of his Court (before mentioned) doe receive Horses at his hands, as he is in place and degree.

The Persian Horses very good.

And these their Horses are of singular vertue, equall with those of the old time, which (as Strabo writeth) were accustomed to bee fed and brought up in Armenia for the Kings use. They are wonderfull swift in course, fierce in battell, long breathed and very docible: when they are unsadled, they are gentle and milde, but when they are armed, they are warlike, hardie, and manageable even at the pleasure of the Rider. And I have seene of them sold

[II.ix.1434.]

for a thousand, and sometimes a thousand and sixe hundred Duckets a piece.

After hee hath viewed his Horses, hee passeth into his Armoury, certaine buildings neere unto his Palace, where are made very strong Curiasses, or Corselets, Head-peeces, and Targets, most of them able to keepe out the shotte of an Harquebusier, and much more to daunt the force of a Dart. Heere also the King furnisheth his Souldiers, not only with Curiasses, Head-peeces, and Targets; but with Bowes and Arrowes, Pouldrones, and Gauntlets, and with Launces made of good Ash, armed at both ends; with Simatars, and shirts of Maile, most finely and soundly tempered, wherewith both themselves and their Horses are defended in time of Warre. *The weapons of the Persian Souldiers.*

By this time having spent most of the fore-noone, he returneth again into his Palace, and there remaynes till three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time he makes his entry into the At-Maidan, which is the great Market place or high Street of Hispaan: round about this place are erected certaine high Scaffolds, where the multitude do sit to behold the warlike exercises performed by the King and his Courtiers, as their running and leaping, their shooting with Bowes and Arrowes, at a marke both above and beneath, their playing at Tennis, all which they performe on Horse-backe with divers moe too long to write of. In this place also is to bee seene severall times in the yeare, the pleasant sight of Fire-workes, of Banquets, of Musickes, of Wrastlings, and of whatsoever Triumphs else is there to bee shewed, for the declaration of the joy of this people. *The King exercises in the At-Maidan.*

Besides, the King very often in this place, in the presence of the Princes and Peeres of the Realme, will give judgement in divers causes: in the execution of Justice hee is very severe, as well to the greatest as to the meanest, not sparing (as might bee shewed) to hang up his chiefe Caddi or Judges, when he shall perceive how that upon bribes and favour they delay the Suits of his Subjects, against the cleare and manifest truth: And I *His justice.*

have seene him many times alight from his Horse, onely to doe Justice to a poore bodie. Besides, hee punisheth Theft and Man-slaughter so severely, that in an Age a man shall not heare either of the one or of the other. So that since King Abas came unto the Crowne, full twentie yeares and upwards, the Persian Empire hath flourished in sacred and redoubted Lawes, the People demeaning themselves after the best manner they can, abundance of Collections comming plentifully in, the Rents of his Chamber were increased more then ever they were in his Grandfather Tamas his time, Armes, Artes and Sciences, doe wonderfully prosper, and are very highly esteemed.

Sir Anthoney Sherleys arrival in Persia.

To this great Monarch, came Sir Anthonie Sherley, Knight, with sixe and twentie Followers, all gallantly mounted and richly furnished; whose entertaynment was so great, that the Persians did admire, that the King should vouchsafe such high favour to a meere stranger without desert or tryall of his worth. Of whose bountie the World may judge, since within three dayes after his first arrivall the King sent him fortie Horses furnished with Saddles, and very rich trappings: foure of them fit for the proper use of any Prince, twelve Camels for cariage, together with sixe Mules, foure and twentie Carpets, most of them rich and faire, three Tents or Pavilions, with all other necessaries of house; and lastly, sixe men laden with silver. (But of this yee have heard himselfe.)

§. IIII.

The returne of the Author by the way of Persia, Susiana, Chaldaea, Assyria, and Arabia.

HAving tooke my leave of Master Robert Sherley, and the rest of my Countreymen, I left them to the mercy of the King (whose bountie and goodnesse by their returne hath plentifully shewed it selfe) and betooke my selfe to the protection of the Almightie, to bring me in safetie againe into my owne Countrey: being in my returne, accompanied with one Signior Belchior

Dios d'Croce, an Armenian Portugall, or Portugall Armenian, and one Christophero a Greeke, who were sent with Letters from the Governour of Goa, to the King of Spaine, but lost afterwards their lives and Letters by ship-wracke in the Venetian Gulfe. From Hispaan we spent ten dayes travell to Siras, by perswasion of some Persian Merchants that were bound for Aleppo with us, travelling through the very heart of Persia it selfe, paying now and then a Shaughee a piece to certaine Villages in the way, no matter of importance worth the relating till we come to the Citie it selfe.

The description of Siras the ancient Persepolis. The River Bindamir.

Siras is situated on the Bankes of Bindamir, a great and famous River, which courseth through Persia, and the Kingdome of Lar, and so emptieth it selfe into the Persian Gulfe, and was once the Metropoliticall seat of all the Kingdome, untill of late yeares, Hispaan hath gained that priviledge from her. Notwithstanding it is large and spacious contayning very neere ten miles in circuit, and lyeth just in the Road way which leades from Hispaan to Ormuz.

[II.ix.1435.] *Old Monuments.*

In and about this Towne are to be seene the ruines of many ancient Monuments: as two great gates, that are distant one from the other the space of twelve miles, which shewes the circuit of this Citie, as it was in the time of the Monarchie, to be both large and spacious. On the South-side we viewed the ruines of a goodly Palace, builded, as they say, by King Cyrus; a Palace much magnified by Ælianus in his first Booke de animalibus, cap. 59. And on the North-side the ruines of an old Castle, which seemes was girt about with a three-fold wall: the first wall being foure and twentie foot high, adorned and beautified with many Turrets and Spires: the second was like unto the first, but twice as high, and the third was foure square, being foure score and ten foot high. All fabricated of free stone. On each side were twelve Gates of Brasse, with Brazen Pales set before them very curiously wrought: all which did shew the magnificence of the Founder. On the East-side of this ruinous Castle, some

foure Acres of ground distant, is a Mountayne, on which was erected a goodly Chappell, in which most of the Persian Kings in anticke times were intombed. And though this Citie hath endured sundry mutations and changes, yet is it not to bee esteemed one of the least Cities in Persia: for out of it in short time is levied twenty thousand Horsemen well armed. Besides it is one of the greatest and most famous Cities of the East, both for traffique of Merchandize; as also for most excellent Armour and Furniture, which the Armourers with wonderfull cunning doe make of Iron and Steele, and the Juice of certayne Herbs, of much more notable temper and beautie then are those which are made with us in Europe; not onely Head-pieces, Curiasses, and compleate Armours, but whole Caparisons for Horses, curiously made of thinne plates of Iron and Steele.

Excellent Armour made in Syras.

From Siras, having spent eight days travell and better, we entred into the Province of Susiana, now called Cusestan, but in old time Assyria. The bounds of this Countrey, North-wards is on the South part of Armenia. East-ward on a part of Persia: West-ward on Mesopotamia: and South-ward on a part of the Persian Gulfe, which part is full of Fennes and marish Bogges, without either Port or Haven. The Climate in that part is exceeding hot, and very much infested with bituminous matter, which both spoiles the growth of Trees, and corrupt the waters, whereby it comes to passe, that the people are not long lived.

The description of Susa.

Travelling two dayes further from the entrance into this Kingdome, we rested at Valdac, once the great Citie Susa, but now very ruinous. Close by this ruinous Towne swimmeth the famous River Choaspes, which after many turnings and windings through the Countrey of Susiana, dischargeth it selfe in the Persian Gulfe. The water of this River is very delicate to the taste.

The River Choaspes.

Having passed over this River, we set forward towards Mosul, a very ancient Towne in this Countrey, sixe dayes journey from Valdac; and so pitched on the Bankes of

the River Tygris. Here in these Plaines of Assyria, and on the bankes of Tygris, and in the Region of Eden, was Ninive, built by Nimrod, but finished by Ninus. It is agreed by all profane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that this Citie exceeded all other Cities in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it seemes by the ruinous foundation (which I throughly viewed) that it was built with foure sides, but not equall or square; for the two longer sides had each of them (as we ghesse) an hundred and fiftie furlongs; the two shorter sides, ninetie furlongs, which amounteth to foure hundred and eightie furlongs of ground, which makes three score miles, accounting eight furlongs to an Italian mile. The walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth as three Chariots might passe on the rampire in Front: these walls were garnished with a thousand and five hundred Towers, which gave exceeding beautie to the rest, and a Strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times. Now it is destroyed (as God foretold it should be by the Chaldæans) being nothing else, then a sepulture of her selfe, a little Towne of small trade, where the Patriarch of the Nestorians keepes his seat, at the devotion of the Turkes. Sundry times had wee conference with this Patriarch: and among many other speeches which past from him, he wished us, before we departed, to see the Iland of Eden, but twelve miles up the River, which hee affirmed, was undoubtedly a part of Paradise.

The description of Ninive. The magnificient building of Ninive by Ninus.

This Iland lies in the heart of the River Tygris, and is (as we could ghesse) in circuit ten English miles, and was sometimes walled round about with a wall of strong defence, as appeares by the ruinous foundation of Bricke which there remayneth. And howsoever the beautifull Land of Eden is now forgotten in these parts, with those flourishing Countries of Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa, being all swallowed up into meere Barbarisme, yet this Iland still retaynes the name of the Ile of Eden.

The description of the Iland of Eden. Of Paradise see my Pilg. 1. l. c. 3. This Author also had here inserted a discourse thereof, here omitted. Instead whereof I have presented you with the Map.

From the Iland of Eden wee returned to Mosul, and

The description of New Babylon now called Bagdat.

stayed there eight dayes, and so went downe the River Tygris to Bagdat, or New Babylon, being carried not on Boat, as downe the River Euphrates, but upon certaine Zatarres or Rafts, borne upon Goats skins blowne full of wind like Bladders. Which Rafts they sell at Bagdat for fire, and carrie their skins againe home upon Asses by Land, to make other Voyages downe the said River.

By this River the Citie Bagdat is very aboundantly furnished with all kind of provision, both of Corne, Flesh, Fowle, Fish, and Venison of all sorts; besides great store of Fruit, but especially of Dates, and that very cheape. This Citie by some is called New Babylon, and may well be, because it did rise out of the ruines of old Babylon, [II.ix.1436.] not farre distant, being nothing so great, nor so faire: for it containes in circuit but three English miles; and is built but of Bricke dried in the Sunne: their houses also being flat roofed and low. They have no raine for eight *Cleere Skie.* moneths together, nor almost any cloud in the Skie night nor day. Their Winter is in November, December, Januarie and Februarie, which moneths are neverthelesse as warme as our Summer in England. In a word, this Towne was once a place of great trade and profit by reason of the huge Caravans, which were wont to come from Persia, and Balsara: but since the Portugals, Englishmen, and Hollanders have by their traffique into the East Indies, cut off almost all the trade of Marchandize into the Gulfs of Arabia, and Persia, both Grand Cairo in Egypt and Bagdat in Assyria, are not now of that benefit as they have beene, either to the Merchant, or Great Turke; his Tributes both in Egypt, and his Customes in this place being much hindred thereby. After it continued under the Tartar and Persian governement, untill it was taken by Solyman the Turkish Emperour, for Tamas the Persian King, who (after it was yeelded unto him) according to an old superstitious manner, received at the hands of a poore Caliph, the Ensignes and Ornaments of the Kings of Assyria: so this Citie, with the great Countries of Assyria, and Mesopotamia, sometimes famous Kingdomes

Bagdat yeelded unto the Turks. A Caliph is a man reverenced of all Mahometan Princes, and hath an old priviledge in the choice & confirmation of the Assyrian Kings & Sultans of Egypt.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF PARADISE

of themselves, and lately part of the Persian Kingdome, fell into the hands of the Great Turke, in the yeere 1534, and so have continued ever since, Provinces of the Turkish Empire.

Having stayed twentie dayes at Bagdat, we put our selves into the Companie of a Chiaus who was bound from the Bassa of Bagdat, for Constantinople being in number sixteene persons and no more, to travell through a great part of Chaldæa, and the Desart of Arabia. So soone as we were out of this Citie, we passed over the swift River Tygris, on a great Bridge made with Boats, chayned together with two mightie Chaynes of Iron: and so entred into a part of Bagdat, on this side of the River, like London and Southwarke, where we stayed foure dayes.

The Tower of Babel.

Two places of great antiquitie did wee throughly view in the Countrey: the one was, the ruines of the old Tower of Babel (as the Inhabitants hold unto this day) built by Nimrod, the Nephew of [II.ix.1437.] Cham, Noahs sonne. And now at this day, that which remayneth is called, the remnant of the Tower of Babel: there standing as much, as is a quarter of a mile in compasse, and as high as the stone-worke of Pauls Steeple in London. It was built of burnt Bricke cimented and joyned with bituminous Mortar, to the end, that it should not receive any cleft in the same. The Brickes are three quarters of a yard in length, and a quarter in thicknesse, and betweene every course of Brickes, there lieth a course of Mats made of Canes and Palme-tree leaves, so fresh, as if they had beene layd within one yeere.

The description of old Babylon.

The other place remarkable is, the ruines of old Babylon, because it was the first Citie, which was built after the Floud. Some doe thinke, that the ruines of Nimrods Tower, is but the foundation of this Temple of Bell, and that therefore many Travellers have beene deceived, who suppose that they have seene a part of that Tower which Nimrod builded. But who can tell whether it be the one or the other? It may be, that confused

Chaos which wee saw, was the ruines of both, the Temple of Bel being founded on that of Nimrod.

From the ruines of old Babylon wee set forwards to Aleppo; travelling, for the most part, through the Desart Arabia. Having spent three dayes and better, from the ruines of old Babylon, we came to a Towne, called Ait, inhabited onely with Arabians, but very ruinous. Neere unto which Towne is a Valley of Pitch very marvellous to behold, and a thing almost incredible, wherein are many Springs, throwing out aboundantly a kind of blacke substance like unto Tarre and Pitch, which serveth all the Countries thereabouts to make staunch their Barkes and Boats; every one of which Springs maketh a noise like a Smiths Forge, in puffing and blowing out the matter, which never ceaseth night nor day, and the noyse is heard a mile off, swallowing up all weighty things that come upon it. The Moores call it, The mouth of Hell.

The mouth of Hell.

Three daies spent we on this Desart, and so arrived at Anna, a towne of three miles in length, but very narrow, inhabited altogether with Curdies, a most theevish people. Here we stayed two daies, and could not be suffered to passe without a present to the Governor of this towne, which came to a Ducket a piece. Close by this Towne runneth the River Euphrates, with a very swift current, which doth marvellously fructiferate the Countrey round about, whereby wee provided our selves of all necessaries fit for travell through the rest of the Desart.

Anna a Towne in Arabia.

From this Towne we proceeded, and every second night, through the good discretion of our Guide, we pitched on the banke of the River Euphrates, which much refreshed our selves and wearied beasts, beholding every day, great Droves of wild beasts, as wild Asses all white, Gasels, Wolves, Leopards, Foxes, and Hares. And now to winde up all, in passing from Babylon to Aleppo, they ordinarily with Camels spend fortie dayes, travelling through this sorry and barren Desart, lying unmanured, because of the scarcitie of moysture. Howbeit, we used not their service, by reason of the speed which the Chiaus made

for Constantinople, so that the travell which the Caravan is fortie dayes about, we passed in eighteene dayes in much securitie, and so in great safety, by the mercy of God, I arrived againe in Aleppo.

Chap. V.

The Peregrination of Benjamin the sonne of Jonas, a Jew, written in Hebrew, translated into Latin by B. Arias Montanus. Discovering both the state of the Jewes, and of the world, about foure hundred and sixtie yeeres since.

AN Epitome of the Relations of Benjamin the sonne of Jonas of Tudela, of the Province of Navarra, or Cantabria, who earnestly undertaking a Journey, and travelling very many and the most remote Countries, hath described all those things, which either he himselfe saw, or received *from men of approved credit, and reported the same in Spaine: nor hath hee onely mentioned such things, but the greatest part also of the renowmed and principall men (Israelites) who abode in every particular place by him diligently viewed. At length returning into the Countrey of Castella, hee declared all these things to his people, in the yeere 933. (after the Jewish account, from the Creation.)

*That is of Jews whose Faith is displeasing to God, and contrarie to all men; the faithfulnesse also of their relations is not without suspicion in some Relations received from them, in some but Jewish Fables. A good Author in the things hee hath seene, and few ever have seene more. His Universities here often mentioned, understand Synagogues or Schooles of Jewes: and the Governours of Jewes to be but in those Schooles, or some petie rule over their owne, bought by money, &c. Let the Reader also observe that some things may be true which seeme strange, and that the Turkes in Europe, they and the Tartars in Asia have much altered the face of the World since Benjamins Travels, which happened about A.D. 1160.

[II.ix.1438.]

§. I.

Of the Jewes and their Synagogues, Schooles, or Universities, and other his Observations in Europe.

Cæsar Augusta.

BEnjamin the sonne of Jonas, of approved memorie hath said: First, departing from the Citie Cæsar Augusta, according to the direction of the River Iberus, I came to Tortosa, and from thence I went to

Tortosa.

Tarracona.

Tarracona, an ancient Citie built by the sonnes of Enac, and the Grecians, the like excellencie of which building is found in no other Countries of Spaine; and the Citie it selfe bordereth upon the Sea. But two dayes journey from thence I entred into Barchinonia, in the which there is a sacred Synagogue frequented by [a]wise and prudent men, and also adorned with noble men, among whom are, Master Seseth, and Sealthiel, and Selomoth the sonne of Abraham, the sonne of Hhazzidai of happie memorie. And it is little, but a fine Citie, seated upon the very Sea shoare, divers Merchants from all Countries resorting thither, being a famous Mart-towne for the Grecians, Pisanes, Genueses, Sicilians, Egyptians, Alexandrians, and out of the Land of Israel, and all the borders thereof. But departing from thence one dayes journey and an halfe, I came to Gerunda, where there is a little Synagogue of the Jewes. Three dayes journey from thence, I went to Narbona, which Citie giveth Lawes to the rest: for out of it, the Law goeth forth into all Countries; where, there are wise men, both great, and honourable, especially Kalonymos the sonne of the great and honourable Theodorus of good memorie, of the seed of David[b] by true descent and genealogie, who hath Inheritances and Lands from the Princes of the Countries, fearing the force or violence of no man. Abraham also, principally, is Head of the assemblie, and Machir, and Jehuda, and others like unto these, the Disciples of Wise-men: and, there are almost three hundred Jewes therein at this day.

Barchinonia.

[a] *The Jewes call their Rabbins and Students in Traditions by this arrogant name and the stile of their tradition Lecture was,* σοφοὶ δευτερωσεως.

Gerunda.

Narbona.

[b] *If the Jewish braggarts may be beleeved. I cannot learne, and learned men denie that the Jewes in their present confusion*

A.D. C. 1160.

Foure leagues from thence, I came unto the Citie Bidrasch, in the which there is an Universitie[c] adorned with the Disciples of Wise-men; whose Heads are, Selomoh Hhalpetha, and Joseph the sonne of Nathanael of good memorie. But, travelling two dayes journey from thence, I went to Mons Tremulus, in times past, Pessulanus, now called by the Inhabitants, Mompelier; a Citie convenient for trafficke and merchandizing, two leagues distant from the Sea, frequented by divers Nations for the entercourse of merchandise, Idumæans, and Ismaelites of Algarba, Longobardes, and from the Kingdome of great Rome, and out of all the Land of Egypt and Israel, from all the Countrey of France, Spaine, and England, and of all the languages of the Nations are there found, by meanes of the Genueses and Pisani. The Schollers also of the Wise-men are there very famous in this Age, especially Reuben the sonne of Theodorus and Nathan the sonne of Zacharias, and the chiefe of all, Semuel, and Selamias, and Mardochæus, who is now dead. Some among them are very rich, and liberall unto the poore; who helpe all that come unto them.

have any certaine Genealogies either Royall or Priestly, though here you shall meet with both. Bidrasch peradventure Bosiers.

[c] Synagogue or Schoole, and Students under the Rabbins. Mompelier. The famousnesse of Mons Passulanus.

Foure leagues from thence standeth Lunel, a famous Universitie of such as applie themselves to the studie of the Law of the Israelites day and night; where that great Master Messulam of happie memorie was then, with five wise and rich sonnes, Joseph, Isaac, Jacob, and Aharon, and Asser the Pharisie, who being separated from the eyes of the world, studieth day and night, fasting, and perpetually abstayning from the eating of Flesh, and hee is greatly conversant in the opinions and traditions of the ancient, and great Moses, Nisus, and old Samuel, and Salomo the Priest, and Master Judas the Physician, the sonne of Thebon a Spaniard: and there is a Synagogue, there, of three hundred Jewes, almost: but it is two miles distant from the Sea. Foure leagues from thence standeth Pothiaquiers, a great Castle, in the which are fortie Jewes almost, and a great Consistorie with Abraham the sonne of David of happie fame,

Lunel.

Asser the Pharisie.

Salomo the Priest.

Pothiaquiers. Consistorie.

a friendly man, and very learned, both in disciplinary, and also in the sacred bookes, unto whom very many resort from remote places for the learning of the Law, and being most curteously entertayned in his house, are taught: and if any want abilitie to defray their charges, hee liberally bestowed his owne money for all uses; for he is very rich. There are also other learned men there, as Joseph the sonne of Menabhem, and Benbeneseth, and Benjamin, and Abraham, and Isaac the sonne of Moses of commendable memorie. About foure leagues from thence is Nogheres the Towne, called, The Burrough of Saint Ægidius, where there is an Universitie of Jewes, consisting almost of an hundred Wise-men, the chiefe whereof are, Isaac the sonne of Jacob, and Abraham the sonne of Judas, and Eliezer, and Isaac, and Moses, and Jacob the sonne of the great Master Levi of excellent memorie: this Towne is three miles distant from the Sea, and is situated neere unto a great River, called Rhodano, which runneth through all that Countrey, which is called, Provincia: but there, is the most noble and honourable Abba the sonne of Isaac of approved memorie, made Governor by the principall Lord. From thence, after I had travelled foure leagues, I came to the Citie Arelatum, where there are almost two hundred Israelties, among whom the chiefe are, Moses, Tobias, and Isaias, and Selomoh, and honourable Nathan, and Master Abba Meri a famous man. But three dayes journey from thence I was brought to Massilia, a Citie renowmed for excellent and wise men, famous for two Colledges of three hundred Jewes almost. One of the Colledges lyeth neer unto the Sea shore below, above which the other standeth, as it were a certaine Tower, seated in an higher place: and there is a great Consistorie* among them adorned with the Disciples of Wisemen, with Simon the Sonne of Antolius, and his Brother Jacob and Lebaarus, who are accounted the chiefe in the higher Colledge: but in the lower, rich Jacob Pirpsienus, and Abraham, and Mair, and his Son-in-law Isaac, and another

Nogheres. *Jewish Universitie or Synagogue-schoole.* *Rhodano.* *Provence.* *Arelatum.* *Massilia.* [II.ix.1439.] **For their Synagogue affaires and permitted government among themselves.*

Mair. And this Citie, for Trade of Merchandize, is very famous on the Sea shoare, from whence taking ship, in foure dayes sayling you come to Genua, a Citie standing on the Sea-side, where there were two Jewes who were Brethren, Samuel the Sonne of Calaam, and his Brother of Sephta a Citie of Africa, good men. But the Citie is compassed with walls, subject to no King; but governed by a Magistrate, who is ordayned by the will and consent of the Citizen. *Genua.*

At Pisa were Moses, and Hhaiim, and Joseph with almost twentie Jewes. The Citie it selfe is not fortified with walls; and is foure miles distant from the Sea, whereunto they goe in Vessels by the River which runneth through the middest of the Countrey it selfe, and entreth into the Citie. Foure leagues from thence standeth Luca, a great Citie, where I found almost fortie Jewes; and the principall Masters amongst them, David, Samuel, and Jacob, learned men. It is sixe dayes Journey from thence to Rome, sometimes a very great Citie, and head of the Empire of the Nations. And there were almost two hundred Jewes there, honest men, paying Tribute to no mortall man; among which, some are the Servants of Alexander the Pope, the Supreme Prelate of all the Christian Religion. And there were very learned men there, and especially David Magnus, and Jehiel the Popes Servant, an excellent yong man, and wise, often frequenting his house, as governour of the house, and all the Domesticall Affaires. And he is the Nephew of Nathan, the Author of the Booke and Commentaries Aaruch: Joab also the Sonne of Great Selomon, and Menahem are heads of the Assembly, and Jehiel dwelling beyond Tiber, and Benjamen the Sonne of Sabthi, of good memory. But the Citie of Rome it selfe is divided into two parts, betweene which the River Tiber runneth. And in the former part standeth a very great Temple, called the Romane Capitoll, at the which the house of Great Julius Cæsar stood. Moreover, there are huge Buildings, and admirable workes, beyond other which may bee found in *Luca.* *Rome.* *Pope Alex. 3. which succeeded Adrian the fourth, an Englishman, A. 1159.* *In the time of Fredericke Barbarossa, Henry the Second, then K. of England.* *The Author of the Booke of Aaruch.* *The Capitoll.*

Very many of these ruines are now altogether wasted for the use of other buildings.

the whole World. But the Citie it selfe, if you joyne the inhabited part with that which is razed, and without Inhabitant, contayneth the space of foure and twentie miles. And in it are eightie Palaces of eightie Kings, from the Reigne of Tarquinius untill the Reigne of Pipin the Father of that Charles who first vanquished Spaine, possessed by the Ismaelites. But the Palace of Titus is without Rome; who was not received by the three hundred Senators, because that in the siege of Hierusalem hee had spent three yeares, that is to say, one yeere beyond his determined time: and there is also part of a Church, to wit, of the Palace of Vespasian, of a very great and most firme building. Besides, there is the Palace of King Malgalbinus, contayning three hundred and sixtie small Palaces according to the number of the dayes of the yeare, and the compasse thereof, as farre as we might gather by the ruines, contayneth three miles. But in times past a battaile was fought in that Palace, wherein above an hundred thousand men in number were slaine; whose bones gathered together on a heape, are to be seene even untill this day. And the Emperour hath ingraven the resemblance of that fight on all the sides of the houses in Marble stone, with innumerable opposite factions of men, and the representations of Horses, Armes, and warlike furniture, that he might leave a wonderfull Monument of the ancient Warres unto Posteritie. In the same place a rew of building is found lower then the ground of the Earth, where the Emperour and his Wife Augusta are found, orderly seated in Chaires of Estate, and almost an hundred other men Servants of the Empire, all embalmed by the arte of the Apothecarie, even untill this day.

That which he addes of Titus, is a Jewish aspersion, he being called Orbis deliciæ.

Peradventure the author said Galbinus, or Galienus.

Sepulchres.

Salomons Pillars.

And in a Church, two Brazen Pillars are found, the worke of King Salomon, with that Inscription ingraven in Hebrew on either side, Salomon the Sonne of David. And it was told mee by the Jewes living at Rome, that every yeare the ninth day of the moneth Ab, those Pillars distill sweate like water. There is also a Vault, wherein Titus is reported to have hidden the Vessels of the

Sanctuary brought from Hierusalem. There is the representation of an Horse made of Brasse, gilded. Besides, there are buildings and other workes, and Monuments at Rome, which no man is able to reckon.

Departing from Rome, in two dayes Journey I came to Capua, sometimes great, built, as they say, by King Capis, a goodly Citie, yet to be disliked for the waters, and therefore very unwholsome for children especially: wherein there were almost three hundred Jewes, and some among them very wise, and of great renowme: but, the chiefe were Lampassus and Samuel, Brethren, and famous Zaken, and David a renowned man, whom some call our Prince. From thence I went to Puteoli, sometimes called Surrentum, a great Citie, which Sinan Hadar-Ghezer built, being put to flight through feare of King David, and brought into that place: but by reason of the inundation of the Sea, his people with two parts of the Citie were over-whelmed and drowned: and at this day, the Towers, and seats of Judgement are seene drowned in the waters, which sometimes, were in the middest of the Citie. And in the same place a Fountaine springeth, in the which *Bitumen is found, commonly called Petroleum, which beeing gathered out of the waters whereon it floateth, is preserved for the use of Medicine. There are also naturall bathes with most medicinable waters, which are frequented by divers sicke persons with profitable use, especially by the Longobardes, who in the Summer time come thither to seeke remedie. Departing from thence, a way of fifteene miles in length is made under the Mountaynes; and it is a worke made by Romulus the first King of the Romanes, through feare * of David the King of Israel, and Joab the chiefe Captaine of Davids Armie. Hee made the like worke also in the Mountaynes, and under the Mountaynes, where Naples now standeth, a famous and most strongly fortified Citie, situated on the Sea, built by the Græcians. Five hundred Jewes almost dwelt there, among whom, the most renowmed, are Ezechias, and Salum, and Elias the Priest,

Capua.

Puteoli. Jewish Tradition. Surrentum.

**Naturall lime, or a clammie kind of clay like Pitch.* [II.ix.1440.]

**It is not amisse to relate these Jewish Tales hatched by arrogant Superstition, and nursed by Superstitious credulitie. Our Author tels what his countreymen told him. One truth we may learne of Lyes. Not to build Faith on Tradition.*

Naples.

and Isaac of the Mountayne Hor. One dayes Journey
Salernum. from thence I was brought to Salernum, a Citie famous for the Schooles of the Physicians, in the which, there were almost sixe hundred Jewes, but among these, Judas the Sonne of Isaac, and Melchisedecke a great man of the Citie Sipontum, and Salom the Priest, and Elias the Greeke, and Abraham Narbonensis, and Thimon, were famous for their Learning. The Citie it selfe on the side of the Continent, is fortified with wals, on the other side it lyeth upon the Sea-shoare, and hath an exceeding strong Tower upon the top of an Hill.

Malfi. Halfe a dayes Journey from thence is Malfi, in the which were twentie Jewes almost, and the chiefe among these were Hhananeel the Phisician, and Elizeus, and honourable Abuel. All the Inhabitants of this Countrey apply themselves to negotiation and Merchandize, and neglecting the care of sowing the ground, live upon bought Corne, because they dwell in exceeding high Mountaynes on the very tops of the Rockes: yet they abound with other Fruits, Vineyards, places where Olives grow, Gardens, and Orchards, invincible of all other men
Beneventum. by reason of the situation of the place. But Beneventum is one dayes Journey distant from thence, a great Citie, partly seated upon the Sea-shore, and partly upon a
**A Synagogue.* Mountayne: and there is an Universitie* there, consisting almost of two hundred Jewes, and the chiefe of these, are Colonymus, and Zerah, and Abraham, famous men. Two
Malchi. dayes Journey from thence is Malchi, in the Countrey of
Apulia. Apulia, so called of Pul, that is to say, Beanes; there were almost two hundred Jewes; the chiefe whereof were Abbimaghats, and Nathan, and Saddoq. But, from thence
Asculum. in one dayes Journey only I came to Asculum, where I found about fortie Jewes, and among them, the principall, Contilus, and Tsemahh his Sonne-in-law, and Joseph.
Tarnaa. From thence two dayes Journey to Tarnaa, situated upon the Sea-shoare, in which place, they who go to Hierusalem for the cause of Religion, use to assemble together, as into a Haven most commodious for that Navigation.

And there was an Universitie there, consisting of two hundred Israelites or thereabouts, and the most renowmed among them, were Elias, and Nathan the Preacher, and Jacob: the Citie it selfe is great and fine. One dayes Journey from thence standeth Miquoles deuar, which great Citie was destroyed by Gulielmus King of Sicilia: and it is not only without Israelites, but also destitute of the people of their owne Nation, and utterly wasted. From thence in halfe a dayes Journey I came to Tarentum, which is the beginning of the Jurisdiction of Calabria, inhabited by the Græcians; a great Citie, where are three hundred Jewes almost, and some of them learned, especially Maali, and Nathan, and Israel. From hence, in one dayes Journey I went to Baruedis, built upon the Sea shoare, where are ten Jewes Dyers of Wooll. From whence Ornedo is two dayes Journey distant, seated upon the Sea, appertayning to the Countrey of the Græcians, and there are about five hundred Jewes there, the chiefe whereof were Menahem, Caleb, Mair, and Maali. Taking ship from thence, in two dayes I was brought to Ocropos, where there was one Jew onely, named Joseph; and hitherto extendeth the Kingdome of Sicilia.

Miquoles deuar.

Tarentum.

Baruedis.

Ornedo.

Ocropos.

From thence, in two daies sayling I came to the Towne Lebta, which is the beginning of the Kingdome of Emanuel Grecian; and there, I found about an hundred Jewes, whose heads are Seluhhias and Ercules. From thence in two daies journey I came to Achilon, where there were almost ten Jewes, the chiefe whereof is Sabthi. Halfe a daies journey from hence standeth Natolicon, seated in the entrance of the Sea. From hence, in one dayes journey by Sea, I came to Patra the Citie of Antipater, one of the foure Kings of the Græcians, among whom the Kingdome of deceased Alexander was divided: and there, ancient great buildings are to bee seene, in the which there were almost fiftie Jewes, and among them, the chiefe were Isaac, Jacob, and Samuel. From thence, halfe a dayes journey by Sea, I came to Lepantum, where, about an hundred Jewes dwell neere unto the Sea, the

Lebta.

The beginning of the Kingdome of Emmanuel, then Emperour of Constantinople.

Achilon.

Natolicon.

Patra.

Lepantum.

principall whereof are Gasarias, and Salum, and Abraham. From thence, in one dayes journey and an halfe, I went to Cores, where, almost two hundred Jewes dwell, having in the Mountayne Paros possessions of their owne, which they inhabit: and among them the chiefe are Selomoh, Hhaiim, and Jedaia. From thence in three dayes journey, I came to Corinth, and found three hundred Jewes, the principall whereof are Leo, Jacob, and Ezekias. Three dayes journey from thence, I came to Thebes that great Citie, where there are two thousand Jewes, the most excellent workemen of Purple and Scarlet, in the Countries of Græcia, among whom there are most learned men, and very skilfull in the repetitions, and disciplines, the chiefe of this age; among whom, were that great Master Aaron Cutæus, and his brother Moses, and Hhaiah, and Elias Thurthinus, and Jectan, with whom, none in all Græcia are comparable,* but onely at Constantinople. From thence in one dayes journey to Argiropum, seated upon the Sea, a great Citie, and frequented by a great number of Merchants from all Countries, and there are about an hundred Jewes there, and the chiefe among them are Elias, Passeterius, and Emanuel, and Caleb. From hence to Jabusterisa, is one dayes journey, and this Citie standeth upon the Sea coast, in the which there are almost an hundred Jewes, Joseph, Samuel, and Nethania, being the Principall. Robinca is one dayes journey onely distant from thence, where were an hundred Jewes almost, over whom Joseph, Eliezer, and Isaac had the command.

Cores.
The Mountayne Paros.
Corinthus.
Thebæ in Boætia two thousand Jewes workers of Purple and Scarlet.
[II.ix.1441.]
**This Jewish honor in latter times hath happened to Thessalonica, now Salonichi, to have the most and most learned of that Nation.*
Argyropum.
Jabusterisa.
Robnica.

From thence, in one dayes journey to Sinon Patamon, where are almost fiftie Jewes, the chiefe whereof are Salomo, and Jacob. And it is the beginning of Balachia, whose Inhabitants dwell in the Mountaynes called Balachi, comparable with Deare in swiftnesse, who descending from the Mountaynes, drive away booties, and carrie away spoyles from the Græcians, hitherto vanquished by none, by reason of the inaccessible rooghnesse of the places and Mountaynes in which they inhabit, easie to bee passed, and knowne onely unto them-

SinonPotamon.

selves. Nor are they Christians nor Jewes, although many among them are called by Jewish names; and boast that they were sometimes Jewes, and call the Jewes their Brethren, whom when they finde, they use surely to spoyle them, but kill them not, as they doe the Græcians: Lastly, I observed no forme of Religion among them. From thence, in two dayes journey I went to Gardeghi a defaced and wasted Citie, retayning a few Inhabitants Græcians and Jewes. From hence to Armilon is two dayes journey, a great Citie seated upon the Sea, a common Mart Towne for the Venetians, Pisanes, Genueses, and other Nations, with large and spacious Fields; where I found about foure hundred Jewes, and the chiefe of them Siloh, and Joseph the Governour, and Salomon the principall. From this Citie to Bissina, is one whole dayes journey, where are an hundred Jewes almost, and great Sabthi, and Selomoh, and Jaacob have the chiefe authoritie among them. From hence in two dayes by Sea, I arrived at Seleuca, built by Seleucus, one of those foure Kings who arose after Alexander: the Citie it selfe is very great, in the which there are about five hundred Jewes, and the chiefe of these is Semuel made Governour * over his Nation, by the King of the Citie, together with his sonnes the Disciples of wise men, and Sabthai his sonne in Law, and Elias, and Michael: and those Jewes apply themselves to Handy-crafts whereon they live. From thence, in two dayes I came to Mitrici, where were almost twentie Jewes, among whom, the principall were Isaias, Machir, and Eliab. From thence, wee made two dayes journey to Darma, in the which there are about an hundred and fortie Jewes, and the chiefe of them Michael and Joseph. Canisthol is one dayes journey onely distant from this Citie, where are almost twentie Jewes.

Gardeghi.

Armilon.

Bissina.

**Kings in that time used to sell dignities to the Jewes for money, and places of governement amongst themselves, whereby in matters of their Religion and meerely Jewish, they were exempt from ordinary Magistrates. See in my Pilgrimage l. 2. c. 10. §. 7. King Johns Charter, whereby James a Jewe obtayneth Presbyteratum omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ: and another of Rich. 1. secundum legem & consuet. Judaismi, and in most Townes two Notaries Jewes, and two Christians, &c. I adde this long Note, lest any should thinke the Jewes had simple freedome or power in this time of their malediction in any place. Mithrici. Darma. Canisthol. Aabidon alias Habiron.*

From thence we travelled three dayes journey to Aabidon, seated upon the sea shoare: and travelling five dayes

Constantina. journey among the Mountaines, I came to Constantina, an exceeding great Citie, and the head of the Kingdome of Javan, whom they call Greekes, the principall seate of the Emperour Emanuel, whose command twelve Kings obey: for every one whereof there are severall Palaces at Constantinople, and Towers, and Countries; and unto these the whole land is subject. The principall and chiefest is called the great Aphrippos; the second, Miga Demastocos; the third, Rominos; the fourth, Makdacos; the fifth, Alchasom Magli: the rest have names like unto these. The compasse of the Citie of Constantinople containeth eighteene miles, the halfe part whereof standeth upon the Sea, but the other halfe on the Continent: and it is seated upon two armes of the Sea, or exceeding great mouthes of Rivers,* into one of the which, the waters flow from out of Russia, but into the other from Spaine. And it is frequented by many Factors, from the Provinces and Countries of Babylon, Senaar, Media, Persia, and all the Kingdomes of the Land of Ægypt, and Canaan, and the Kingdomes of Russia, Ungaria, and Psianki, Buria, Longobardia, and Spaine. The Citie it selfe is common [d] and without difference, unto the which Merchants resort out of all Countries, travelling both by Sea and Land: it hath none equall with it in the World, except Bagdat, that mightie Citie of the Ismaelites. Heere is the most famous Temple of Saint Sophia: and the Patriarch of the Græcians dwelleth heere: nor doe they agree with the Doctrine of the Pope of Rome. There are other Temples also, as many in number, as the dayes of the yeare. But it hath that exceeding great Treasure, almost beyond all estimation, by the Offerings and Riches yeerely brought from divers Countries, Ilands, Castles, Forts, and places, so that no Temple of the whole World may bee compared with the Riches thereof. And in the middest of the Temple there are Pillars of Gold, and Silver; huge Candlestickes, Lanthornes, Lampes, and other Ornaments of Gold and Silver, more then any man is able to reckon.

**That is betwixt the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas.*

[d] To all sorts of men or Religions.

Saint Sophies.

A.D. c. 1160.

Next adjoyning to the walls of the Temple, there is a place built for Princely Pastimes, called Hippodromus, where, yeerely upon the birth day of Jesus of Nazareth, great Spectacles are publikely presented; and there, all sorts of men with all manner of Habits of the whole World, are shewed before the King and Queene. Lions also, and Beares, Leopards, and wild Asses are brought forth into the place where these Spectacles are to bee seene, that they might fight together: and Birds also after the same manner: and I suppose that in no Countrey of the World such Princely Sports are to be seene. But surely [II.ix.1442.] King Emanuel, besides that Palace left him by his Ancestors, hath built him another upon the Sea shoare, which they call Bilbernæ: the Pillars, and walls whereof, he hath over-layed with beaten Gold and Silver; whereon hee hath ingraven all the Warres made by him and his Ancestors. And hee hath prepared a throne there for himselfe, of Gold and Precious Stones: and hath adorned it with a Golden Crowne hanging on high by Golden Chaines; the compasse whereof is equall with the Throne it selfe, beset with Precious Stones and Pearles, the price whereof no man is able to value, of so great a lustre, that putting no Torch unto them, they shine and may be seene in the night. Moreover, there are other innumerable things in the same place, and incredible to bee told; and Tributes are yeerely brought into that Palace, wherewith the Towers are filled with Scarlet and Purple Garments and Gold; so that the like example of building and riches, can no where else bee found in the World. And it is affirmed that the Revenue only of the Citie it selfe, gathered of the Markets, Haven, and Tribute of Merchants, amounteth to twentie thousand Crownes a day. Furthermore, the Grecians themselves, Inhabitants of the Countrey, are exceeding rich in Gold and Precious Stones, and are attyred with most sumptuous Apparell, their Garments beeing made of Crimson, intermingled with Gold, or embroydered with Needle-worke, and are all carryed upon Horses much like unto the Children of Kings. The Coun-

Hippodromus.

Bilbernæ the Palace of the Emperour Emanuel. Emperors Palace, Throne, Wealth, and Revenues.

Græcian pompe.

trey it selfe being very large, aboundeth with all sorts of Fruits, and hath also great plentie of Corne, Flesh, and Wine: nor the like Riches in the whole World are to be found. They are also learned, and skilfull in the Discipline of the Græcians, and giving themselves wholly to pleasure, they eate and drinke every one under their Vine, and under their Figge-tree: and of all Tongues of the Nations, which they call Barbarians, they hyre Souldiers to fight with the Soldan King of the Children of Thogarma, who are commonly called Turkes, because they themselves through idlenesse, and delights are made unapt and unmanly for the Warres, and seemed unto mee very like unto women through a certaine impotencie of delights.

Merry Greekes.

The Soldan. Thogarma. Turkes.

Pera, where now the Christians dwell.

But no Jewes dwell within the Citie, for they are excluded from them by an arme of waters, and being inclosed betweene that and another arme of the Sea of Sophia, they are not so much as permitted to come into the Citie but by Boate, and that for the cause of Traffique and Commerce. And there are about two thousand Jewes, who are assembled with the Masters, that is, the Disciples of Wisemen, among whom, Abtalion the Great, and Abdias, and Aaron Cuspus, and Joseph Sarginus, and Eliakim the Governour, have the chiefe authoritie: certaine of them are Artificers of Silken Garments, but very many are Merchants, and they very rich. No Jew is there permitted to bee carryed on Horse-backe, except Selomon the Egyptian, the Kings Physician, through whose service the Jewes are comforted, and ease their captivitie, which they feele to be grievous.

Jewes hated.

Jewish Tanners.

For all the Jewes are very much hated of the Græcians, without any difference of the good and evill; by reason of the Tanners, who while they dresse skinnes, powre out the filthy water into the Streets before their owne doores: and therefore they are all oppressed together with a grievous yoke, and are beaten in the Streets, and violently compelled to serve. But the Jewes themselves are rich, as I have said, and good men, and mercifull, and observers of the Commandements, who patiently endure the misery

of Captivitie. The place wherein they dwell is called Peræ. *Pera.*

§. II.

The Estate of the Jewes, and Relations of the World in the higher parts of Asia, Syria, Palæstina, Damascus, and the parts adjoyning.

TWo dayes sailing from thence, I came to Doroston, *Doroston.* where there is an University of about foure hundred Israelites, the chiefe whereof are Moses, Abias, and Jacob. From thence in two dayes journey to Gali- *Galipolis.* polis, where are almost two hundred Jewes, and the principall of these, are Elias Caphid, and Sabthai-Zutra, and Isaac Migas: But Migas signifieth a Tower in that Language, which is now the Græcians Mother Tongue. Calas is two dayes journey distant from hence, where were *Calas.* almost fiftie Jewes, and the chiefe Masters among them were Judas, and Jacob, and Semaias. Two dayes journey from thence being brought to Mityle, one of the Ilands of *Mityle.* the Sea, I found Universities of Israelites in tenne places. Travelling three dayes journey from thence I came to Hicha, where were almost foure hundred Jewes, whose *Hicha.* heads are Elias, and Thiman, and Sabthai: and there are the Plants from which Masticke is gathered. But, from *Mastick.* hence, after two dayes journey standeth Ismos, in the *Ismos.* which almost, three hundred Jewes dwell: among whome Semarias, Ghobadias, and Joel, have the preeminence: and very many Assemblies of the Israelites meete together there. From thence in three dayes sayling I arrived at Rhodus, where I found almost foure hundred Jewes: and *Rhodus.* the principall of these Aba, Hananeel and Eliam Masters. [II.ix.1443.] Foure daies journey from thence is Dophros distant, *Dophros.* where there is an assembly of Jewes, together with Masters. Moreover, there are certaine hereticall Jewes there, * Cyprians, and Epicurians, whom the Israelites every where abhorre. But these, profane the evening of the Sabbath, and observe the evening of the first day.

**Perhaps these were Carraim, or Scripture Jewes, hated for hating Traditions.*

A.D. c. 1160.

Corkos, the beginning of the Land of Edom.

The Dominion of Armenia.

Corkos is two dayes journey distant from thence, which is the beginning of the Land of Edom, of that which is called Armenia. And it is the beginning of the Dominion of Turus, Lord of the Mountaines of the King of Armenia, whose jurisdiction appertaineth to the Metropolitan Citie Hhadochia; and extendeth even unto the Countrey of the Children of Thogarma, whom they call Turkes. Malmistras is two daies journey distant from thence, which was sometimes called Tharsis, seated upon the Sea. And hitherto reacheth the Kingdome of the children of Javan, who are called Grecians. Two daies journey from thence, standeth great Antiochia, nigh unto the River Pir, seated in the Valley Jaboq, which River runneth downe from the Mountaine Libanus, in the Countrey of Emath. King Antiochus built this Citie, nigh unto the which standeth a very high Mountaine, inclosed also with the wall of the Citie. And in the top of the Mountaine there is a Fountaine, whereof a certain man hath the charge, who through hollow Trunkes of Timber, distributeth the water by pipes under ground, conveighed into the Citie houses of the Nobilitie. But on the other side, right over against the Mountaine, the Citie is compassed with the Channell of the River. And it is a most strong and well fortified Citie, pertaining to the Dominion of them that differ from our Faith.

Malmistras, in times past called Tharsis.

Antiochia in the Valley Jaboq.

But there are certaine Israelites there Artificers in Glasse, the chiefe whereof are Mardochæus and Hhaim, and Ismael, Masters. Two daies journey from hence, I went to Liga, in times past called Laodicea, where are almost two hundred Jewes, and the chiefe of all are Hhaja and Joseph. Two daies journey from thence to Gebal, the same is Baghalgad, under the Mountaine Libanus: and it lyeth next unto that Nation which they cal Hhassissin, who follow not the doctrine of the Ismaelites, but of a certaine man whom they suppose to be a Prophet: whose word they all obey, whether unto death, or unto life. And they call him Hheich al Hhassissin: and he is their Senator, at whose command all the men of the Mountaines come in

Liga, sometimes Laodicea.

Gebal.

Baghalgad.

Old man of the Assisines.

See sup. l. 8. c. 3. 4.

and goe forth. His seat is in the Citie, called Karmos, which was the beginning of the Countrey, called in former times Sehon: and they have a Religion among them, according to the doctrine of their old man. And in every place they are a terrour unto all; because they kill even Kings themselves, by putting them under the sawe: and their Dominion extendeth eight dayes journey. They make warre with the Christians, those that are commonly called Frankes, and with the King of Tripolis, which selfe-same is Trabelos of the Countrey of Saam. But, it happened not long time since, that the Countrey of Tripolis being shaken with an Earth-quake, many, both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jewes were over-whelmed, and buried in the ruines of walls and houses: and at the same time also, above twentie thousand men perished in all the Land of Israel. From hence Gebal is one dayes journey distant, that other, which was the bound of the children of Amon; where there are almost an hundred and twentie Jewes. And it is belonging to the Jurisdiction of the Ginotines, whose Prince is called Gilianus Enbirena: and the place of the ancient Temple of the children of Amon is found there, and in it the Idoll of the children of Amon, sitting upon a seate, called a Throne, and the Image is of stone, over-layed with Gold; but on either side two Images of women, also sitting and before it standeth an Altar, on the which, Sacrifices and Perfumes were made. But the chiefe and principall men of the Jewes, who dwell here, are Mair, Jaacob, and Sencha. And the Citie standeth nigh unto the Sea shoare, which is in the Countrey of the Israelites. From thence, in two dayes journey I came to Beritus, sometimes called Beeroth, where were almost fiftie Jewes, Salomon, and Ghobadia, and Joseph beeing the chiefe. Travelling one dayes journey from hence to Siiada, called Sidon in former times, a great Citie, where were twentie Jewes: distant from whence there is a certaine Nation which maketh warre with the Sidonians, the name of that Nation, in their owne Language, is Dogziin, called Pagans by others, being of no Religion or

Karmos.
Franci.
Tripolis.
Gebal.
Ginotin.
Beritus.
Beeroth.
Sidon.
Dogziin, for Drusians.

A.D. c. 1160.

Sect: they dwell in the Mountaynes, in the Caves and Holes of the Rockes, being subject to no King or Prince; but lead their lives wildly, living among the highest Mountaynes and steepest Rockes; their Countrey extending the length of three dayes journey, even unto the Mountayne Hermon. And they are infamous through their Incests; for the Fathers marry with the Daughters. But at a yearely Festivall day which they solemnely hold, aswell the men as the women, all meete together at the common Banquet, and there change Wives each with other: and they say, that the soule, as soone as it happeneth to depart out of the bodie of a good man, goeth into the bodie of an Infant borne the very selfe-same houre: but departing out of the bodie of an evill man, that it goeth into the bodie of a Dogge, or into another beast. And so they understand, to wit, as they live. But there are no Jewes among them, yet sometimes Artificers and Dyers of clothes come unto them, to exercise their Art and Merchandize, and depart againe: and the Jewes are courteously and lovingly entertayned by them. Moreover, this Nation is very swift, and most apt to runne thorow the Mountaynes and hils, invincible of other mortall men.

The Mountayne Hermon.

Palingenesia.

New Tyrus.

But one dayes journey distant from Sidon, is new Tyrus, [II.ix.1444.] a very fine Citie, furnished with a most commodious Haven, which it contayneth within it selfe, and receiveth in ships, betweene two Towers built on both sides: so that a Brazen Chaine beeing extended from one Tower unto the other by the Publicans,* serving for the gathering of the Custome, all entrance and going out of ships by night, may be entred, and no man can possibly convay any thing taken out of the ships. Nor doe I thinke, any Haven in the World to bee found like unto this. The Citie it selfe, as I have said, is goodly, and in it there are about foure hundred Jewes, among whom some are very skilfull in Disciplinary * Readings, and especially Ephraim the Egyptian Judge, and Mair, and Carchasona; and Abraham the head of the Universitie. Some of the Jewes living there have ships at Sea for the cause of gaine.

*Farmers of the customes.

*The Talmud or Traditions.

There are artificiall Workemen in Glasse there, who make Glasse, called Tyrian Glasse, the most excellent, and of the greatest estimation in all Countries. The best and most approoved Sugar also is found there. Ascending the walls of new Tyrus, old Tyrus is seene over-whelmed, in time past and covered with the Sea, distant a stones cast out of a Sling, from the new: but if any please to take Sea in a Skiffe or Boate, hee seeth the Tower, Market places, Streetes, and Palaces in the bottome. But new Tyrus is famous for publike Traffique, whereto they resort from all places.

Tyrian Glasse.

Sugar.

The ruines of old Tyrus.

In one dayes journey from thence I came to Akadi, which was sometimes Ghaco, the bound of the Tribe of Asser, and the beginning of the Land of Israel, seated upon the great Sea, famous for the Haven, where all Christians going by ship to Hierusalem are received, into the which, the River runneth through the Cite it selfe, floweth a River called Cadumin. And there are almost two hundred Jewes there, and the Chiefe among them, are Sadok, and Japheth, and Jona. From thence three leagues to Niphas, which selfe-same Citie is hidden Gad, bordering upon the Sea shoare, nigh unto which on the one side standeth Carmel the Mountayne, and at the foot of the Mountayne are the Sepulchers of very many Israelites, and in the Mountayne it selfe the Cave of the Prophet Elias is to be seene, neere unto which the Christians have built a Chappell, called Saint Elias. But on the top of the ridge of the Mountayne there remayneth the signe of the Altar broken downe and burned in the dayes of Achab, whereof notable mention is made in the Historie of Elias. And the place of that Altar is Circular, beeing almost foure Cubits over, in the Diameter; under the Mountayne it selfe, on the side thereof, the River Chison descendeth. Caphar-Nahhum is foure leagues distant from thence, retayning the ancient name, a very high place which exceedeth Carmel in prospect.

Akadi.

Ghaco.

Asser.

The Land of Israel.

The River Cadumin.

Niphas.

Gad.

Elias.

Achab.

The River Chison.

Chaphar-Nahun.

But having passed sixe leagues from thence, I came to Cæsarea, which the Inhabitants call Siserià, the ancient

Cæsarea.

Siseria.

Gad. name whereof was Gad of the Palæstines, in the which there
Cuthæi. were tenne Jewes, and two hundred Cuthæi, that is to
Samaritanes. say, Samarite Jewes, whome they commonly call Samaritanes. And it is a very faire and goodly Citie seated on
Cæsar. the Sea, re-edified and amplified by the Emperour Cæsar, and called by his name, Cæsarea. From whence, departing
Cacos. in halfe a dayes journey I came to Cacos, which sometimes
Ceila. was Ceila, or Keghila, in the which there are no Jewes.
Keghila.

Againe from hence, in halfe a dayes journey I went to
Sargoreg. Sargoreg, which by the Ancient was called Luz, where
Luz. there is one Jew onely, and he a Dyer of Woolles. Travelling one dayes journey from thence, I came to Sebaste,
Sebaste. which selfe-same Citie is Samaria, wherein the Palace of
Samaria. Achab the King of Israel is yet discerned. But it hath beene a very strong and well fortified Citie, seated on a Mountayne, delightfull through the Fountaynes, and Rivers of Water, Gardens, Orchards, Vineyards, and places where Olives grow: and hath no Jew inhabiting. Two
Nebilus. leagues distant from hence is Nebilas, in time past called
Sichem. Sichem, in the Mountayne of Ephraim; where no Jewes
Ephraim. are: and the Citie lyeth in a deepe Valley betweene the
Gerizim. Mountaynes Gerezim and Ebal, or Hebal, in which there
Ebal. are about an hundred Cuthæi, Observers only of the Law of Moses alone (these, as I said, they call Samaritanes.) But they have Priests, of the Posteritie of Aaron, the Priest resting in peace, who intermarry with none other, but with the women or men of their owne Family, that they may preserve their Race and Kindred without mix-
Aharonites. ture: and there they are commonly called Aharonites: notwithstanding they are Ministers and Priests of the Law of those Samaritanes. But they offer Sacrifices, and burne burnt Offerings in the Synagogue which they have in the Mountayne Garizim, alleaging that which is written in the Law. And thou shalt give a blessing upon Mount Garizim. But they say, that it is the very house of the Sanctuary: and they lay the burnt Offering in the Feast of Easter, and other Festivall dayes upon the Altar, built in the Mountayne Garizim, of the stones taken out of

Jordan by the Children of Israel, and they vaunt that they are of the Tribe of Ephraim. Among them is the Sepulcher of Joseph the Just, the Sonne of Jacob our Father, resting in peace, as hath beene said. And the bones of Joseph carryed out of Egypt by the Children of Israel, are buried in Sichem. But they want three Letters א. ה. ח. HE, of the name of Abraham, Hheth, of the name of Iishhac, and Ghain, of the name of Jaghacob, in stead whereof they put Aleph, that is, spiritus tenuis. By this manifest token they are convicted not to be of the Posteritie and Seed of Israel, seeing they acknowledge the Law of Moses, excepting these three Letters, which they know not. But they keepe themselves from the defiling of the dead, and of bones, and also of the slaine, and of the Grave. *The Sepulchre of Joseph.*

They have also this custome, to put off the garments which they daily weare, when they are to goe into the Synagogue, and to wash their bodies with water, and put on other garments provided onely for this use. And this is their daily custome. But, the Mountaine Garizim is pleasant with Fountaines, and Gardens: and contrarily, Ghebal is drie, full of Rockes and Stones, and betweene both, as wee have said, the Citie Sichem it selfe is seated. Foure leagues from thence is Mount Gilboagh, which the Christians call Mount Gilboe, consisting of a most barren and dry soyle. From whence, after foure leagues, you come to the Valley of Ajalon, which the Christian Inhabitants of the Countrey call, Val de Luna; from whence, having travelled the length of one league, I came unto the Mountaine Moria, to Garaan, called the Towne of David, a Citie in time past called, Gibghon or Gabaon, where no Jewes are. Having passed three leagues from thence, I entred into Hierusalem, a little Citie, fortified with three walls, wherein there are many sorts of men, Jacobites, Armenians, Grecians, and Gorgeri, or Georgii, and Franks, of all the Languages of the Gentiles. And there is an house prepared there, for the dying of Woolls and Cloaths, which the Jewes hyre every yeere, of the Kings, upon that [II.ix.1445.] *The Mountain Garazim.* *The Mountain Ghebal.* *Gilboagh, Gilboe.* *The Valley of Aialon.* *The Valley of the Moone.* *Garaan David.* *Gibgon, Gabaon-Hierusalem.* *Jacobites, Armenians, Grecians, Georgians, and Franckes, inhabiting Hierusalem.*

condition, that they onely might exercise that Art. And there are Jewes dwelling in an angle of the Citie, under the Tower of David, in which Tower, the walls of the old building are yet remayning, built by our Ancestors, to the heighth of ten cubits, almost, from the very foundation. But that which remayneth beside these, is the building of the Ismaelites. And there is no building in the whole Citie comparable with that Tower of David in strength. There are also two houses there, called Hospitals, the Inhabitants whereof being Christians are, called Hospitalers: and they are Horse-men; out of whose two Colledges, foure hundred men, almost, goe forth furnished to the Battell: and in those houses, all sicke persons comming thither, are received, and cured, all plentie of necessarie things for the maintenance of life, as well to the sicke, that are living, and recovering, as to the dead, for their funerall, being abundantly and sufficiently ministred. But that second house is called, The Hospitall of Salomon: for, it standeth in the place of the Palace, sometimes built by Salomon. Foure hundred of them therefore doe daily goe forth to the battell: and all these associates are sworne, and bound by an Oath, besides many other more, who assemble thither, out of the Land of the Franckes and Italians: voluntarily making a Vow, which, remayning there a yeere or two, they performe. Moreover, there is a very great Temple there, which they call, The Sepulchre, the Sepulchre of Jesus of Nazareth, for the visiting whereof the Pilgrims assemble. Hierusalem hath foure gates, the one is named, The Sleepe of Abraham; the other, The gate of David; the third, The gate of Sion; and the fourth, the gate of Jehosaphat. But this is before the holy House, which sometimes stood, in the which now, there is a Church called, The Temple of the Lord, situated in the very place of the ancient Sanctuarie: but the very Temple of the Lord, now so called is a certaine huge and goodly Arch, built by Ghemar Ben Alchetab now frequented by the Christians, who have no Image or Picture in that place, but onely resort thither to pray.

Hospitalers of the military Order of Saint Johns, and of the Dutch Order of Saint Marie, sup. l. 8. c. 6. §. 5.

Salomons Hospitall, or the Templers.

The Sepulchre of Jesus.

Or the gate of Abraham.

The Temple of the Lord.

Ghemar Ben Alchetab.

No Image in the Temple.

A.D. c. 1160.

Right over against this place there is a wall built, of the walls which were in the Sanctuarie, which they now call, The gate of Mercy: and unto this gate, the Jewes come to pray, before the wall, in the Court. There also, I meane, at Hierusalem, in the house which was Salomons, are the Stalls of Horses seene, built by Salomon, a very strong building, and consisting of very great stones: of which manner of building the like example is not to be seene in all the Land. The Fish-poole also is yet remayning, wherein the ancient killed their Sacrifices: and every one of the Jewes write their name there in the wall. Going out at the gate of Jehosaphat, they goe into the Desart, called the Wildernesse of the people, in the which there is the Monument of the Hand (or Pillar of Absalon,) and the Sepulchre of Uzia the King, and a great Fountaine, of the waters of Siloahh running into the Brooke Kedron: and nigh unto the Fountaine, a great building from the dayes of our Ancestors. But little store of water is found in the Fountaine, and the greatest part of men living at Hierusalem, drinke raine-water, gathered in private Cisternes. But, from the Valley of Jehosaphat, unto the Mountaine of Olives, they continually ascend: for nothing lieth betweene the Citie and that Mountaine, but this Valley. And from the Mountaine it selfe the Sodomiticall Sea is seene: but from that Sea unto the heape of Salt, into the which Lots wife was turned, are two leagues. For that heape continueth still, which, being diminished by the flockes, sometimes by licking, encreaseth againe to the accustomed greatnesse: from the Mountaine of Olives also, all that plaine Countrey is seene, through which the River Sitim runneth even unto the Mountaine Nebo.

The Gate of Mercy.

The Pillar of Absalon.
The Sepulchre of King Uzia.
The Fountaine of Siloahh.

The Mountain of Olives.
The Sodomiticall Sea.
The Pillar of Salt, into the which the wife of Lot was turned.
The River Sitim.
The Mountain Nebo.

Right over against this new Hierusalem standeth the Mount Sion, on the which no entire and whole building is seene, except one Temple of the Christians. Before Hierusalem also, three houses, as it were, of buriall are seene, wherein the Israelites were sometimes buried, and the forme of the Graves is yet decent and conspicuous, but it is daily diminished by the Christians, who digge up the

The Mount Sion.

stones for the building of their private houses. That space and length of Jerusalem is compassed with great Mountaines. But, in the Mountaine Sion, are the Sepulchres of the Familie of David, and of those Kings who arose after David; but the place it selfe is commonly unknowne. For, it hapned fifteene yeeres since, that one wall of the [II.ix.1446.] Temple, which I said to be in the Mount Sion, fell downe, which when, at the commandement of the Patriarch, the Priest of the Temple determined to repaire; he appointed about twentie stones in number to be digged out of the ancient foundations of the walls of Mount Sion, for the repayring of the worke of the Temple. And among them, there were two men confederates, and friends; whereof the one, on a certaine day early in the morning brought the other home with him unto a private Banquet, and after they had taken their breakfast together, when they came to their worke, being demanded by the Over-seer of the worke, why they came so late, they answered, that they would make amends for that houre with continued labour.

In the meane space, while all the rest went to dinner, and while they performed that which they had promised, having taken away a certaine stone, and finding the mouth of a Cave, they said one unto the other: Let us enter in, to see whether any Treasure lye hidden heere. Going therefore in, they proceeded so long, untill they came unto a certaine Palace supported with Marble Pillars, over-layed with Gold and Silver, before which, there was a Table, and thereupon a Scepter, and a golden Crowne: and this was the Sepulchre of David the King of Israel, on whose left hand was the Sepulchre of Salomon, with the like gorgeous adorning, and many other, of the other Kings of Juda of the Family of David, who had beene buried there: and there were Chests locked up, but what they contayned, is yet to men unknowne. But, when those men determined to enter into the Palace, being strucken with the blast of a whirle-wind, they fell downe dead upon the Earth out of the mouth of the Cave. And they lay in the same place untill the evening: when being raised againe

The Sepulcher of David and Salomon.

with another blast, they heard a voice like unto the voice of a man, saying unto them: Arise, and goe forth of this place. Whereupon being much moved, and stricken with an exceeding great feare, they went forth trembling, and reported the whole matter to the Patriarch, which, calling unto Abraham sirnamed Pius, a Constantinopolitan Pharisay living at Hierusalem, he caused to be declared by the same two men, who being demanded what he thought, he said, that it was the place of the Sepulchres of the house of David, appointed for the Kings of Juda. But, the next day after, both those men lying in their beds, were found grievously sicke at home through feare, who said, that they would never, upon any conditions, enter in thither againe, affirming, that it was utterly unlawfull for any man to desire to goe thither, where God forbade him. Wherefore, by the commandement of the Patriarch, the place was shut up, and concealed from the eyes of men untill this day, by the labour of men: but Abraham Pius, of whom I have spoken, declared the whole matter unto mee.

Jewish Fable, or pia fraus of Abraham Pius.

Bethlehem Juda is two leagues distant from thence, next unto which, within halfe a mile, almost, there is the Sepulchre of Rachel, in a place where two wayes meete: and the Grave is made with twelve stones, according to the number of the Sonnes of Jacob: and over the Tombe there is an Arch supported by foure Pillars. Moreover, the stones of the Tombe are ingraven with many divers names of the Jewes passing by that way. But, in Bethlehem there are twelve Jewes, Dyers of Wools. The Fields of the Towne have Rivers of waters, Wells and Fountaynes.

Bethlehem.

The Sepulcher of Rachel.

Travelling sixe leagues from hence, I came to Hebron, seated in a Plaine: for Hebron the ancient Metropolitan Citie stood upon an hill, but is now desolate. But in the Valley there is a field, wherein there is a duplicitie, that is, as it were two little Valleys, and there the Citie is placed, and there is an huge Temple there, called Saint Abraham: and that place was the Synagogue of the Jewes, at what time the Countrey was possessed by the Ismaelites. But,

Hebron.

The Temple of Saint Abraham.

the Gentiles, who afterward obtayned, and held the same, built sixe Sepulchres in the Temple by the names of Abraham, Sara, Isaac, Rebecca, Jacob, & Lia. And the Inhabitants now tel the Pilgrims, that they are the Monuments of the Patriarkes: and great summes of money are offered there. But surely to any Jew comming thither, and offering the Porters a reward, the Cave is shewed with the Iron Gate opened, which from Antiquitie, remayneth yet there. And a man goeth downe with a Lampe light into the first Cave, where nothing is found, nor also in the second, untill he enter into the third, in the which there are the sixe Monuments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Sara, Rebecca, and Lia; the one right over against the other: and each of them are ingraven with Characters, and distinguished by the names of every one of them, after this manner, Sepulchrum Abraham patris nostri, super quem pax sit and so the rest, after the same example. And a Lampe perpetually burneth in the Cave, day and night, the Officers of the Temple continually ministring Oyle for the maintenance thereof. Also in the selfe-same Cave, there are tuns full of the bones of the ancient Israelites, brought thither by the Families of Israel, which even untill this day, remayne in that selfe-same place. But in the very field of Duplicitie, the Monuments of the ancient house of our Father Abraham, are yet extant and to be seene, and a Fountayn springeth out before it, and no man may build an house there, for the reverence of Abraham.

Abrahams house.

Beth-Gebarin. Beth-Gebarin is two leagues distant from thence, which

Maressa. was sometimes called Maressa, where there were only

Torondolos Gabraleris, three Jewes. Five leagues Journey from hence I came to Torondolos Gabraleris, which was sometimes called

Sunam. Sunam, where are three hundred Jewes. Three leagues

Silo. from thence, is Saint Samuel of Silo, to wit, a Towne in

[II.ix.1447.] time past called Siloh, two leagues distant from Hierusalem, where there is a great Temple, and therein the Sepulchre of the Prophet Samuel, trans-

Ramath. Rama. lated by the Christians from Ramath, which is Rama, after that the Ismaelites were expelled thence, and the

Towne taken, where before the bodie of Samuel was preserved, buried in the Synagogue of the Jewes. And now, as I have said, there is a goodly and great Temple in Silo, named by them S. Samuel of Silo: and it remayneth even untill this day. *Silo.* *The Temple of Samuel.*

Departing from thence, and having travelled three leagues towards the Mountayne Moria, I came to Pesipua, which is Gibgha, the Countrey of Saul, otherwise called Gibgha of Benjamin, where are no Jewes. Beth-Nobi is three leagues distant from hence, the same beeing also called Nob, a Citie belonging to the Priests, where were two Jewes, Dyers, and in the middle of that way, are those two Rockes, famous through the memory of Jonathan, whereof the one is named Bolsen, and the other Sina. Departing from thence, after three leagues I came to Ramas, which, in time past, was Harama; part of the walls and buildings whereof remayneth, even from ancient times, and it is confirmed by the Inscriptions of stones yet continuing, and the markes, ruines, and situation are shewed, of a very great Citie, sometimes, where now there are only three Jewes. And there is yet seene a field of the Israelites, two miles long, furnished with many Sepulchres of the Israelites. Five leagues from hence standeth Gapha, in time past Japho, called Jope by others, seated on the Sea; where there is only one Jew, and he, a Dyer of Wooll. From hence, I travelled three leagues to Ebalin, it is the same Citie which was sometimes called Jebna, wherein the site of an ancient Schoole is yet seene, and there is no Jew there. And this is the furthest bound of the Tribe of Ephraim. From whence, having passed three leagues, I went to Palmis, sometimes called Asdod or Asotus, in time past, the most famous Citie of the Palæstines, but now destroyed: and in it there is no Jew. From whence Ascalon is two leagues distant. This is Ascalon surnamed the new, built by Esdra the Priest, upon the Sea shoare, which in the beginning, was called Benibera. This is foure leagues distant from the ancient Ascalon of the Palæstines, long since wasted. But, this

Moria. *Pesipua.* *Gibgha of Saul, or Benjamin.* *Beth-Nobi.* *Nob.* *Jonathan.* *Basten.* *Sina.* *Ramas.* *Harania.* *Gapha.* *Japho.* *Jope.* *Ebalin.* *Jebna.* *Palmis.* *Asdod.* *Asotus.* *Benibera.*

new one is a very great and goodly Citie frequented by many men resorting thither from all places for the cause of their Affaires, for that it is seated in part of the bounds of Egypt. And in it there are almost two hundred learned Jewes, among whom Tsamahh, and Aharon, and Salomo, have the preeminence. There are also about *Karaim Jewes, admitting the Scripture, not Traditions.* fortie of those Students, who are called Literall, that is, conversant in the simple meaning of the sacred Books, and about three hundred Cuthæi, or followers of the Doctrine of the Samaritanes. And in the middle of the Citie there is a Well, which in the Language of the Ismaelites, the Inhabitants call Bir Abraham Alchelil, that is to say, the Well of Great Abraham, opened by Abraham in the dayes of the Palæstines. From hence I passed to *Seguras.* Seguras, the ancient name whereof was Lud, from whence *Lud.* in one dayes Journey and an halfe, I came to Zarezin, *Zarezin. Jesreghel.* which is Jesreghel, where there is a certayne great Church: and there is only one Jew there, a Dyer of Woolles. *Sipuriæ.* Foure leagues from hence is Sipuria, sometimes called *Tsipori.* Tsipori, where are the Sepulchres of that great Master *Hakados.* called Hakados, and Hhaijah, who came up out of *Hhaijah. Jonas.* Babylon, and of Jonas, the Sonne of Amithay the Prophet, who are buried in the Mountayne: and beside these, there are also many other ancient Sepulchers. Three leagues *Tiberia.* from hence is Tiberia, neere unto Jordan at the Lake, *Jordan. The Sea of Kinereth, or Genezareth.* called the Sea of Kinereth, or Genezareth, into the which Jordan floweth, and runneth out towards the Salt Sea into the Land of the Plaine: and this place is called Asdoth-*Asdoth-hapisgah.* hapisga, and going forth from thence, it falleth into the Sea of Sodom, which is called the Sea of Salt. But, at Tiberia, there are almost fiftie Jewes: and the chiefe among these, are Abraham the Seer, and Muchthar, and Isaac. And in that place there are hot waters springing out of *Bathes.* the ground, which they call the Bathes of Tiberia; and the Synagogue of Caleb the Sonne of Jephune is there, not farre from the Bathes. There are also very many Sepulchres of the Israelites there, and the most famous, *John.* those especially of John the Sonne of Zachai, and of

Jonathan the Sonne of Levi: all these are in the lower Galiley. From hence, in two dayes Journey I came to Timin, which in time past was called Tamnatha, famous for the Sepulchre of Samuel the Just, which is yet to be seene, furnished also with other Sepulchers of the Israelites. From thence, after one whole dayes Journey, standeth Ghasth, sometimes called Gus Hhaleb, where there are about twentie Jewes. Travelling sixe leagues from hence, I went to Maran, the ancient name whereof was Maron. In it are the Sepulchers of Hilel and Samai in a Cave, with twentie Sepulchers of both their Disciples, and other Monuments also, as of Benjamin the Sonne of Jephat, and Jehuda the Sonne of Bathira. Sixe leagues from thence is Galmah famous for the great buildings of the Sepulchers of the Israelites, where there are fiftie Jewes. Kadis is halfe a days Journey distant from hence, called also Kades Nephthalim, upon the banke of Jordan, where are the Sepulchers of the Ancient, of Eliezer the Sonne of Gharoch, and Eliezer the Sonne of Azarias, and Hunas surnamed Rotundus, and Rasbac, and Jose of Galiley. And the Monument of Barak the Sonne of Abinogham, is yet remayning there. Departing from this place one whole dayes Journey, I came to Balijuus in time past called Dan, nigh unto which there is a Cave whence Jordan issueth, which having run three miles, receiveth the waters of Arnon, comming out of the borders of Moab. Before the Cave it selfe, the markes of the Altar or Statue appeared, which one Micheas dedicated, adored by the children of Dan in those dayes; not farre also from thence, the place of the Altar is seene, erected by Jeroboam the Sonne of Nabat, whereon that Golden Calfe was dedicated. And hitherto the bound of Israel extendeth on the side of the furthest Sea. From whence I made two dayes journey to the Citie of Damascus, the beginning of the Kingdom of Noraldinus, King of the children of Thogarma, who are commonly called Turkes. The Citie it selfe is exceeding great and very faire, compassed with walls, but the whole Countrey is wonderfully beautified with Gardens

Jonathan.
Timin.
Tamnatha.
Ghasth.
Gus Hhaleb.
Maran.
Maron.
Hilel.
Samai.
Galmah.
Kadis.
Kades Nephthalim.
Barak.
Balijuus.
Dan.
The head of Jordan.
Arnon.
[II. ix. 1448.]
Damascus.
Noradinus. Of him see before, l. 8. c. 3.

and Paradises, contayning fifteene miles on every side. There is no Citie, elsewhere, in all the fruitfull Countrey seene like unto this: which the two Rivers, Amna and Pharphar, falling downe from the Mountayne Hermon doe inrich. For the Citie standeth under the Mountayne Hermon. The River Amna runneth into the Citie it selfe the waters whereof are conveyed through Pipes, into all the houses of the Nobilitie, and also into the Market places and streets. And the Countrey it selfe is much frequented through the Affaires of all Countries. But Pharphar running by the Citie it selfe, doth water all the Gardens and pleasant places. And there is a Synagogue of the Ismaelites in the Citie, which they call Gumagh Dumesq, that is, the * Mosche of Damascus, the like building whereof is no where seene in the World: and the Inhabitants say, that it was the Princely Palace of Ben-Hadad. And there is a wall of Glasse built by the workmanship of the Magicians, distinguished with holes equall in number with the dayes of the Sun, so that every day the Sun entring in at every hole goeth thorow the twelve degrees fitted to the houres of the day, and so sheweth the time of the yeare and day. But within the Palace it selfe there are houses or little Bathes made of Gold and Silver, wherein there is a Throne of the same matter, like unto a great Vessell, so that it may receive three men bathing together. Within the Palace I saw the rib of a man hanging, of one of the Enakims, which was nine Spanish handfuls long, and two handfuls broad: and it is reported, that he descended from the most ancient Kings of Enak, named Abchamaz, as by the ingraven stone of his Sepulchre is declared; whereon it is also written that he raigned over the whole World. But at Damascus there are about three thousand Israelites, among whom there are the Disciples of wisemen, and such as are rich. And the Head [m] of the Assembly of the Land of Israel dwelleth there, whose name is Esdra, and his Brother Sar Salom the chiefe Judge, and Joseph the fift of the Assembly, and Matsliahh the head of the order of the Readers, and Mair

Amna. Pharphar. Hermon.

**Mahumetan Church of Damascus.*

Bone of a Giant.

Enak.

[m] *Head of the Synagogues, as that James which was by King Johns*

the Crowne and glory of the wise men, and Sadik the Physician. There are also, almost, two hundred of the Literall Expositors, but of the Cuthæi, almost foure hundred: among all whom there is great concord and peace, yet notwithstanding, these divers Factions inter-marrie not each with other.

Charter Presbyter of all the Jewes in England.
Karaim.

Departing from Damascus, in one whole dayes journey I went to Galgad, which was sometimes called, Gilead, a large Countrey, flowing with Rivers and Fountaines of water, replenished with Gardens and Orchards, in the which there are about threescore Israelites. Halfe a dayes journey from hence standeth Salcatha, which Citie was sometime called, Saleca. From whence the other Baghal-Beik is halfe a dayes journey distant, the ancient name whereof was Baghala, seated in the Valley under Libanus, built by Salomon, for the sake and use of Pharaos Daughter. And part of the building of the Palace yet remayneth, the stones whereof are just twentie Spanish handfuls in length, and twelve in bredth, among which there is not one at all, that is not worne: and it is commonly reported, that that building was not made by the hand of man, but of *Asmodey. And in the very entrance of the Citie, a great Fountaine bursteth forth, and runneth through the middest of the Citie. There is also Thadmur seated in the Desart, built likewise by the commandement of Salomon, after the same manner of building and greatnesse of the stones: and it is compassed with a wall, solitary, as I said, and removed from other Habitation, and some dayes journey distant from Baghala. But, in this Citie, Thadmur, there are foure thousand Jewes, valiant, and ready and prepared for the battel: who make warre with the Children of Edom, and with the Children of Garab, or the Arabians, commonly called, subject unto the Kingdome of Noraldinus: and they helpe the bordering Ismaelites. Among these, Isaac, surnamed Græcus, and Nathan, and Uziel, have the pre-eminence. Halfe a dayes journey from thence I came to Kirjathin, called Kirjathaim in time past, in the which there are no Jewes, except one

Galgad.
Gilead.
Salcatha.
Saleca.
Baghal-Beik.
**That is, of a certain Devil, to whom too many things are ascribed by Superstition.*
Thadmur.
Kirjathin.
Kirjathaim.

Dyer of woolls. From whence departing one whole dayes journey, I entred into Hamath, retayning the ancient name, seated under the Mountaine Libanus, nigh unto the River Jabok. But, in those dayes it hapned, that the Citie being shaken with a great Earthquake, about fifteene thousand men perished in one day: and no more then seventie men were remayning alive, the chiefe is, Ghola the Priest, and old Father Galeb, and Muchtar. Siha is halfe a dayes journey distant from hence, sometimes called, Hhatsor: from the which, Lamdin is no further removed then three leagues. In two dayes journey from thence I went to Hhaleb, the ancient name of which Citie and Countrey was Aram Tsoba: and it is the Princely seat of King Noraldinus, within the which there is a very great Palace, compassed with a wall, and there is no Fountaine, Well, or River in the whole Citie: but they drinke raine-water gathered in Cisternes, which in the Ismaelitish Language they call, Algub. There are about one thousand five hundred Israelites here, whose Heads are, Moses the Constantinopolitan, and Israel, and Seth. By travelling two dayes journey from hence, I came to Baalits, in time past Pethoran, and nigh unto the River Euphrates, where even untill this day, the Tower of Balaam the sonne of Beghor, remayneth (let the name of the wicked be abolished) built according to the number of the houres of the day: and in that Citie there are few Jewes. From thence, it is halfe a dayes journey to Kelagh Geber, which the Ancients called, Selagh Midbera, the Latines, Petra Deserti. The Arabians onely retayned this, after they fled into the Desarts, being violently expulsed by the Turkes, from their habitations and Cities. But here there are almost two thousand Jewes, and the chiefe of these, Sedekias, Hhaiia, and Salomo.

Hamath.

The River Jabok.

Great Earthquakes, of which see l. 8. c. 2. & 3.

Siha.

Hhatsor.

Lamdin.

Hhaleb, happily Aleppo.

Aram Tsoba.

Algub.

Baalit.

[II.ix.1449.]

Balaam.

Kelagh Gebar.

Selagh Midbera.

Petra Deserti.

The Arabians.

§. III.

Of Mesopotamia, Mosul, Bagdat; the Calipha; the numbers, Synagogues, and Priviledges of the Jews in it, and the places adjoyning.

ONe dayes journey distant from hence is Dakia, which was sometime called Chalne, the beginning of the Land of Senaar (which is Mesopotamia) it lieth out in length betweene the Kingdome of the Turkes, and the Countrey Sangasar. And there are almost seventie Jewes there, over whom, Zachai, and Nedib, otherwise called [c]Sagi Nehor, and Joseph, have the pre-eminence. And in this place standeth the Synagogue built by Esdra, returning from Babylon to Hierusalem. Two dayes journey from thence is ancient Hharan, in the which there is also a Synagogue of the like building, made by the commandement of the same Esdra: but that place, where the house of our Father Abraham was, contayneth no building; yet is it religiously respected by the Ismaelites, and frequented by them for the offering up of their supplications. Departing from thence, we travelled two dayes journey to the place where a River issueth forth, called by the Inhabitants Alchabor, the same also in time past being called, Hhabor, which runneth forth into the Province Madai or Media, and falleth into the Mountaine Gozen. And there are about two thousand Jewes there. From hence, after two dayes journey, is Netsibin or Nisibis, a great Citie, abounding with Rivers of water, where are, almost, a thousand Jewes. From whence, travelling two dayes journey, we came to Gezir Ben-Ghamar, which Citie is contayned within the bankes of the River Hidekel, which the people of the West call Tygris, at the foot of the Mountaines Ararat or Taurus, foure miles, almost, distant from the place where the Arke of Noe rested: but Ghamar-Ben-Alehetab having taken that Arke from the ridge of the Mountaine, being removed, fitted it for the use of the Ismaelites Mosche,

Dakia. *Chalne.* *Senaar.* *The Turkes.* *Sangasar.* *Sagi Nehor.* [c]*That is, Very honourable.* *Hharan.* *Alchabor.* *Hhabor.* *Madai.* *Media.* *Gozen.* *Netsibin.* *Nisibis.* *Gezir Ben-Ghamar.* *Hidekel.* *Tygris.* *Ararat.* *Taurus.* *The Arke of Noe.*

neere unto which, standeth the Synagogue of Esdra, even unto this day, whereunto, the Jewes going out of the Citie, assemble on festivall dayes, to pray. And in that *Ghamar-Ben-Alchetab.* Metropolitan Citie of Gezira Gamar Ben-Alchetab, there are, almost, foure thousand Jewes, Mubhhar, and Joseph, and Hhaiia, being the chiefe.

Al-Mutsal. *Assur.* Two dayes journey distant from thence is Al-Mutsal, the name whereof was sometime, Great Assur, where are seven thousand Jewes: the principall whereof are, Zachai ha[d] Nassi, of the posteritie of King David; and Joseph, surnamed [e]Barhan al pelech, Counsellor of King Zinaldin, Brother of Noraldinus the King of Damascus. And this Citie is the beginning of the Kingdome of Persia, and retayneth that ancient largenesse and greatnesse, seated upon the River Hhidekel, betweene which and the ancient Ninive, there is onely a Bridge: but Ninive is utterly destroyed: yet there are Streets, and many Castles within the space of the ancient circuit, from which unto the Citie Adbael, is one leagues distance. But Ninive was built upon the banke of Hhidekel. And in the Citie Assur there are now three Synagogues of three Prophets, of Abdia, of Jonas the sonne of Amithai, and Nahhum the Sonne of Elcusseus. Departing from thence, and travelling three dayes journey, I came to Rahaba, by the Antient, called Rehhoboth, seated nigh unto the River Euphrates, in the which, there are almost two thousand Jewes, whereof Ezechias, Ahud, and Isaac, are accounted the chiefe. And it is a very great and goodly Citie, compassed about with walls, and very well fortified, and furnished with goodly Suburbs of Gardens, and places of delight. Upon the banke of the same River standeth Karkesia, sometime called Charchamis, one dayes journey onely, distant from Rahaba; in the which, there dwell about five hundred Jewes, Isaac, and Elhana being the chiefe. Two dayes journey from hence, we went to Al-Jobar, the ancient name whereof, was Pumbeditha, seated in Nahardugha: in the which, there are about two thousand Jewes, among whom there are many Disciples of the Wisemen, and

[d] *That is, a Prince.*
[e] *Skilfull in Astrologie, in the Arabian Language.*
Mutsal the beginning of Persia.
Ninive.
Adbael.
The Synagogues of Abdia, Jonas, and Nahhum.
Rahaba.
Rehhoboth.
Euphrates.
Karkesia.
Charchamis.
Al Jobar.
Pumbeditha.

the chiefe of these are, Great Hen, and Moses, and Eliakim. The Sepulchres of the Masters, Juda and Samuel, are there accounted memorable. Before each Sepulchre stand two Synagogues, built by them before their death. There also remayneth the Sepulchre of Bestenai Hanassi, who was Head of the Transmigration, and Nathan, and Neheman the sonne of Papha. Departing from hence, I travelled five dayes journey to Hharda, in the which, there are about fifteene thousand Jewes, among whom Zachen, and Joseph, and Nathanael, are the chiefe. From this Citie, it is two dayes journey to Ghukbera, the chiefe Citie, built by Jechonias the King of Juda, in the which there are almost ten thousand Jewes, Jehosuah and Nathan being the principall.

Sepulchres.

Captaine of the Captives banished thither.

Hharda.

Ghukbera.

Jechonias.

[II.ix.1450.]

Two dayes journey distant from hence standeth Bagdad, a great Citie, the beginning of the Kingdome of Calipha, named *Amir Almumanin Alghabassi, of the Progenie of him, whom the Ismaelites call their Prophet, who hath the chiefe authoritie over the whole Doctrine and Sect of the Ismaelites: and for this cause he is accounted reverent and honorable, to all the rest of the Kings of the Ismaelites: for hee ruleth over them all, as a certaine high Priest of them all. And within the Citie of Bagdad it selfe he hath a Palace, built in a plat of ground of three miles, and within the Palace, there is a Wood furnished with all kinds of Trees of the whole world, not onely with fruitfull Trees, but also barren; replenished also with all sorts of Beasts, and in the middest of the Wood, an huge standing Poole of water, conveyed from the River Tigris. But the Calipha walking or supping in that Wood for recreation, his servants exercise Hawking and Fishing, and hee goeth unto this place accompanied with the traine of his Counsellers and Princes. And the proper name of this great King is *Al-Ghabassi Hhaphtsi, who loveth the Israelites very well, being skilfull in the tongues, studious in reading the Law of Moses, who being expert in the Hebrew Language, both readeth, and also writeth learnedly. But hee hath made this Religious

Bagdad.

Calipha.

**That is, Emperor of the Beleevers, who leade their lives sorrowfully or penitently.*

Caliphas place at Bagdat.

**That is, humble observers.*

vow unto himselfe, that he would receive the use neither of meate, drinke, nor apparell, but through the labour of his owne hands: for he is an artificiall maker of the most excellent fine Mats and Coverlets, which, being marked with his owne Seale, he delivereth to his principall servants, to be sold in the Market, but the Noble-men of the Countrey buy them, and with the money of that trade, he procureth maintenance for himselfe: and hee is a man of an honest behaviour, and faithfull, and religious after his manner, and most curteously saluteth, and speaketh unto all men. But the Ismaelites may not lawfully behold him. But the Pilgrims who goe unto that famous house, called Meka, seated in the Countrey of Æliman, from the most remote Countries, travell this way through an earnest desire they have to salute Calipha; and having entred into the Palace, they crie out, O our Lord, the light of the Ismaelites, and the Sunne-beame of our Law, shew us the brightnesse of thy face: to whose words hee inclineth not his minde. But then, the Princes his familiar friends and servants speake unto him with these words: Our Lord, spread abroade thy peace upon these men comming from remote Countries, whom an admirable desire hath inforced to flye unto the shadow of thy glory. In the selfe same houre therefore, taking up the wing of his garment, hee letteth it downe out of the Window, which, the Pilgrims comming unto it, religiously kisse. And having heard this answer from one of those familiar Princes, Goe in peace, for now our Lord, the light of the Ismaelites hath received, and given you peace: for he is supposed by them to be, as it were, he whom they call their Prophet. They therefore most joyfully returne every one into their Countrey, after they have beene dismissed in this manner with such speech of the Prince, and returning home, are received by their brethren, kinsfolke, and familiar and inward friends, with the kissing of their garments. And every one of those Princes who serve the Calipha, have their severall Palaces within that huge Palace, yet they goe all bound with Iron Chaines,

This is observed by the greatest Mahumetans: the Great Turke himselfe still professing the exercise of some trade, though perhaps more for shew then in such serious respect as this.

Meka.

Æliman or the South Countrey; so they call Arabia.

Treason prevented.

and over all their houses there are watchfull keepers set, lest any one should attempt any sudden innovation against that mightie King. For it happened once, that his brethren conspiring against him, made a certaine other, one of their number, ruler over them; wherefore he established it by decree, that all the children of his whole stocke and familie, should be bound with Iron Chaines, lest they should againe enterprize the like attempt against the mightie King. But every one liveth in a private Court, reverenced with great honour, and hath Cities, Townes, and Countries, from the which he yeerely receiveth tributes and revenues, brought unto him by the Tresurers: and they feast, and give themselves to pleasure all their whole life. But in that Palace of the mightie King, there are buildings of an admirable greatnesse, the Pillars whereof are of silver and gold, and the inner parts of the houses are over-laide with these metals, and beautified with all kind of Precious stones and Pearles: out of the which Palace he goeth forth once only in the yeere, on that festival day or Easter, which they cal Ramadan. And on that day, great multitudes of men from divers and remote Countries, flocke together to see his face. And he is carried upon a Mule, attired in princely garments, intermingled with gold and silver, having his head adorned with a Myter, shining with stones of incomparable price: but he weareth a blacke Hand-kerchiefe upon the Myter, by carrying whereof, he openly confesseth and shamefacednesse of this world; as if he should have said: This great Majestie which yee behold, darkenesse will obscure in the day of death. Moreover, all the Nobilitie of the Ismaelites accompanie him, attired with very goodly and costly garments, and sitting upon Horses, the Princes of Arabia, the Princes of Media, and Persia, and the Princes of the Countrey of Tuboth, which is three moneths journey distant from Arabia. But he commeth forth of his Palace to the great house (as they call it) of Prayer, built in the gate Bosra: for that is accounted their greatest house of Prayer. Moreover, as

The Buildings of the Palace.

Ramadan, the Israelites Easter.

Arabia.

Persia.

Tuboth.

Bosra.

well the men as women, all who celebrate that day are cloathed with Purple and silken garments. You may also finde through all the wayes and streets, all kindes of Instruments, Songs, and Dances, playing when he passeth by: and Calipha himselfe the mightie King is saluted by [II.ix.1451.] all, in these words: Peace bee upon thee our Lord the King, He, I say, kisseth his owne garment, wherewith *His blessing the people.* sometimes, but sometimes only with his hand stretched forth, he signifieth peace and salutation unto them. And thus hee goeth unto the Court of prayer, where ascending into a woodden Turret, he interpreteth his Law in a *Learned men or students of Mahomets Law.* Sermon, from an higher place. But then the wise men of the Ismaelites arising, having wished all happinesse unto him, congratulate his greatnesse and excellent pietie, evidently knowne by many examples, which they desire to be perpetuall. And surely, all enlarge this gratulation, answering, Amen. And afterward he blesseth them all. *Camell killed.* Then presently a Camell being brought, is killed by him, for this is accounted their Paschall feast, of the flesh whereof he commandeth small pieces to be distributed to those Princes his servants, who are to taste of the beast slaine by their sacred King, at which present they greatly rejoyce. And these things being performed after their manner, they depart from that house of Prayer. But the King returneth another way then hee came, by the banke of the River Tigris, himselfe alone. For the rest of the Princes and servants returne by the River, being carried in Boates before him, untill hee enter into the Palace. And that way is diligently kept all the yeere by Watch-*Caliphas keeping home. Palace betwixt Tigris and Euphrates.* men, lest peradventure any one enter into that place, which is sacred, through the steps of his feete. All that whole yeere after he is conteyned within the Palace, never to goe forth to any other place. But he is of a faire behaviour, and according to that sect of his, just and godly. And hee hath built a Palace beyond the River, *All these buildings (it seemes) were destroyed by the Tartars.* on the very banke of a certaine Arme of the River Euphrates, which floweth from the other side of the Citie, in the which he hath built great houses and Market-places,

and also Hospitals, fit for the curing of poore sicke men, and almost threescore Physicians Store-houses are reckoned there, being all abundantly furnished with all necessary kindes of Spices, Medicines, and other fit things brought from the Kings house: whatsoever therefore is thought commodious for Medicine, and food, and for the whole cure, is given to all the sicke brought thither, at the Kings cost, untill they happen to bee recovered. Besides, there is another Palace in the same place, which is called Dar Almarapthan, that is, the house of Mercie, for the including of all mad persons found in the Countrey; every one whereof are bound with Iron Chaines, untill they returne to their wits: for then they are every one permitted to depart unto their houses, the men to whom that charge is committed, looking unto it, and examining the same every moneth. All these things are ordained by that King, for the bestowing of almes and benefit commonly, to all comming thither, who are either mad, or troubled with any other disease. For, as we have said, he is of a mercifull and kind disposition, and of a good minde.

Hospitals.

Dar Almaraphthan, a Bethlehem Hospitall for the Mad.

And in the same Citie, called Bagdad, there are about a thousand Jewes, living in great quietnesse and peace, and very honestly used under the dominion of that King, surnamed, the Great, among whom there are some very learned men, the chiefe of the Assemblies, greatly conversant in the studie of the Law of Moses. But there are ten Assemblies there, the head of the greatest whereof, is Samuel the sonne of Heli: next, the heads of the other Assemblies are, Gaon Sagan the Levite, of the second: but of the third, Daniel Sod: of the fourth, Eliezer Hahhaber: and Eliezer Ben Tsamahh, head of the Order, who is descended from the Prophet Samuel, and with his Brethren playeth cunningly upon musicall Instruments, that is, upon the Psalteries, with the same skill which was then used when the house of the Sanctuarie was yet standing; hee is head of the fift Assembly: and of the sixt Hhasadias, the flower of his Companions: Haggæus

Jewes at Bagdat.

The head of the Captivitie, who, and of what qualitie.

Hanassi ruleth the seventh Assembly: Esdras the eight: Abraham, surnamed Abutahar the ninth: the tenth and last Zachæus Ben Basathnai. All these are called Vacant, because they doe no other thing but governe the Societie. But they exercise judgements, and execute justice to all the Jewes of that Countrey all the dayes of the weeke, except the second day wherein they all assemble before Great Samuel, the head of the Assembly, and honor of the Jacobides, who, together with those ten Vacants, the heads of the Assemblies, doe justice to every one requiring the same. Notwithstanding the greatest of all these, is Daniel the sonne of Hhasdai, called the head of the Captivitie, who hath a booke of his Genealogie, derived even from David. The Jewes call him our Lord, and the head of the Captivitie. And the Ismaelites call him Sidna Ben David, that is, our Lord, the sonne of David. And he hath great authoritie over all the Congregations of the Israelites, under the hand* of Amir Almonin, Lord of the Ismaelites: whose decree was this, appertaining even unto his Posteritie, adding and delivering also a Seale of authoritie over all the Colledges of the Israelites, whatsoever contayned within the jurisdiction of his Law, to whom for the cause of honor, he hath commanded all men, as well Ismaelites as Jewes, to arise up and salute, and Nations also of whatsoever faction; he that shall doe otherwise, let him be punished with an hundred stripes. But when he commeth forth to visit the Great King, he is guarded with a great number of Horse-men, Jewes and Gentiles accompanying him, a Cryer going before him, proclayming these words: Prepare yee the way for the Lord the sonne of David, as it is meete; and they proclaime it in their Language. But he is carried upon an Horse, cloathed with silken and embroydered garments, he adorneth his head with a Miter, upon the Miter he weareth a white Shash, and upon the Shash a Chaine. And all the Colledges of the Israelites of the Countrey of Senaar, Persia, Gharsan, and Seba, which is now called Aliman, and Diarbeich, and of all the Countrey of Meso-

*The power which the Jewes had, was both limited to Jewish cases and persons, and under the Saracen Magistrates inspection, as the Greeke Patriarke and BB. under the Turke, a slavish power dearely bought, and executed at will of the seller, where Jewish affection hath not enlarged.

The Countrey of Senaar.
Persia.
Charsan.
Seba, which is also Aliman, andDiarbeich.

A.D. c. 1160.

potamia, and the Province Rut, whose Inhabitants dwell in the Mountaynes of Ararat, and of the Countrey Alania, which is inclosed round about with very high Mountaines, and have no entrance or way to goe forth except the Iron Gates placed there by Alexander, where that Nation called Alan dwelleth: besides, of the Countries of Sicria, and all the Land of Thogarmin, even unto the Mountaines Asna, and of the Province of the Gerganæi, even unto the River Ghihon. But the Gerganæi are the same People that are called Gergasæi, now Christians, and unto the Gates of the best Countries and Lands, even unto India, I say, the Colledges of all these Countries, through the authoritie and power of this man, Prince of the Captivitie, chuse every one their Head and Minister, who being chosen, come unto him to receive authoritie, and imposition of hands: and unto him, Gifts and Presents are brought from all the borders of the Land. And he hath publike houses, let for advantage, which they call Fondaci, and hath also Orchards and Gardens in Babylon, and very many possessions received from his Ancestors by the right of Inheritance, but no man dare violently take or carrie away any thing from him. He hath also houses to be let, and of Merchandizing, for the use of the Jewes. He receiveth also a certaine tribute yeerely out of the Markets, and from the Merchants of the Land, besides that which he receiveth, brought unto him from remote Countries. Therefore he is exceeding rich, and diligently conversant and learned, as well in the sacred as in other bookes of humane knowledge: and he feedeth many of the Israelites by his daily hospitalitie. But, at what time any man of this Familie is made Head of the Captivitie,[a] hee bringeth forth great summes of money, and giveth first unto the King himselfe, and next unto the Princes and Magistrates. And the same day wherein the King layeth his hand upon him, to grant him authoritie and principalitie, the second Chariot of the King is prepared and covered for him to ascend into it, and to be brought from the Palace unto his owne house with great pompe and singing, and with

[II.ix.1452.]

Alania. Derbent.

Sicria. The Mountaines Asna. Gerganæi, who also are the Gergasæi.

[a] *So is the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, now forced to give to the Turkes, 4000. Duckets tribute, and almost as much to the Bassas: at other times not admitted to sit with them. Gerlach. ep.*

The manner of creating the Head of the Captivitie.

the striking up of Drums, and sound of the Fluits. But he himselfe exerciseth the imposition of hands towards the men of the Assemblie. And the Jewes Inhabitants of that Metropolitan Citie are the Disciples of [b]Wise-men, and very rich: and eight and twentie Synagogues are numbred in the Citie of Bagdat it selfe, and in Parech, or the Suburbs which are beyond Tigris. For the River runneth through the Metropolitan Citie it selfe. But that great Synagogue, which appertayneth to that man who is the Head of the Captivitie, is built with marble stones, divers and most excellent, of all colours, garnished with Gold and Silver: and in the very Pillars, Verses of the Psalmes are read, ingraven in golden letters. Moreover, before the Arke, the ranks of ten seats are there distinguished with marble steps; in the highest whereof, the Head of the Captivitie sitteth with the chiefest of the Familie of David. But the Metropolitan Citie it selfe is great, in the which also a Citie, like a Castle is contayned, fortified with a wall of three miles circuit about. The Countrey aboundeth with the most excellent Palme-trees, Gardens and Orchards, of all the Land of Senaar, and is frequented by the most gallant Merchants and Factors of all Countries, and maintayneth learned men and Philosophers, and Students of all the Mathematicall Artes, Divinations, and Inchantments.

That is, Schollers of Rabbins, and Students of the Talmud.

28. Synagogs in Bagdat.

Departing two dayes journey from thence I came to Gehiaga, the ancient name whereof was Resen, sometimes a great and very famous Citie, in the which there are almost five thousand Israelites; and they have a great Synagogue, with a place of buriall next unto the Synagogue: and in the burying place a Cave, famous for the Sepulchres of certaine ancient learned men. One dayes journey distant from hence, standeth that ancient Babel, contayning thirtie miles in compasse, but now utterly destroyed, where the ruines of Nabuchodonosors Palace are yet seene, inaccessible to men, by reason of the divers and noysome kinds of Serpents and Dragons living there. Not above twentie miles distant from these ruines, twentie thousand Israelites

Gehiaga. Resen.

Babel.

The ruines of Nebuchodonosors Palace.

dwell, who powre forth their prayers in the Synagogues; the chiefe whereof is that uppermost ancient Floore of Daniel, built with square stones and Brickes, and the Temple and Palace of Nabuchodonosor of the same matter, and the Fornace of burning fire, into the which, Hananias, Misael, and Azarias were cast. And all these things are seene in the Valley well knowne to all. From thence we passed five miles to Hhilan, where are almost ten thousand Israelites, divided into foure Synagogues, whereof one was the Synagogue of M Aar, who lieth buried there: next unto whom also, are the Sepulchres of Great Zeghirus the sonne of Hama, and of Great M Aar: and the Jewes daily assemble thither to pray. From thence, are foure miles unto the Tower which the Children of the division began to build, which was made of that kinde of Bricke, which in the Arabian Language is called, Lagzar. The length of the Foundation conteyneth almost two miles, but the bredth of the walls is two hundred and fortie cubits: and where it is broadest, it contayneth an hundred Canes. Betweene the space of ten Canes, there are wayes made out at length throughout the whole building in the forme of a wreathed rundle; ascending which from the highest place, the fields are beheld twentie miles off: for the Countrey it selfe is very broad and plaine. But this building was sometimes stricken with lightning from Heaven, and destroyed even unto the lowest part.

The Fornace of burning Fire into the which Hananias, Misael, and Azarias were cast.

Hhilan.

The Tower of Babel.

Lagzar, in the Spanish tongue called, Mazari.

The Brickes are 8. inches broad, 6. thick, 12. long, with Canes betwixt, the building is not now a mile about, some say, but a quarter; perhaps a good part carried away since the time of Benjamin.

Halfe a dayes journey from hence is Naphahh, where are almost two hundred Jewes: and the Synagogue of that Great Isaac, surnamed Naphhæus, is there, who lieth buried right over against it. Three leagues from thence is the Synagogue of Ezechiel the Prophet, nigh unto the River Euphrates; and in the same place right over against the Synagogue, are threescore Towers in number, and betweene every Tower also, there are severall Synagogues, and in the Court of the Synagogue there is an Arke; and behind the Synagogue, the Monument of Ezechiel the sonne of Buz the Priest, under a great and very goodly

Naphahh.

The Synagogue of Ezeghiel the Prophet.

[II.ix.1453.]

Vault, built by Jechonias King of Juda, together with five and thirtie thousand Jewes, who followed him by Evil-merodak delivered out of Prison. And this place is betweene the River Cobar, and the River Euphrates. And Jechonias, and they who came with him, are engraven in the very walls; Jechonias first, but Ezechiel last. And this place is holy, even unto this day. And unto that place at a certaine time, many assemble for the cause of prayer, from the beginning of the yeere unto the feast of Expiations: and there they live most pleasant dayes. And that principall man, whom they call the Head of the Captivitie, with the other Heads of the Assemblies, come hither also from Bagdat, and abide all in that field for two and twentie miles together, pitching their Tents in divers places. Moreover, the Arabian Merchants come thither, and the greatest and most frequented Faires are kept there. But at this time, a great Booke, renowmed for authoritie and antiquitie, written by Ezechiel the Prophet, is brought forth, wherein they reade on the day of Expiation. And upon the Sepulchre of Ezechiel, a Lampe continually burneth day and night, since it was first lighted by the same Prophet, for the which, Oyle and Thread are ordinarily distributed and tempered. There is also a certaine great sacred Temple there, full of bookes kept as well from the time of the first house, as of the second: and it is and was the custome, that they who had no children, should consecrate their Bookes in that place. Moreover, Vowes are made in that place, to be performed by the Jewes dwelling in Media, and Persia. The principall men also of the Ismaelites resort hither to pray, among whom the authoritie and reverence of the Prophet Ezechiel is great, the name of which place in their Language is Dar melihha, that is, The house of the Congregation; and thither all the Arabians come for cause of prayer. About halfe a mile distant from this place, the Sepulchres of Hananias, Misael, and Azarias, are seene, with each of their great and goodly Arches. And although warre happen in those Countries, there is no

The River Cobar.

Jewish Pilgrimage yeerely.

Continuall light and continued darknesse.

GreatTemple.

The house of refuge.

TheSepulchres of Hananias, Misael, and Azarias.

mortall man that dare violate or touch these places; neither of the Jewes nor Ismaelites, for the reverence of the Prophet Ezechiel. From thence you travell three miles to the Citie Alkotsonath, in the which there are almost three hundred Jewes, and there also are the Sepulchres of Great Papha, and Huna, and Master Joseph Sivæus, and of Joseph the sonne of Hhama. And right over against every one of them, there are severall Synagogues, in the which the Jewes daily assemble for the cause of prayer. From hence to Ghein Saphta are three leagues, where is the Sepulchre of Nahum the sonne of Elcusæus the Prophet. It is one dayes journey from thence to Caphar le Paras, a famous place for the Sepulchres of Hhassidai, and Ghakiba, and Dusa. Capharmehamidbar is halfe a dayes journey distant from thence, where Master David, and Jehuda, and Kuberia, and Sehora, and Abba lie buried. One dayes journey from thence is the River Liga, where the Sepulchre of King Sedechia is, beautified with a great Arch. One dayes journey from hence standeth the Citie Kupha, famous for the monument of King Jechonias, of great workmanship, right over against which, a Synagogue is built; and in this place there are almost seven thousand Jewes. One dayes journey and an halfe from thence standeth Suria, which the Ancient called, Matha Mahhasia, in the which the Heads of the Captivitie, and the chiefe of the Assemblies, were in the beginning: and great men are buried there, Sarica, and his sonne Haai, and Saadias the sonne of Piiumus, and Semuel the sonne of Hhophin the Priest, and Sephanias the sonne of Chussi the sonne of Gedolia the Prophet, and very many other of the Heads of the Captivitie, Princes of the Familie of David, and principall men of the Assemblies, who abode there in the beginning, before the destruction thereof. You travell two dayes journey from hence to Sephiththib, situated in Nahardagha. But from thence to Elnachar, is one dayes journey and an halfe, called also Pebeditha, seated upon the banke of Euphrates, where his Synagogue is seene, who by the

The Citie Alkotsonath.

Ghein Saphta.

Caphar le Paras.

Capharmehamidbar.

The River Liga.

The Sepulchre of Sedechias.

Kupha.

The Sepulchre of Jechonias.

Suria.

Matha Mahhasia.

The Sepulchre of Sephanius.

Sephithib.

Nabardagha.

Elnachar.

Pebeditha.

figure Antonomasia, is called Rab, and of Samuel, nigh unto the which also are their Monuments.

§. IIII.

Strange reports, if true, of the Aliman Jewes. Of Persia, and David Elroi. Of the Nisbor Jewes, and some places of India.

Seba. *Aliman.* FRom thence travelling through the Desart, you goe unto the Countrey Seba, which is now called, the Land of Aliman, bordering upon the Countrey Senaar on the North, the length whereof contayneth one and twentie dayes journeys to be made through the Desarts: and in this Countrey those Jewes dwell, who are called, *The sonnes of Rechab.* the Sonnes of Recab, otherwise, the men of Theima. For *Theima.* Theima is the beginning of their Dominion, whom now Hanan Hanassi governeth. And the Citie of Theima it selfe is great, and populous. Their Countrey is extended sixteene dayes journey, betweene the Mountaines which [II.ix.1454.] are called, Northerly, beautified with great and well fortified Cities, and not subject to the yoke of any forraine Nation: from whence the Inhabitants going forth, spoyle all the bordering and also the remote Nations, how many soever they be, even unto the Arabians, who are in league with them. But the Arabians are they who dwell in Tents, and have moveable Habitations in the Desarts of their Countrey, and invade strange Countries for prey, in all that Countrey of Aliman: and those Jewes,* whom we now mentioned, manure grounds and pastures; possesse Heards and Cattell, having a very large and vast Countrey, who give the Tenths of all their revenues to the use of

* Vertomannus mentioneth Arabian Jewes potent and cruell, secured more by Desarts and Hills, then any greatnesse of their owne: as also in Abassia some Jewes live in manner free, on steepe Hills. But this freedome is a continual slavery, and siege; the Arabians alwaies endangering the one, and as it were, besieging them, as the Abassines the other. Neither yet doe I thinke but their Countrey is here enlarged far, by the Jewish relations to our Author. For, Cities and Townes in Arabia seeme not to be so frequent and populous.

A.D. c. 1160.

the Disciples of Wise-men, perpetually applying their studie to Doctrine and Sermons, and of the Pharisies, who lament Sion, and bewayle Hierusalem, continually abstayning from Flesh, and Wine, and alwaies cloathed with mourning and poore apparell, dwelling in holes or little Cottages, and fasting every day except the Sabbath, with continuall prayers also beseeching the sacred Majestie, and begging the mercy of God towards the deliverance of the Captivitie of Israel. All the Jewes also desire the same; to wit, the men of the Countrey of Theima, and Telimaas, in the which there are almost an hundred thousand Jewes: among whom Selomoh Hanasst, that is the chiefe, and his Brother Hhanan Hanassi, are of the Progenie of David the King: which the Booke of the Familie from age to age derived, plainly declareth. And all these goe with their garments rent, and fast fortie daies, for all the Jewes sakes living in Captivitie. But that Province hath about fortie Cities, two hundred Townes, and an hundred Castles. But the Metropolis and Head is Thenai, and the summe of the Jewes inhabiting in all those Cities, contayneth almost three hundred thousand men. Moreover, that chiefe Citie is largely compassed with very wide and ample walls, so that it hath fields within it, and affoordeth the abilitie and commoditie of sowing and reaping Corne. For, it contayneth fifteene miles in length, and as many also in bredth. And the Palace of Salomon Hanassi is there: and the Citie it selfe is very faire, and furnished with most pleasant Gardens and Orchards. Tilmaas also is no lesse goodly and great a Citie, which about an hundred thousand Jewes inhabit, seated betweene two very high Mountaines, and very strongly fenced, full of learned and wise men, of the which, many are rich. Chibar is three dayes journey distant from Tilmaas: and they report, that they are Reuben, and Gad, and the Tribe of Manasse, taken by Salmanasar the King of the Assyrians and sent hither, and

Jewes called Mourners. See my Pil. l. 2. c. 10. §. 2.

Theima.
Telimaas.
This seemeth a genealogicall Fable, as some other Relations which he had from his countrimen. My rule is Cassianum illud, cui bono. If a Jew build his Jewish Temple, or a Jesuite his Romish-Catholike Church, I look with both eies, andscarcelybeleeve Relation, or pretended Revelation and Miracle.
Thenai the Metropolitan Citie of the Countrey Theima.
Tilmaas.
Chibar.
Sic perhibent qui de magnis maiora loquuntur. Credat Judæus appella. Here and else where make difference of what he saw, and what he received of his fabulous countrimen.

that they built these great and well fortified Cities, and going forth of these places they made warres, and yet warre with all the bordering Kingdomes; and that no man is able to come unto them, by reason of the vast and huge Desarts, voyd of all succour for eighteene dayes journey together. And Chibar is also a great Citie, where fiftie thousand Israelites dwell, whereof many are learned men, and very many most valiant, who make warre with the children of Senaar, and with the Northerne Countries and the bordering Inhabitants of Eliman. But this is Hodu, that is pertayning to India, from which you are to travell five and twentie dayes journey unto the River Vira, which runneth through the Countrey of Eliman, where three thousand Israelites dwell. Travelling seven dayes journey from hence, you come to Neasat, where are seven thousand Israelites, among whom, Nedaian is accounted a great man. But, from thence you travell five dayes journey to Bosra, seated on the River Tigris, in which, there are a thousand Israelites, of the which very many are the Disciples of the Wise-men, and many are accounted rich.

Chibar.
Hodu. India.
The river Vira.
Neasat.
Bosra.

Two dayes journey distant from hence, is the River Samura, the beginning of the Countrey of Persia, with a Citie of the same name, wherein a thousand and five hundred Jewes dwell. And that place is famous for the Sepulchre of Esdras, the Scribe & Priest, who comming Embassador from Hierusalem to Artaxerses the King, dyed there. But before his Sepulchre a great Synagogue is built by the ancient Fathers, and on the other side, the Ismaelites have built an House of Prayer, for the great affection they bare towards that man: which also is the cause, that the Ismaelites love the Jewes resorting unto that place to pray. Foure miles distant from thence standeth Chuzsethan, called Elam in former time, the Countrey of the Elamites, a very great Citie, but for the most part, now destroyed, wasted, and without Inhabitants: among the ruins whereof, Susan Habira is yet to be seene, the huge Palace of K. Assuerus, built with very

Samura.
Esdras.
Artaxerses.
Chuzsethan.
Elam.
Susan Habira.
The Palace of Assuerus the King.

goodly workemanship, many parts and examples of Art yet remayning of that Princely and admirable building. In this Citie there are seven thousand Jewes, who are assembled in fourteene Synagogues; and before one of them standeth the Sepulchre of Daniel: and the River Tigris runneth through the Citie it selfe, and also divideth the habitation of the Jewes: and on the one side of the River, they are all very rich whosoever dwell there, and they have Market places very well furnished with Merchandizes and Trading: but on the other dwell all the meaner and poorer sort, who have no Markets, no Trading, nor Gardens or Orchards, so that upon a certaine time they conceived envie against the other, and supposed that the riches and fertilitie happened unto them, through the Neighbour-hood of Daniel the Prophet buried there: wherefore they required of them, that the Sepulchre of Daniel might bee permitted to bee translated unto their Quarter. Which when it was constantly denyed, they first fell to brawling, and afterward to battell and fight, with great slaughter on both sides for many dayes together, untill at length being both weary, they agreed upon Covenants and conditions, that every other yeere, the Tombe stone of Daniel should be carried over unto the other side: and that for some little while was done and renued, but in the meane space it happened, that Senigar Saa the Sonne of Saa the mightie Emperour of all the Kings of the Persians came thither, whose command five and forty Kingdomes obay.

The Sepulchre of Daniel.

[II.ix.1455.]

Senigar Saa, the Emperour of the Persians, obeyed by forty five Kings.

He is called in the Arabian Language Sultan alporas alkabir, that is, the Great King of Persia: and his Dominion is extended from the mouth of the River Samura, even unto the Citie Semarchoth, and unto the River Gozen, and unto the Countrey Ghisbor, and the Cities of Media, and the Montaynes Hhaphton, and unto those excellent Countries, where beasts are maintayned, from which dissolved Myrrhe commeth. And all the Dominion of this Emperour contayneth foure monethes and foure dayes journey. When therefore having some-

The River Sumra. Semarchoth. Gozen. Ghisbor. The Mountayns Hhaphton Myrrhe or Muske.

time stayed in this City, he had seene the Tombe stone of Daniel to bee carryed over from one quarter of the Citie unto the other, and that very many of the Jewes and Ismaelites went with it, demanding and understanding the cause, he thought it a shamefull thing, that such irreverance towards Daniel should bee tolerated: but having diligently measured the space betweene both parts, hee hung up the Tombe stone of Daniel put into an Arke of Glasse, in that middle place, fastned to an huge Beame with Brazen Chaines, and commanded a great Temple to be built, dedicated to the use of a Synagogue, and open for all men of the whole World, and denyed to no mortall man, whether Jew or Aramite purposing to enter into the same to pray. And that Arke hangeth upon the Beame even untill this day. Moreover, that Emperour forbade by an expresse Edict, that no man should take fishes out of the River for one mile downe the River, and for another mile up the River, for the reverence and honour of Daniel.

Robad-Bar. From hence to Robad-Bar are three dayes journeyes, where also, almost twentie thousand Israelites dwell: among whom there are very many Disciples of the Wise-men, and also rich; but these live as Captives under the power and authoritie of a strange Prince. In two dayes *The River Vaanath.* journey from thence you come to the River Vaanath, where are foure thousand Jewes, almost. But foure dayes jour- *Molhhaath.* ney from that River, lyeth the Countrey Molhhaath, the Inhabitants whereof beleeve not the Doctrine of the Ismaelites. But they dwell in very great Mountaynes and they obey an Elder, whose seate is in the Countrey *Alchesisin.* Alchesisin: and among these, there are two Colledges [a] *[a] Synagogues.* of the Israelites, and they goe forth to the warres together with them. Nor are they subject to the Dominion of the King of Persia, who live in very high Mountaynes, from whence descending they invade the bordering Countries, and drive away booties; and returne againe into their Mountaynes. They feare the force and violence of no man. But the Jewes who dwell among them, are the

Disciples of the Wise-men, and obay the Head of the Captivitie of Babylon. You travell five dayes journey from hence to Ghaaria, where are five and twentie thousand Israelites. And it is the beginning of the Universities [b] of the Inhabitants of the Mountaynes Hhaphthon, which it is certainly knowne, to be more then an hundred in number. And in these places, the Countrey of Media beginneth. And these are of the first Captivitie carryed away by King Salmanasar. But they speake the Chaldy Language, and among them are the Disciples of Wise-men. And the chiefe Citie Ghamaria pertayning to the Kingdome of Persia is neere unto them within one dayes journey. But they are under the power and dominion of the King of Persia, to whom they pay Tribute. And the Tribute appointed in all the Kingdomes of the Ismaelites, is, that all the Males above fifteene yeares old, should pay yeerely, one Golden Amircus apiece. And the Golden piece of Money called Amircus, valueth one Spanish Morabetine piece of Gold and an halfe.

Ghaaria.

[b] *Synagogues.*

Hhaphthon.

Media.

A Golden piece of money called Amircus.

The Spanish Morabetine Golden Piece of money.

It is now twelve yeeres since a certayne man, named David Elroi, arose out of the Citie Ghamaria, who was the Disciple of Hhasdai, the Head of that Captivitie, and of Jacob the honourable, Head of the Assembly of Levi, in the Metropolitan Citie of Baghdad, and became very learned in the Law of Moses, and in the Bookes of Doctrine, and also in all externall wisedome, and in the Language and Writing of the Ismaelites, and in the Bookes of the Magicians and Inchanters. He therefore put on his minde, that he would rayse Armes against the King of Persia, and gathering together those Jewes, who dwelt in the Mountaynes Hhaphthon, making warre with all Nations, hee would goe unto Hierusalem to winne it by assault. And that hee might perswade the Jewes thereunto, he used lying and deceitfull signes, affirming, that hee was sent from God to vanquish Hierusalem, and to free them from the yoke of the Nations; so that with many of the Jewes, he procured credit unto himselfe, and obtayned the name of their Messias. The King of the

The History of David Elroi.

Persians hearing the same of this matter, sent for him to talke with him, unto whom hee went without any feare at all; and being demanded whether he were the King of the Jewes, hee boldly answered, that it was so; and forthwith he was commanded to be apprehended, and cast in Prison: in the which who so are included by the Kings sentence, are kept there all their life. But that Prison is *Dabasthan.* in the Citie Dabasthan, nigh adjoyning to the great River Gozen: Now after three dayes, a Councell of the Princes and Ministers being gathered together by the King, in the [II.ix.1456.] which they determined to consult and treate concerning this attempt of Innovation begunne by the Jewes, suddenly that David was present there, loosed out of Prison of his owne accord, no man knowing thereof; whom when the King saw, wondring he demanded: who hath brought thee hither, or delivered thee out of Prison? to whom hee answering: Mine owne wisdome, saith he, and my industry. For I am nothing afraid of thee, or of thy servants. Then the King crying out, Apprehend him, saith he. To whom the Princes and servants answered, that surely, his voice was heard of all, but that his shape was seene of no man. Wherefore the King vehemently wondering at his wisedome, was astonished. But, hee saith against the King: Behold, I make my way, and he beganne to goe before, the King following him: but all the Nobilitie and Servants followed the King. And when they came to the banke of the River; David spreading abroad the Napkin which he carried upon the waters, leaping in, passed over; and at that time he was seene of all, wondring at the Spectacle of his passing over, whom to pursue and take with little Boates, they attempted in vaine, and all proclaimed, that no Inchanter in the World might be compared unto him: but having travelled the same ten dayes journey, comming to *Elghamaraia.* Elghamaraia, through the vertue of an uninterpretable name, hee declared unto the Jewes what had hapned unto him, they wondring at the wisdome of the man. But the King of the Persians sending Messengers

unto Bagdad, certified Almirus Almunadinus the great Calipha of the Ismaelites, of this matter, & requested that he would cause David Elroi to be with-held from such Enterprizes by the principal head of the captivitie, and the chief Rulers of the Assemblies, otherwise unlesse they took order for this matter, he threatned publike destruction to al the Jews living in the Kingdome of Persia. All the Universities of the Countrey of Persia stricken with exceeding great feare of the matter, sent letters unto that principal man, who was accounted the head of the captivitie & to the heads of all the Assemblies, whatsoever they were remayning in Bagdad, to this purpose: Why shall we dye in your eyes, aswell we as all the Universities subject unto this Kingdom? restrayne this man, we beseech you, least innocent bloud be shead. Therefore the Head of the Captivitie, and the Chiefe Rulers of the Assemblies wrote these or the like Letters unto David: We will give you to understand, that the time of our delivery is not yet come, and that our signes have not yet beene seene; for a man is not made strong through the wind. Wherefore, foretelling, wee enjoyne you altogether to abstayne from such determinations, enterprizes, and attempts; if otherwise, be rejected of all Israel. They also by Messengers advertized Zachai Hanassi, who was in the Countrey Assur, and Joseph surnamed the Seer, Burhan Alpelech, living there, that David Elroi might bee repressed by Letters written from them; which was diligently regarded by them, but all in vaine: for he would not forsake that wicked way, wherein he persisted, untill a certaine King of the Togarmim arose called Zinaldin, who is subject unto the King of Persia, and hee sending ten thousand pieces of Gold unto the Father in Law of David Elroi, perswaded him to end these troubles, by killing his Sonne in Law privily: which when hee had undertaken to performe, he thrust David thorow with a Sword, lying in bed at his house; and this was the end of his determinations, and vaine subtiltie. Nor yet, he being dead, was the anger of the King of the Persians

Elroi, that is, the Seer.

Zinaldin King of the Turkes.

appeased towards those people of the Mountaynes, and other Jewes subject to his Dominion: wherefore the Jewes, by Messengers, required helpe of the Head of the Captivitie. He therefore going unto the King himselfe, appeased him with mild and wise speeches, and having presented and given many Talents of Gold, he so confirmed him, that afterward great quietnesse happened to the whole Countrey.

Hhamdan. Media. But from this Mountayne, which wee have described, you travell ten dayes journey to great Hhamdan, and the principall Citie of the Countrey of Media, in the which there are about fiftie thousand Jewes: and in that Citie, right over against one of the Synagogues, are the Sepulchres of Mardochæus, and Esther. Debarzethaan is foure dayes journey distant from hence, where foure thousand Jewes dwell nigh unto the River Gozen: But from thence you travell seven dayes journey to Asbahan a very great Metropolitan Citie, contayning twelve miles space, in the which there are about fifteene thousand Israelites, over whom Great Salom ruleth, made Governour, by the Head of the Captivitie, over this Universitie, and all the rest of the Israelites, who dwell in the Castles of Persia.

The Sepulchers of Mardochæus and Esther. Debarzethaan. Asbahan, or Hispahan, now the Seat Royall of Persia.

Departing from hence, I travelled foure dayes journey to Siaphaz, the Metropolitan Citie of Persia, and also the most ancient, called Persidis, from whence the name was given to the whole Countrey, in the which there are almost ten thousand Jewes. From Siaphaz in seven dayes journey you come to the Citie Ginah, seated in a very large place nigh unto the banke of the River Gozen, frequented with the most famous Trading of all Nations and Languages, in a Plaine and very ample soyle, where are about eight thousand Jewes. The furthest Citie of this Kingdome, great and famous Samarcheneth, standeth five dayes journey from Ginah, where are fiftie thousand Israelites, over whom Master Abdias Hanassi ruleth, and among them, there are many wise and rich men. In foure dayes journey from hence you come to Tubot a Metropolitan Citie, in the Woods whereof sweet smelling Mosse * is

Siaphaz. Ginah. Samarcheneth. Samarcan. Tubot. Mosse, or Muske.

A.D. c. 1160.

found. Travelling continually eight and twentie dayes journey from thence, I came unto the Mountaynes Nisbon, which hang over the River Gozen flowing from them, and are ascribed unto the Kingdome of Persia, where are many Israelites. And they say,* that in those Cities of the Mountaynes Nisbor, foure Tribes of the Israelites inhabit, carried away in the first Captivitie by Salmanasar the King of the Assyrians, to wit, Dan, Zabulon, Asser, and Nephthali: as it is written. And he carryed them away into Lahhlahh and Habor, the Mountaynes Gozen. Mountaynes of Media. Their Countrey is extended twentie dayes journey in length, with many Cities and Castles inhabited, all Mountaynous; almost by which the River Gozen runneth on the one side. But the Inhabitants themselves are under the subjection of no Nation, but are ruled by a certaine Governour; whose name is now, Joseph Amarcala a Levite: and among them are the Disciples of Wise-men. They till grounds and make warre with the Borderers, the Children of Chus, and travell on warfare through the Desarts. They have amitie with Copher Althorech, worshippers of the winds, a people who leade their lives in the Desarts. These neither eat bread, nor drinke wine: but eat the raw flesh of beasts, as well cleane as uncleane, and those either new killed, and yet trembling through the life bloud, or also dry, but unboyled, and also devoure the members taken from living beasts. They want a Nose, but in stead thereof they have two holes in their faces, wherewith they breathe: They are friends to the Israelites. But, it happened fifteene yeares since, that invading the Countrey of Persia with a great Armie, they vanquished the Metropolitan Citie Rai, and having made a mightie slaughter utterly wasted it, and spoyling the houses and fields, carried away a great bootie, returning through the Desarts, the like example whereof, for many Ages, was never seene or heard in Persia. Wherefore the King of the Persians being vehemently inraged, determined utterly to abolish from the Earth, the name of that Nation, first, hatefull to him alone, not daring to attempt

The Mountaynes Nisbon, or Nisbor.

[II.ix.1457.]
**Marke this, they say, a tale devised by Jewish Fablers.*

Foure Tribes.

Lahhlahh.

Copher Althorech.

Or rather they are flat-nosed: for so are both Tartars and Chinois.

Rai.

any such matter in the times of his Ancestors. Levying therefore an Armie for warfare, and seeking some Guide, to whom the places of that Nation were knowne, a certaine man voluntarily offered himselfe, who affirmed, that hee was of the same Nation, and knew their dwellings. But being demanded what was needfull for the performing of the Voyage, he answered, that they had need of provision of bread and water for fifteene dayes journey: which of necessitie should be spent in a very great Wildernesse: following whose counsell, when they had ended fifteene dayes journey, beeing destitute of necessarie food and drinke for men and beasts, yet notwithstanding, they neither saw the place whether they intended to goe, nor any tokens of habitation. The Guide therefore being called for by the King, when he was demanded, where is your word, whereby you undertooke to shew us the Enemies; answered, that he had gone out of the way, wherefore, at the commandement of the angry King he was put to death.

And now, part of the men and beasts began to perish through famine. But by the Kings Decree it was publikely commanded, that whatsoever provision of victuall was found with any man, should be imparted to the company, and that the beasts should also bee divided. After this manner, therefore they wandered thirteene dayes more through the Wildernesse, and at length came unto the Mountaynes Nisbor, in which the Jewes inhabit. The Armies therefore of the Persians rested themselves in the Gardens and Orchards, whereof there were very many in that place, and nigh unto the Fountaynes: for it was the season of the yeare when fruits are ripe. They therefore eate and spoyled, and saw no man comming forth unto them: but beheld very many Cities and Towers in the Mountaynes afarre off.

The Mountaynes Nisbor.

Therefore the King sent two of his Servants to demand, what Nation dwelled in those Mountaynes, and that they should passe over unto them, going over the River either by Boat or swimming. But they found a great Bridge,

fortified with Towers furnished, and with a doore shut; but beyond the Bridge there was a great Citie. The Spyes therefore crying out before the Bridge, a certaine man came forth, by whom being demanded, what doe you seeke, or of what Country are you, they understood them not, until a certaine Interpreter came, who understood the Persian Language: to whom demanding, they answered, we are the Servants of the King of the Persians, sent to demand who you are, and whom you serve. To whom he answered, we are Jewes, and serve no King or Prince of the Gentiles, but a certaine principall man of the Jewes. And being demanded concerning the worshippers of the winds, the Children of Chus of Cophar Althorech, they answered; they are a Nation joyned in league with us: and whosoever goeth about to hurt them, wee suppose hee would harme us. The Spyes therefore returning unto the King, reported the whole matter unto him; who was vehemently afraid. But the next day after, the Jewes denounced warre against the King of Persia, who said, that hee came not to make warre against them, but against his Enemies of Cophar Althorech. And if they would fight with him, he would revenge that injurie, by killing all the Jewes who dwelt in the Kingdome of Persia: for he was very well assured, that they were stronger then hee in that place; besides, hee intreated that they would not assayle him with battell, but would suffer him to fight it out by dint of Sword against Cophar Althorech, and that they would sell him provision of victuall and food convenient for his Armie. Consulting therefore together, it pleased the Jewes to consent unto the King of Persia, for all the Israelites sakes dwelling in his Kingdome. The King therefore being admitted with all his Armie, spent fifteene dayes there, beeing most honourably entertayned among them: but in the meane space, the Jewes declared the whole matter by Messengers and Letters, unto their [II.ix.1458.] Confederates Cophar Althorech: which being knowne, gathering their forces together, they expected the enemie at the passage of the Mountaynes; and in a convenient

place for their purpose, they gave the Persians so mightie an overthrow, comming unto them, that being vanquished and put to flight, they compelled him to return into his own Countrey with a very small number. But it happened, that one Jew of this Province named Moses, deceitfully seduced by a certaine Persian Horseman, followed the King of Persia, and when they came into Persia, being brought into servitude, hee was possessed by the same Horse-man. But, when at a certaine time, they who exercised their Bowes, sported in presence of the King, one Moses was shewed unto him, who was most excellent in the dexteritie of shooting: who being demanded of the King by an Interpreter, openly declared the manner of his condition: and was presently infranchised, clothed with Purple and Silken Garments, and inriched with Kingly Gifts: and was required, that he should receive their Religion, the hope and condition of great Riches being propounded, and also the government of the Kings House promised: which when he courteously denyed to doe, yet was he placed by the King, with great Salom the Prince of the Universitie of Achphahan; whose Daughter also he married by consent of the Father, and the selfe-same Moses told me all this Historie.

Moses the Minister.

§. V.

Of India, Ethiopia, Egypt, his returne into Europe: Sicilia, Germanie, Prussia, Russia, France.

AND when I departed out of these Countries, I went into the Countrey Chevazthaan, nigh unto which the River Tigris runneth, which falling from thence runneth downe into Hodu, that is, the Indian Sea, and compasseth the Iland Nekrokis about the mouth thereof, contayning the space of sixe dayes journey, in the which there is only one Fountaine, and they drinke no other water then what is gathered from the showres; for it wanteth Rivers, and that Land is neither sowed, nor tilled: yet is it very famous through the Trading of the Indians,

Chevazthaan. Tigris. Haidu, the Indian Sea. Nekrokis, perhaps Ormus.

and Ilands seated in the Indian Sea, and Merchants of the Countrey of Senaar, and Æliman, and Persia, bringing thither all sorts of Silken and Purple Garments, Hempe and Cotton, Flaxe, and Indian Cloth, which they call Moch, Wheate, Barley, Millet, and Oats great plentie, also all sorts of Meates and Pulse, which they barter and sell among themselves. But the Indian Merchants bring exceeding great plentie of Spices thither. And the Ilanders execute the office of Factors and Interpreters among the rest, and by this art only they live. But in that place there are about five hundred Jewes.

Taking Ship from hence, sayling with a prosperous winde, in ten dayes I was brought to Kathipha, where are five thousand Jewes: in these places the stone called Bdellius is found, made by the wonderfull workemanship of Nature. For on the foure and twentieth day of the Moneth Nisan, a certaine dew falleth downe into the waters, which being gathered, the Inhabitants wrap up together, and being fast closed, they cast it into the Sea, that it may sinke of it owne accord into the bottome of the Sea, and in the middle of the moneth Tisri, two men being let downe into the Sea by ropes, unto the bottome, bring up certaine creeping * Wormes which they have gathered, into the open Ayre, out of the which (being broken and cleft) those stones are taken. In seven dayes journey from thence I came to Haaulam, which is the beginning of their Kingdome who worship the Sunne in stead of God; to wit, a Starre-gazing Nation descended from the Children of Chus. They are men of a blacke colour, sincere, and of very great fidelitie both in promises and receits, and also in gifts. They have this custome, that such as come unto them from other remote Countries, having received them into the Haven, they cause their names to be set downe in writing, by three Scribes, and so carry their names unto the King; and afterward bring the parties themselves also unto him, whose Merchandises being received into his protection, the King commandeth to be left landed in the fields, without setting any watch-

Kathipha.

The Stone Bdellius. I think the storie of Pearles by some Fabler, was thus corrupted to our Author.

The moneth of March.

The moneth of August.

**The Pearle Oysters.*

Our people call Haaulam Zeilan.

Worshippers of the Sunne.

The Chussites starre gazers.

A.D. c. 1160.

man to keepe them. Moreover, one Governer sitteth in a publike house, unto whom, whatsoever any man in the whole Countrey hapneth to leese, is brought, and is easily received by the owner thereof, being there required, so that the certaine tokens be shewed, wherby the lost thing may be knowne. And this fidelitie and honest dealing is common and publike in all that Kingdome. All this country from Easter unto the beginning of the yeere, through all the Spring time and Summer burneth with outragious heate: wherefore, from the third houre of the day untill the Evening, all men lye close shut up in their houses. But afterward, Candles and Lampes being lighted, and orderly set throughout all the streetes and markets, they worke and exercise their Arts and Professions all the night; for they cannot at all doe it in the day time by reason of the exceeding heate. And in this *Pepper.* Countrey Pepper groweth upon Trees planted by the Inhabitants in the fields of every particular Citie. And every one of them have their proper Gardens, are assigned and knowne. The shrub it selfe is very little, and bringeth [II.ix.1459.] forth a white seede, which being gathered by them, is put into Basons, and being steeped in hot water is set forth in the Sunne, that it might bee dryed, and being hardned, may be preserved; and so it getteth a blacke colour. Cinamon and Ginger are found there, and very many other kindes of Spices. The Inhabitants of this Countrey burie not their *How they embalme their dead.* dead, but being enbalmed with divers Drugs and Spices, they place them in seates, and cloathe them with Nets, set in a certaine order according to their severall families, but their flesh dryeth with the bones, and becommeth so stiffe that they seeme even like unto the living. And every one of the living know their Ancestors from many yeeres descents. But they worship the * Sunne, with many and great Altars every where built, about halfe a mile without the Citie. Commonly therefore, early in the morning they run forth and goe unto the Sunne, unto which upon all the Altars there are Images consecrated, made by the Magicke Arts, according to the similitude of the circle of

**They are since become Mahumetans, as in all the Indian Ports usually they are.*

the Sunne; and when the Sunne ariseth, those Orbes seeme to be inflamed, and sound with a great crackling or rustling noyse. And they have every one their severall Box in their hands, as well the women as the men, and all together offer Incense to the Sunne. This way of theirs is folly unto them. But among this Nation, in all places, the Jewes whose summe at the most amounteth to a thousand houses in all, are of no lesse blacke a colour then the Inhabitants themselves, yet are they good and honest men, and embracers of the Commandements, who observe the Law of Moses, and are not accounted altogether unskilfull in the bookes of Doctrine and Customes.

Departing out of their Countrey, in two and twentie dayes I sayled unto the Ilands Cheverag, the Inhabitants whereof worship the Fire, and are called Dugbijn; but among them thirtie thousand Jewes dwell. And the Dugbijn have their Priests in every place, consecrated to the superstition of their Temples: but these Priests are the most skilfull Sorcerers and Inchanters of the whole world, in every kinde of this vanitie. And before every Temple there is a great and large field, in the which a mightie fire burneth every day, which they call Elhotha, and they use to make their Children passe through this fire to purge them; and also cast their dead into the middest of the fire to be burned. Moreover, there are some of the Nobilitie of the Land, who solemnely bequeathe or vow themselves to the fire alive. But when any man of these declareth such his intended devotion to his familiars, acquaintance, and kindred, presently with the great rejoycing of all, and with the common voyce, hee heareth these words: Blessed art thou, and it shall be well with thee. On what day therefore the vow is to bee performed, being first entertained with a great Banquet, if he be rich, he is carried on Horse-backe, but if hee be poore, hee is brought on foote, accompanied with a multitude of his friends and others, unto the entrance of the field, from whence beginning his race, he leapeth into the fire; but then all his familiars, cousins and kindred,

Cheverag.
Dugbijn.
Fire worshipped.
Elhotha.
The error of the worshippers of the fire.

rejoyce with exceeding great joy, striking up the Drum, and dancing untill he be wholly burned. But three dayes after, two of the chiefe Priests going unto his house, command the whole Family to prepare the house of their Father, who would be present with them the same day, and declare unto them what they were to doe. Calling therefore unto them certaine witnesses of the Citie, behold, Satan taking upon him his shape, is present, of whom the wife and children demand how it fareth with him in that other world: to whom he answering, I came, saith he, unto my companions, by whom I am not received, untill I pay those things which I owe to my familiar friends and kindred: so presently, hee distributeth his goods to the children, and commandeth all the debts to be paid to the Creditors, and whatsoever is owing by the debtors, to be demanded, the witnesses receiving and setting downe in writing all his words and commandes, of whom notwithstanding he is not seene: but then saying that he will goe his way againe, he vanisheth.

Devillish delusion.

From these Ilands it is fortie dayes sayling to the Countrey of * Sin, which is in the East, they sayle three dayes journey to Gingala, which is performed in fifteene daies by Sea, where are almost a thousand Israelites. From hence in seven dayes sayling I came to Cholan, where none of the Israelites are. But from thence in twelve dayes I went to Zebid, in which Countrey there are few Jewes.

**Here the author relateth a tale related to him, of men carried by Griffons, &c. which I have omitted.*

Zebid.

From hence in eight dayes I came to the Midland Hodu, that is, Æthiopian India, which by the name of their owne Nation is called Baghdaan, the same is Gheden, which Countrey is ascribed to the Countrey of Thelassar, in which Countrey there are huge Mountaines and very well knowne; and in these, many of the Israelites dwell, subject to the yoke of none of the Gentiles: and they have Cities and Towers built on the ridges of the Mountaynes, from whence descending with armed forces, they invade the Countrey Hamaghtam, with warre, which selfesame Countrey is Lubia, belonging to the dominion of Edom, the Inhabitants whereof are called Lubii, or Lybies:

The mid-land Hodu.
Baghdaan.
Gheden.
Thelassar.

Hamaghtam.
Lubia.
Lubii.
Lybies.

which being often robbed and spoyled, the Israelites returne backe againe unto their Mountaynes, where they are not afraide, that any mortall man would make warre against them. But of those Israelites who dwell in this Countrey of Ghadan, very many travell into Persia, and Ægypt for the cause of trafficke. From thence unto the Countrey called Azzuan, you travell twentie dayes journey through the Wildernesse of Seba, nigh unto the River Pisson, which descendeth from the Mountaynes of Chus, that is, Æthiopia. And these Azzuanei have a King, who in the Ismaelitish Language is called Sultan Alhhabas. Some part of these men live after the manner of bruit Beasts, and feede upon Herbes found nigh unto the bankes of the River Pisson, they wander naked through the fields, so that they seeme to be voyde of the sense and minde of other men. They use the Act of Generation without difference, and with whomsoever they meete, having no regard of kindred, acquaintance or familiaritie, age or qualitie of degree: they inhabit an exceeding hot Countrey. When the rest of the Azzuanei assaile these to make a prey of them, setting wheaten Bread, Raysins, and dry Figs in the field, they take them running to the meate; and carrying them away, they sell them in Ægypt, and other bordering Kingdomes. And these bee those blacke Slaves very well knowne to all, of the Posteritie of Cham. From Azzuuan you travell twelve dayes journey unto Hhalavan, where are three hundred Jewes. But from thence travelling in troopes, you goe fiftie dayes journey through the Wildernesse, called Al Tsahhara, into the Countrey Zevilan, which selfe same is Hhavila, to wit, that which is upon the Coast of Geena, or Ginea. But in that Wildernesse there are many Mountaynes of Sand, which being sometimes mooved and scattered through the violence of the Windes, overwhelmeth and killeth the whole troopes of travelling men: but such as could avoide or escape such danger, returne laden with many things, as Iron, Brasse, and divers kindes of Fruites, and Pulse, and also Salt: besides, they carrie Gold, and

The Countrey Azzuan.
Pisson.
Chus.
[II.ix.1460.]
Cham.
Hhalavan.
The Wildernes Tsahhara.
Zevilan.
Hhavila.
Geena, or Ginea.

most precious Pearles. And this Countrey is in the Land of Chus, named Alhhabas, lying towards the West. From Hhalvan in thirteene dayes journey, you come to the Metropolitan Citie Kits, which is the head of the beginning of Ægypt; in it there are about thirtie thousand Jewes. From thence to Pium, is five dayes journey: this in time past was called Pithon, where there are twentie Jewes, and yet at this day no small Monuments are seene, of the workes made by our Fathers, in the building of that Citie. From thence you travell foure dayes journey to Misraim, a great Citie, seated nigh unto the bankes of Nilus, from which the name is given to all the Countrey, where are two thousand Jewes, divided into two * Synagogues; the one of the Israelites, called the Synagogue Saamiin; and the other of the Babylonians, called the Synagogue Ghirhhakiim. The one and the other observe divers rites and customes in the distribution of the annuall readings. For the Babylonians use every weeke to reade one Parassa, after the same manner which is common throughout all Spaine; and therefore every yeere they finish the Law. But the Israelites divide every Parassa into three orders or degrees, and so they reade over the Law in three yeeres. And both these after a solemne manner, twice in the yeere powre forth their prayers together, to wit, upon the day of the rejoycing of the Law, and on the Festivall day of the Law given. Among all these Nathaniel hath the chiefe authoritie, being the greatest of the Nobilitie, and head of the Assembly; who ruleth all the Universities of Ægypt, and appointeth Masters and Church-wardens.* And he is among the chiefe and most familiar servants of the great King, in the Palace and throne of the Princely seate Soan, setled in the Citie Mitsraim, which Citie is the Metropolitan Citie to the children of Ghereb, that is, to all the Arabians: but the Kings name is Amir Almumanin Eli the sonne of Abitaaleb: all the Inhabitants of which Countrey are called Moredim, that is, Rebels, who have estranged themselves from Amir Almumanin Alghabazzi, remayning in

Chus.
Alhhabas.
Kits.
Ægypt.
Pium.
Pithon.
Misraim, or Cayro.
**Of these two sorts, see my Pilgr. l. 2. c. 8. § 1. the Israelites were those of Palestina of later dispersion, the other of the former Babylonian dispersion, to whom Saint Peter wrote his former Epistle.*
Ghirhhakiim. The divisions of the sacred Lessons.
**Rulers and Over-seers of their Synagogues.*

A.D. c. 1160.

Bagdad: wherefore there is great and perpetuall dissension betweene both the Kings. But he hath a Throne in the Palace Soan, dedicated unto him. And he commeth forth twice in the yeere, once at the time of their feast of Easter, and againe in those dayes when the River Nilus overfloweth. And Soan it selfe is compassed, and fortified with walls, but Mitsraim hath no walls, but is environed with Nilus on the one side. And this is a very great citie, furnished with many market places & publike houses, and hath many rich Jewes. The Country it selfe never saw either Raine, Ice, or Snow, but burneth with outragious heate. It is watered with Nilus, which once every yeere vehemently swelling in the Moneth Elul, covereth and over-floweth all the Land for fifteene dayes journey; the Waters continuing all Elul and Tisri, and making the earth fruitfull. And the policie and diligence of the ancient was such, that in an Iland which the River maketh, a Pillar should be erected, &c. And the Fishes of that River are very fat, the Trane wherof being molten, is preserved for the use of Candles. But whosoever being abundantly glutted with those Fishes, drinketh the water of the same River, feeleth or suffereth no harme at all. For that water is both drinke and also medicine against such repletions. And there hath beene a perpetuall question, and a divers opinion among men, concerning the overflowing of Nilus, but the Ægyptians suppose, that at the same time when this River over-floweth, it vehemently raineth in the higher Countries, that is, in the Land of Hhabas, which we said to be named Hhavila. At what time the River doth not over-flow, nothing is sowed in Ægypt; and hereupon sterilitie and famine follow. The fields are sowed in the Moneth * Marhhesuan, Nilus being now received into his Channell: but Barley is reaped in the Moneth [a] Adar, and Wheate the next Moneth after, that is, [b] Nisan, and in the same Moneth Cherries are ripe, and Almonds, and Cucumbers, Gourdes, Peasecods, and Beanes, Lentiles, Ruches and [c] Spelt, and divers kindes of Pot-hearbs, as Purslane, Asparagus, and Lettice, Corian-

Soan, or Tsoghan.
Mitsraim.
They were called Rebels for that schisme, of which see sup. lib. 8. cap. 3.
July and August.
The moneth of August and September.
The Niloscopium I have omitted, as being before expressed in l. 7. c. 8. &c.
The use of the trane of fishes.
The water of Nilus medicinable.
Hhabas, from whence the people are called Hhabassini, whom the Grecians, amisse, call Abissini, the Countrey of Prete Janni.
**About September.*
[a] *At the end of Februarie.*
[b] *In the moneth of March.*
[c] *A kinde of Wheate growing in India.*

[II.ix.1461.] ders, Succorie, Coleworts, and Grapes. Lastly, the earth is most fruitfull, and replenished with every good thing. But the Gardens and Orchards are watered from the Lakes and Trenches, and that with the Waters of the River.

The division of Nilus. For the River which is brought unto the Citie Mitsraim, is divided from thence into foure heads, one whereof

Damiata. runneth by Damiata, sometime called Caphtor, nigh unto which it falleth into the Sea. The second runneth downe

Rasir. unto the Citie Rasir, next unto Alexandria, and there mingleth it selfe with the Sea. The third floweth downe

Asmon. by the way of Asmon, a very great Citie in the boundes of Ægypt; nigh unto all those heads of the River, many Cities, and Castles, and many Townes are seated upon either side, and men may travell unto them all, either by Boate or Land. No Countrey in the whole world may be compared with this, for the multitudes of habitations; and all the Countrey is plaine, and all most fruitfull, and

Ancient Mitsraim. well stored with good things. Ancient Mitsraim is two leagues distant from the new Mitsraim, but it is all wasted, and desolate; yet it retayneth many tokens of

The monuments of the Store-houses of Joseph. the walls and houses, and sheweth not a few Monuments of the Tresuries and Store-houses of Joseph, yet to be seene. In the same place also there is a most artificiall Pillar, built by the Art Magicke, like unto which there is none seene in all the Land. But those Store-houses consist of Lime and Stones, of exceeding strong Workmanship. Without the compasse of the Citie standeth a

The Synagogue of Moses. Synagogue, called by the name of Moses our Teacher living in peace, of ancient building, which being yet remayning, a certaine old Minister maintaineth, a Disciple of Wise-men, whom they call Alsich Abunetzer, that is, the old father of the Watch. And the Diameter of that defaced Mitsraim, containeth almost three miles, from

Gossen. Bulzzir zzalbizze. whence to the Countrey of Gossen are eight leagues; it is called Bulzzir zzalbizz, a great Citie, in the which there are about a thousand Jewes.

Ghizkaal le Ghein al zzemezz. From hence you travell halfe a dayes journey to Ghizkaal le Ghein al zzemezz, which was sometimes Ragh-

messes, now the ruines of a destroyed Citie, in the which many works are seene, sometimes built by our fathers, and among these certaine huge buildings like unto Towers, made of Bricke. From thence you make one whole dayes journey to Al Bubiig, where are two hundred Jewes. And from hence in halfe a dayes journey you come to Manziphtha, where are two hundred Jewes. From which Citie, Ramira is foure leagues distant, and in it there are seven hundred Jewes; from whence it is five dayes journey to Lamhhala, where are five hundred Israelites. Two dayes journey afterward, you come to Alexandria, a Citie so called, after the name of Alexander the Macedonian, at whose commandement wee reade that it was built, and strongly fortifyed, with great beautie of the Walls, Houses, and Palaces. Without the Citie, a great and goodly building is to be seene, which is reported to have beene the Colledge of Aristotle, the Master of Alexander, wherein there are almost twentie Schooles, frequented in former times by men of the whole world, who assembled thither to learne the Philosophie of Aristotle; and betweene every one of them, were Marble Pillars. But the Citie it selfe is excellently built, as we have saide, upon the Pavement of the ground, and with Vaults and Arches under ground, through the hidden passages whereof, men may come into the Market places and not bee seene: of the which some are a whole mile in length, as from the Gate Resid, unto the Gate leading unto the Sea, in which Gate a way was made and paved, unto the very Haven of the Citie of Alexandria, which is extended one mile within the Sea, in which place a very high Tower was built, which the Inhabitants call Magraah, but the Arabians, Magar Alecsandria, that is, the Pharos of Alexandria: on the top of which Tower, it is reported, that Alexander sometimes set a glittering Looking-glasse, in the which all the warlike Ships which sayled either out of Græcia, or from all the West unto Ægypt, to harme them, might bee seene fiftie dayes journey by land, that is, above the space of five hundred leagues off.

Raghmesses.

Al Bugiig.

Manziphtha.

Ramira.

Lamhhala.

Alexandria.

Aristotles Schoole.

Hieroglyphikes. Nigh unto the Sea-shoare at Alexandria, there is a very ancient Sepulchre to be seene, adorned with the shapes of all Beasts and Birds cut thereon, and engraven with ancient letters, which no man now is able to reade, or know. But there are some, who supposing, say, that a certaine very ancient King was buried there before the time of the Floud. And the length of the Sepulchre is fifteene Spanish spans, to wit, of the hand extended from the thumbe unto the little finger: and the bredth contayneth sixe such spans. About three thousand Israelites live at Alexandria. From Alexandria, you make two *Damiata.* whole dayes journeyes to Damiata, which selfe-same Citie *Caphtor.* was called, Caphtor, where are two hundred Israelites. *Sonbat.* From thence to Sonbat, is halfe a dayes journey, the *Flaxe.* Inhabitants whereof sowe the best Flaxe, and make Nets or Canopies: and this merchandise is sold throughout the whole World. From thence, in foure dayes journey I *Ailam. Elim.* came to Ailam, otherwise called Elim, now possessed and inhabited by the Arabians dwelling in the desert. From *Raphidim.* whence to Raphidim, is two dayes journey, where the Arabians dwell; and none of the Israelites. But from *Sinai.* hence, in one day you goe to the Mountaine Sinai, on the *Suriani.* top whereof there is a Temple of Monkes, called Suriani. *Monks of Saint Katharines.* And at the foot of the Mountaine standeth a great Castle, which they call Tor Sinai, the Inhabitants hereof speake the Chalday Tongue, that is, the Language of Thargum. This Mountaine is little, five dayes journey distant from Sinai: and the Inhabitants of this place are subject to the *The red Sea.* yoke of the Ægyptians. But the Erythræan, or the Red Sea, in time past called Suph, is one dayes journey distant [II.ix.1462.] from the Mountaine Sinai, and is a Bay of the Indian Ocean bending towards Damiata; in the which Bay sayling *The Iland Tunis, otherwise called Hhanas.* one dayes journey by Sea, you come to the Iland called Tunis, and the same is otherwise called Hhanas, where are almost fortie Israelites. And hitherto extendeth the Kingdome of Ægypt. Departing from thence, in twentie dayes journey by Sea, I was brought to Messana, which is *Messana.* the beginning of the Iland of Sicilia. But Messana, or

Messina, as it is now called, standeth upon a Straight of the Sea, named Lunid, lying betweene Calabria and the Iland of Cicilia it selfe: and two hundred Jewes are there. The soyle of the Iland is most fruitfull, and replenished with all good things, and beautified with Gardens, and Orchards. In this place the Pilgrims assemble who determine to goe to Hierusalem; for, from hence is the best and most commodious passage into Syria. From hence I travelled two dayes journey to Panormus, a great Citie, contayning two miles in bredth, and as many in length. In this Citie a princely house is excellently built by King Guilielmus. One thousand five hundred Jewes, or thereabouts, remayne in that place: and very many besides of the Idumæans,* and Ismaelites.

Lunid.
Calabria.

Panormus.

**The Jewes call Romans Idumæans, and Mahumetans Ismaelites.*

All the Colledges of the Jewes of Germanie are seated nigh unto the great River Rohenus, from the Citie Colonia, which is the beginning of the Kingdome, unto the Citie called, Kesamburk, in the borders of Germanie: which space is fifteene dayes journey long. This Countrey, in time past, was called, Aschenaz. These are the Countries in Germanie, in the which the Colledges of the Israelites are, who are all accounted worthie men, by the River Mosella, and Konphelinas, and Odranchah, and Kuna, and Kotania, and Binga, and Garmezza, and Mastheran. Therefore all the Israelites remayne dispersed throughout all Countries. But whosoever shall hinder Israel that it may not be gathered together, shall never see the good signe, nor live with Israel. But at what time God shall visite our Captivitie, and exalt the Horne of his Christ, then every one shall say: I will bring forth the Jewes, and gather them together. And in these Cities are the Colledges and Schollers of Wise-men, and they love their brethren, and speake peace unto all that are neere and farre removed, and joyfully and with rejoycing receive Guests comming unto them, and celebrating a feast for their entertaynment, say: O our Brethren rejoyce, for the Divine salvation shall come very speedily,[a] as it were, in the twinkling of an eye. And except, fearing, we doubted

Kesamburk.

Aschenaz.

Konphilinas.
Mosella.

[a] Speedie lye! and how long lie they in it for denying the truth?

that the end was not yet come, surely, we had been alreadie gathered together: but notwithstanding we cannot yet, untill the time of the song, and the voyce of the Turtle be heard, and the Embassadors come, and say: Let God alwaies be magnified. They use to write Letters one unto another, whereby they confirme each other in the Doctrine of Moses. And bewayling Sion, and lamenting Hierusalem, they aske mercy at the hands of God, and give themselves to prayer, cloathed in mourning attire, and earnestly bent to abstinence. These Metropolitan Cities therefore which wee have mentioned, are in Germanie, furnished with Colledges of the Israelites. Besides, there are Astranburk, and Davirasburk, Mandatrach, Pessinghes, Bamburk, Sar, and Rasenburk, which is also the end of the Kingdome; in which Metropolitan Cities, many of the Israelites are, Disciples of the Wise-men, and rich. From thence and beyond, is the Kingdome of Bohemia, now called Praga, and it is the beginning of the Land of Sclavonia, the Inhabitants whereof are called Cananites, by the Jewes dwelling there. These people sell their sonnes and daughters to all those Nations: and the Russes doe the like. But that Countrey is farre extended, from the gate of Praga unto the gate of the great Citie Pin, which standeth in the furthest end of the Kingdome. The whole Countrey is mountaynous, and very full of Woods, in the which those Beasts are found, named Veergares, and the same are called Sables. The weather is so cold in the Winter, that for that season, no man may safely come forth out of the house. And hitherto extendeth the Kingdome of Prussia. Returning from hence, I came into the Kingdome of France, which Countrey was called, Sarphat, by the Ancient. Travelling sixe dayes journey from the Citie Al-Sanad, I came to Paris, the greatest Citie of the whole Kingdome of King Lodovicus, seated nigh unto the River Saban: in which there are Disciples of Wise-men, the most learned of all those who at this day remayne in all the Countrey, who applie themselves day and night unto the studie of the Law, hospitall

We can scarce conjecture the new names of these Cities.

Bohem.

Praga.

Pin.

The beasts Veergares, otherwise called Sables.

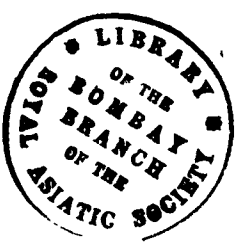
Prussia.

Sarphat.

Sanad, or Zaanad, or Zzod.

men, and curteous towards all the Brethren that passe that way, and companions of all their Brethren the Jewes. The mercifull God bee mercifull unto them and us, and confirme upon us and them, that which is written: And he shall bring backe, and gather thee together from all the Nations, among whom the Lord thy God hath dispersed thee. Amen, Amen.

END OF VOLUME VIII.



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